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W. H. Trinder
17 Sep. 1834 -

REMARKS

ON THE

INFLUENCE

OF

CLIMATE,
SITUATION,
NATURE OF COUNTRY,

POPULATION,
NATURE OF FOOD, AND
WAY OF LIFE,

ON THE

Disposition and Temper, Manners and Behaviour, Intellects, Laws and Customs, Form of Government, and Religion,

OF

MANKIND.

By WILLIAM FALCONER, M. D. F. R. S.

COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

THE ſubject of the enſuing Book, though it has been caſually touched by ſeveral writers of eminence, has not been particularly conſidered in any ſeparate work with which I am acquainted. This circumſtance, as well as the importance of the ſubject, has encouraged me to attempt ſome account of the principles productive or explanatory of thoſe effects uſually attributed to Climate, Situation, &c. upon Mankind. How far I may have ſucceeded, is not for me to determine. I muſt, however, beg the Reader will conſider the Title, previous to the peruſal of the Work; and that I do not give it the name of a Treatiſe, or Eſſay, but of Re-

marks only; as I would by no means have it underſtood, that I wiſh to give it out as a complete diſcuſſion of the ſubject, but only as a collection of ſuch Obſervations as occurred to me on conſidering it. I am fully ſenſible I have advanced very few ſteps in explaining a ſubject ſo copious; but ſtill hope that my labours may not be entirely in vain, if they excite the attempts of thoſe whoſe abilities and capacity enable them to throw farther light on an object of ſuch importance, both in moral philoſophy and politics.

I muſt beg leave to take notice of a general miſtake, which appears to me to have pervaded the works of every writer upon this ſubject; which is, the making their poſitions too univerſal.

The Effects of Climate, &c. are all of them general, and not particular; and if a conſiderable majority of the nations, as well as the individuals, that live under a certain climate, are affected in a certain manner, we may pronounce deciſively on its influence, even though there

there may be ſome exceptions. It muſt likewiſe be taken into conſideration, that the influence of one of the above cauſes often corrects the other. Thus a hot climate naturally renders men timid and ſlothful; but the neceſſity induced by a barren country, number of inhabitants, animal diet, and a ſavage way of life, may, any of them, correct this tendency of the climate, and diſpoſe the manners to a different turn.

The Chineſe inhabit a hot climate, and are probably naturally diſpoſed to be indolent and ſlothful; but the number of the people being very great, neceſſity compels them to labour, and thus overpowers the natural tendency of heat. A hot climate, by increaſing the ſenſibility, tends to make men cruel and revengeful; but the inhabitants of the Eaſt Indian continent are mild, tender, and forgiving, and yet inhabit a hot country. The vegetable diet on which theſe people live, in this inſtance counteracts the effects of climate. In Japan, and the other Eaſt Indian iſlands, where the people uſe animal diet, they are cruel and revengeful, ſimilar to the effects before mentioned of a hot temperature.

perature. But the effect of climate, in these instances, is not suppressed, but overpowered; it still exists, but its effect is not discernible: remove the impediment to its action, and it immediately exerts itself, as in the instance last mentioned. The effects of each of the causes here described, when combined together, overpower, temper, and modify one another in many instances; but have each of them a separate existence and action, however they may concur with one another in the general effect.

Like the mechanic powers, they may be variously combined, and frequently produce an effect different from what any of them would have caused separately; but still their specific action remains, though its inferior force renders it imperceptible to our examination. A weight in a scale is not deprived of gravity, because it does not preponderate against one superior in that respect.

I must beg the reader will not understand that I would insinuate, that the causes I have here mentioned

tioned are the whole of thoſe phyſical cauſes that influence mankind in the particulars mentioned in the Title; I am fully ſatisfied that they may be but a ſmall part, but at the ſame time believe them to be among the moſt powerful and important.

ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 1. line 5. r. *abortive* alſo.—P. 8. l. 2 ab imo, dele the , after *tranſient*, and place it after *only*.—P. 14. l. 16. for *is* r. *being*.—P. 21. l. 23. r. *ſubſequent* one.—P. 23. l. 8 ab imo, for *former* r. *latter*.—P. 27. l. 15 ab imo, r. *ſuperior* to. — P. 28. l. 20. the reference to Strabo ſhould be placed at the bottom of the page.—P. 31. l. 13, 14. dele the , after *Carthage*, and place it after *formerly*.—P. 38. l. 3 ab imo, for *are* r. *being*.—P. 40. l. 5. r. *it* is a general obſervation.—P. 42. l. 7. after *people* r. *to be more refined and civilized*.—P. 44. l. 18. r. *animadverted* on.—P. 57. l. 3 ab imo, place a period after *hot climates*, and a comma after *hiſtorians*, l. 2.—P. 95. note †, r. *de vulneribus*.—P. 98. l. 14. r. *Mettius Fuffetius*.—P. 101. l. 17. for *the neceſſity of pardon* r. *entitled to pardon*.—P. 103. l. 15 ab imo, r. *it* appears.—P. 110. note *, divide the quotation from *Lucan* thus:

Illic et laxas veſtes, et fluxa virorum
Velamenta vides.

P. 110. note *, for *fluctunte* r. *fluitante*.—P. 114. l. 14 ab imo, r. *continues* it.—P. 125. l. 4 ab imo, for *This circumſtance renders* r. *The above circumſtances render*.—P. 138. note †, for *Percennius Niger* r. *Peſcennius Niger*.—P 139. l. 15. r. *they* have *moderated their rigour*.—P. 162. note, divide the quotation from Virgil, Æneid vi. thus:

Largior hic Campos Æther, & lumine veſtit
Purpureo.

P. 196. l. 18. dele *to*.—P. 197. note ‡, for *of the Chineſe* r. *of China*.—P. 198. note †, r. *Fragment. Epiſt. Imperator Adriani in Vopiſco*.—P. 207. l. 5. dele reference to note.—P. 215. l. 3 ab imo, r. *animadverted* upon.—P. 217. l. 9. for *Europe* r. *Egypt*.—P. 232. l. 8. r. *ſome of the ſpecies of arum, of the marſh-trefoil, &c.* — P. 243. l. 3 ab imo, r. *judged* of.—P. 251. note ||, l. 8 ab imo, dele *Hoffman*, and at the end of the foregoing line inſert it, as the name of the author from whom the quotation is made.—P. 277. l. 7 ab imo, for *incline* r. *lead to*.—P. 287. l. 5 ab imo, for *them* r. *the adjacent iſlands*.—P. 325. note *, for *Indicatur* r. *Judicatur*.—P. 338. l. 4. for *however* r. *indeed*.—lb. l. 9. dele *however*.—P. 342. note *, for *Oeſaliem* r. *Oeſalcem*. — P. 343. l. 16. r. *animadverted* upon. — P. 378. l. 5 ab imo, r. *to the knowledge of the diſpoſition and character of mankind*.—P. 386. note *, for *concuſſiverat* r. *concupiverat*.—P. 389. note *, for *Mettius Tuffelius* r. *Mettius Fuffetius*.—P. 398. l. ult. for *Palitia* r. *Palilia*.—P. 407. note ††, l. 2. for *Carthaginians* r. *Africans*.—P. 420. l. 15. r. *animadverted* upon.—P. 440. l. 11. r. *nor do any of the Chineſe veſſels*.—P. 466. l. 5, 4 ab imo, r. *which they were* unable *to prevent*.—P. 467. l. 12. r. *Cineas*.—P. 480. l. 20. r. *attended* to.—P. 500. l. 12. r. *as of* his providence and beneficence.

The Author being at a diſtance from the preſs, the above Errata have happened, which the Reader is requeſted to correct.

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REMARKS.

REMARKS

ON THE

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

VEGETABLE productions, ſeparately conſidered, appear to be limited by nature to a certain climate and ſituation. If removed from thence, even to no great diſtance, they languiſh and abate in their diſtinguiſhing properties; if farther removed, they become abortive; and if ſtill farther removed, ceaſe to live. The ſame is true, though with greater latitude, of the animal kingdom, in which the ſame general rule prevails as in the vegetable.

The exact boundaries of this limitation are not aſcertained; but we are not, on that account, leſs certain of their exiſtence, although the difference produced in the perfection of the animal or vegetable is not conſiderable, when the alteration in theſe circumſtances is but ſmall.

Man, however, appears to be an exception to this rule, and to be enabled to ſubſiſt in almoſt every climate and ſituation. He

reigns

reigns with the lion and the tyger under the Equator, and aſſociates with the bear and rein-deer beyond the Polar Circle.

Nor is man leſs capable of ſubſiſting on a great variety of aliments, than he is able to endure a great difference of climate; the former of which circumſtances, as well as the latter, is very properly adduced by naturaliſts, as a great preſumption that he was intended by nature to inhabit every part of the world*. But notwithſtanding this aſſiſtance afforded by nature, it may be juſtly doubted if this univerſality of the human ſpecies be not owing more to his rational faculties, which enable him to ſupply the defects, and correct the exuberances of particular climates and ſituations, than merely to his animal formation.

Independent of the aſſiſtance imparted by reaſon, man is perhaps the moſt weak and defenceleſs of any animal with which we are acquainted. He is the only one which is unable to endure any known climate; but obliged to have recourſe to art, not only for the procuring of ſuſtenance, but alſo for defence againſt the violence of heat and the aſperity of cold.

But although man is enabled to ſubſiſt, by means of theſe ſuccours from his rational faculties, he is ſtill liable to be conſiderably affected, both in his body and mind, by external circumſtances, ſuch as climate, ſituation, &c †. To enumerate ſome of theſe, with their general effects, which relate to or influence the diſpoſition and temper, the manners, intellects, laws and cuſtoms, form of government, and religion of mankind, is the purpoſe of the following pages.

* Zimmerman Specim. Zoolog. Geograph. ch. I. ſect. xxxi.

† Some of theſe have been eſteemed of ſuch conſequence by the naturaliſts, that Linnæus has made the peculiar temper and character of the European, Aſiatic, African, and American, ſpecific diſtinctions.

BOOK I.

On the Effect of Climate.

CHAP. I.

ON THE EFFECT OF HEAT AND COLD UPON THE ANIMAL BODY.

THIS method of illuſtrating the effects of climate has been adopted by Mr. Monteſquieu; but the ſubject he made uſe of, which was a dead ſheep's tongue, being very improper on many accounts, and his anatomical and phyſiological knowledge very confined, his inferences from thence are far leſs clear and happy than what have generally flowed from the pen of that illuſtrious author. To avoid ſimilar miſtakes, the deductions I ſhall attempt to draw from this ſource will be taken from known and acknowledged effects on the *living* human body.

The effects of heat and cold may be conſidered here with reſpect to their action on the nervous, ſanguineous, and glandular ſyſtems.

CHAP. II.

ON THE EFFECTS OF HEAT UPON THE LIVING HUMAN BODY.

HEAT is perhaps the moſt univerſal ſtimulus with which we are acquainted; when applied in any great degree to the human body, it excites the action of the nervous ſyſtem in general, and of the cutaneous nerves eſpecially, which are moſt expoſed to its influence, and renders them more ſuſceptible of any impreſſion. If the heat be long continued, it produces a moiſture upon the ſkin, called perſpiration, which, by relaxing the cuticle, keeps the ſubjacent nervous papillæ in a ſupple ſtate, and obvious to every impulſe. It likewiſe expoſes the extremities of the nerves to external impreſſions, by keeping the ſkin in a ſmooth ſtate, and void of corrugation. Heat alſo, by increaſing the ſecretion of perſpiration, cauſes the perſpirable matter (ſimilar to what occurs in other increaſed glandular diſcharges, as the ſaliva, the mucus of the noſe, &c.) to be very much attenuated, and conſequently fit for being eaſily and quickly evaporated, without the ſame portion of it remaining long upon the ſkin, or leaving much reſiduum; which renders the cuticle very thin and fine, and of conſequence fit for tranſmitting ſenſations through its ſubſtance. By increaſing the perſpiration, heat diminiſhes the other evacuations, and even the ſecretions. The urine is ſeparated but in ſmall quantity, and the alvine evacuation is very ſlow. The bile however muſt be excepted, which is conſiderably increaſed in quantity, and as ſome think rendered more acrimonious in quality. The diſpoſition of the body and juices to putrefaction is alſo much augmented.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

EFFECTS OF COLD ON THE LIVING HUMAN BODY.

COLD, on the contrary, in ſimilar circumſtances, corrugates or wrinkles the cuticle, and cauſes the cutaneous papillæ to contract, and to retire deeper into the ſkin. It alſo cloſes the orifices of the cutaneous glands, and thus prevents the acceſs of any irritating ſubſtance. By contracting the nervous papillæ, it diminiſhes perſpiration, and probably makes the perſpirable matter more viſcid, which renders the cuticle more dry and rigid, and even conſiderably thicker; by all which the accuracy of ſenſation or feeling is much diminiſhed*. Perhaps too, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, the conſtriction on the miliary glands may render the nerves of the ſkin in a degree paralytic; and this I am inclined to believe may be in ſome meaſure the caſe, from that inſenſibility which occurs in the acceſs of fevers, eſpecially † intermittents, where the cold fit is the moſt ſtrong and diſtinguiſhable.

The ſecretion of the bile is diminiſhed by cold, and its quality rendered leſs acrimonious. The urinary and alvine evacuations are more regular, and more proportioned to the quantity of food taken in. The bodily ſtrength is alſo greater, the bulk of the body larger, and its humours leſs diſpoſed to putrefaction.

* Mr. Winſlow remarks, that the inſenſible perſpiration is always greateſt where the feeling is required to be moſt accurate, as in the palms of the hands, inſides of the fingers, &c.——*Winſlow's Anatomy.*

† Cullen's Practice of Phyſic, § xix.

CHAP. IV.

EFFECTS OF HEAT ON THE TEMPER AND DISPOSITION.

FROM these effects of heat and cold upon the body, much of their influence on the mind may be explained. Heat, I have obſerved, increaſes the faculty or power, as well as the accuracy, of ſenſation or feeling. This ſenſibility of the body is by ſympathy communicated to the mind; and from hence proceeds that high degree of the latter which prevails in hot climates, and which is indeed ſo great as to be ſcarcely conceivable, except by thoſe who have felt it. This might be exemplified in numerous inſtances, and is, I believe, the great ſpring of their actions and conduct.

SECT. I. *Paſſionate Temper.*

From this ſenſibility ariſes the paſſionate temper of thoſe people, which was obſerved from early antiquity *, and their impatience under ſeveral circumſtances of behaviour, which never affect people of a more phlegmatic turn. This is particularly obſervable among the Italians in Europe, and the inhabitants of the Weſt Indian iſlands in America.

SECT. II. *Amorous Diſpoſition.*

To the ſame ſenſibility is owing the amorous diſpoſition of the people of hot climates; which diſpoſition again, in its turn, enhances the ſenſibility that produced it. This, as well as the jealouſy that attends love, has been always remarked as a part of the character of thoſe people.

But although the enthuſiaſm of love be moſt powerful in ſuch

* Hippocrates de aeribus, aquis, & locis, Chap. viii.

climates,

climates, yet this paſſion is in them far from being of a refined nature in point of ſentiment. Beauty, indeed, is highly valued as a poſſeſſion; but regard, eſteem, and attachment, have ſcarcely any place in the union of the ſexes.

SECT. III. *Vindictive Diſpoſition.*

From what has been ſaid of the ſenſibility of the people of hot climates, we might be inclined to think that their diſpoſition would be exceedingly mild and tender: but this I do not believe to be the general character of the people. The ſenſibility with which they are endued, however it may teach them to feel for others, cauſes them to have very quick ſenſations on their own account. Thus many circumſtances, which are overlooked in cold climates, are conſtrued into irreparable affronts in * Japan, and ſuch as nothing but death can expiate. Even the † Chineſe, who, as a commercial people, are obliged to have ſome command of temper, are, when much provoked, violent and vindictive. The ſame difference is, in ſome meaſure, obſervable between Spain and Italy, and England. The cruel revenges likewiſe, ſuch as by the dagger and by poiſon ‡, ſo frequent in hot climates, with the inhuman treatment of priſoners which generally prevails || there, prove evidently their diſpoſition to be of this nature.

I am ſenſible that Mr. § Monteſquieu appears to have expreſſed

* Vide Kæmpfer.

† Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 89.

‡ Xenophon's Cyropædia, book vii.

|| See the account of the cruel uſage of the Kings taken priſoners by Adonibezek, Judges, i. 7.

See alſo the note to chap. iii. 17, in Dr. Lowth's Iſaiah; and Homer's Iliad, book vi. l. 580, &c. Pope's tranſlation; and the account of the cruel treatment of the Emperor Valerian, by Sapor, King of Perſia, given by Trebellius Pollio and Aurelius Victor.

§ Spirit of Laws, book xiv. chap. 15.

himſelf in ſuch a manner as ſeems to favour a contrary opinion. But his obſervation extends only to the Eaſt Indian continent, whoſe inhabitants are, indeed, of a mild and gentle diſpoſition; but which, I think, I can ſhew to be owing to a different cauſe from the climate.

SECT. IV. *Levity.*

To the ſame ſenſibility is owing the levity or inconſtancy which is ſo remarkable in warm climates. The mind is here open to every impulſe; but as theſe ſucceed rapidly one to another, they none of them make any very permanent impreſſion, but efface one another in order *. This levity is probably the cauſe why the people in many deſpotic governments, who labour under the greateſt oppreſſions, appear happy and at eaſe. They have little concern but for the preſent moment; and the lateſt incident, however trifling, is ſufficient to engage their attention, and to prevent their reflecting on their own ſituation and condition.

The diſpoſition alſo for curioſity and inquiſitiveneſs, that prevails ſo much in hot climates, is probably owing to levity. Every object makes an impreſſion on their delicate ſenſations; which, however, being tranſient only, leaves room for another, and ſo on; which ſucceſſion ſerves to fill up the vacancy of an indolent habit,

* Women and children appear to poſſeſs a degree of ſenſibility and levity, ſimilar to what is here obſerved of the inhabitants of hot climates, and probably for a ſimilar reaſon, the weakneſs of their frame. Thus they are eaſily affected and greatly agitated by the afflictions of life; but theſe emotions are ſeldom of long duration, and in general eaſily effaced. Men, on the contrary, are leſs violently affected, but the impreſſion is of longer continuance. Thus Tacitus ſays of the ancient Germans, that "tears and lamentations were eſteemed the proper means "for women to ſhew their concern for the loſs of their deceaſed friends, but that "men ſhould expreſs their grief by a fixed and laſting remembrance:" and in another place, ſpeaking of the nation in general, he tells us, that they ſoon lay aſide their tears and outward expreſſions of grief, but retain for a long time their internal ſorrow and melancholy for the loſs of their friends.

and

and to conſume that time which they have neither power nor ability to employ in uſeful or active occupations.

SECT. V. *Timidity.*

Another characteriſtic diſpoſition of the inhabitants of hot climates, is cowardice, or timidity. This is owing in part, though not altogether, to the ſenſibility of the people, which cauſes every object to make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion upon the mind. Other cauſes, however, concur. The great perſpiration to which they are ſubject, is extremely weakening to the body, and when it becomes exceſſive, nearly deprives it of all vigour † and activity whatever. This languor is naturally communicated to the mind, and debilitates that in a ſimilar manner. The inclinations become entirely paſſive; there is no ardour of enterprize, love of fame, or deſire of improvement. The ſenſation of weakneſs diſcourages all exertion of body or mind, by ſuggeſting the idea of inability; and this idea, joined with the ſenſibility before deſcribed, which the weakneſs itſelf contributes greatly to heighten, produces that timidity of character for which the people of hot climates ‡ have always been remarkable.

The cowardly diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the Eaſt is well known. An hundred Europeans, ſays Tavernier, would without difficulty beat a thouſand Indian ſoldiers. Xenophon alſo tells us, that the Aſiatics ‖ in his time would not fight unleſs in company with Greek auxiliaries. Even the children of Europeans, born in the Indies, loſe the courage peculiar to their own

† Spirit of laws, book xiv. ch. 50.

‡ Machiavel's art of war, book i. ch. 5.

‖ Cyropædiæ ad finem.

climate. Livy † obſerves to this purpoſe, that the ſame holds true of men that does with reſpect to vegetables and other animals; that the particular nature of the ſeed is not ſo powerful in preſerving the perfection of the produce, as the nature of the ſoil and climate, under which it was bred, are in changing it. He inſtances this in the Macedonians, whoſe deſcendants poſſeſſed Egypt, Syria, and Babylon; who had all degenerated to an equality with the native effeminate inhabitants of the country, and who would prove as eaſy a conqueſt to the Roman arms. Perhaps it is on account of this effect of perſpiration on the animal body and ſpirits, that ſeveral creatures that inhabit hot climates, and whoſe ſubſiſtence is procured by their courage and rapacity, ſuch as lions, tygers, wolves, &c. ſhould have no ſecretion of this kind; and it is not improbable, that their ability of enduring long abſtinence from food may be owing to the ſame cauſe. Some writers, indeed, as ‡ Vitruvius, and after him Hoffman, aſcribe the cowardice of the people of hot climates to the ſmall proportion of blood in their bodies; and even ‖ Ariſtotle ſeems to think, that the large proportion of the fibrous part of the blood, is the cauſe of the courage and ſpirit of ſeveral animals. But this is little more than vague hypotheſis.

Lord Kames, indeed, in his Sketches of Man, has delivered it as his opinion, that a hot climate has no ſpecific or peculiar power in diminiſhing the courage of the people; and brings as inſtances the Malayans, and ſeveral other people, who are very brave, notwithſtanding they inhabit a hot country. It is true that examples of this kind may be found; but they only prove, that the natural effects of the climate may be counteracted or overpowered. The people he ſpeaks of, probably owe their courageous diſpoſition to a circumſtance which ſhall be

† Livy, book xxviii. Speech of Manlius to the ſoldiers.

‡ Vitruvius, lib. vi. cap. 1.

‖ Ariſtotle, lib. ii. de part. cap. 4.

mentioned

mentioned hereafter. Our own feelings, duly obſerved, are ſufficient to convince us, that heat has ſuch a tendency.

SECT. VI. *Indolence.*

Indolence is another ingredient in the character of this people, and, as it were, interwoven into their conſtitutions. The Indians believe, that repoſe and non-exiſtence are the origin of all things, and the end in which they terminate. They conſider, therefore, the ſtate of mere inaction as the moſt perfect of any, and as the object of their wiſhes. They give to the Supreme Being the title of Immoveable. The inhabitants of Siam believe, that their happineſs conſiſts in not being obliged to animate a machine, and to give motion to the † body. Eaſe, with them, is the greateſt ‡ good; and nothing ſurpriſes the Indians ſo much, as to ſee Europeans take pleaſure in exerciſe; they are aſtoniſhed to ſee people walk, who might ſit ſtill. The ſame diſpoſition was obſerved of the people of § Otaheite, and of the || modern Arabs. This indolence of diſpoſition is owing to ſeveral cauſes. Firſt, the heat is ſo great, that every increaſe of it is painful. Now all exertion, either of mind or body, has this effect in ſome meaſure. A ſtate, therefore, of repoſe, or inaction, is the moſt natural to be deſired. Another cauſe of this indolent diſpoſition is, that languor, or ſenſe of weakneſs, which heat naturally inſpires. This, however, is not merely an ideal ſenſation, but true in fact; as the inhabitants of

† Panamanack. Vide Kircher.

‡ Mrs. Kinderſley's Letters from the Eaſt Indies, p. 182.

§ Forſter's account of Otaheite.

|| If we except the hours of devotion of the Arabs, they have no other method of paſſing their time, than in viſits of ceremony. *Voyage up the Red-ſea, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq; p.* 123.

hot climates are found, by experience, to poſſeſs much leſs † bodily ſtrength, and ability to endure fatigue, than thoſe of cold or of the more temperate. This weakneſs is owing to diverſe cauſes. The perſpiration in which they are conſtantly kept, has a great tendency this way, as has been before remarked; as it is not only very large, as an ‡ evacuation, but is alſo extremely weakening to the body, in proportion to its quantity. Mr. Haller obſerves, that the exceſſive ſweats in burning hot climates (as in Barbadoes, § Carthagena, and Surinam) ſuddenly deſtroy the ſtrength of Europeans, and are not leſs weakening than violent purgings by ſtool. It is likewiſe obſervable with us, that thoſe people are of a weak habit who have the palms of the hands conſtantly moiſt. It may be, perhaps, objected to this theory, that ſeveral people who follow laborious employments, and other occupations which occaſion great ſweating, ſuch as porters, chairmen, ſmiths, &c. are ſtill of robuſt and athletic habits, and often endued with great perſonal courage. But it has been very properly remarked, by an ingenious and ſenſible writer, that ſweating in the open air, in conſequence of labour, is extremely different from the ſame evacuation produced in conſequence of || external heat. In the firſt inſtance, it is merely compoſed of the ſerous part of the blood; in the latter, it is generally colliquative, and intermixed with the fat of the body melted down and running off by theſe excretions. People alſo, who labour hard, generally do it when it is performed without injury to health, in a cool air, and at a cool ſeaſon of the year. Thoſe who practiſe theſe violent exertions in hot weather, or in

† Vide Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, Zimmerman's Specimen Zoolog. Geograph. and Mr. Buffon.

‡ Haller. Phyſiolog. vol. vi. p. 66, 67.

§ Phyſiolog. vol. vi. p. 83, 84. Vide alſo Alexander's Experimental Eſſays, vol. i.

|| Alexander's Experimental Eſſays, vol. i.

confined

confined places, are found to be weakened by them much in the ſame way that is obſerved of thoſe who inhabit hot climates. This is confirmed by the appearance of thoſe people who work at ſuch occupations which detain them within doors, and in great heats; ſuch as men who work at furnaces, glaſs-houſes, &c. who are generally of a † lean, withered aſpect, reſembling a premature old-age, and not unlike the generality of the inhabitants of hot climates.

Nor does perſpiration produce this effect merely by means of the evacuation it occaſions, but probably more powerfully by the relaxation with which it is attended, which is communicated to the muſcular parts, and induces that want of tenſion in the ſyſtem which occaſions the debility. I am likewiſe inclined to believe, that the bilious diſpoſition of the inhabitants of theſe countries, has ſome ſhare in cauſing their indolence of diſpoſition. Hot climates, I have before remarked, tend to increaſe the generation of bile, which alſo is often obſtructed in its paſſage into the inteſtines, and regurgitated into the ſyſtem; and this takes place ſo frequently there, as to form, in ſome meaſure, a characteriſtic of the people. Now the bile, although intended by nature to be an active ſtimulus to the inteſtines, exerts an effect totally different when abſorbed into the circulatory ſyſtem. It there produces ‡ an averſion to motion, or exertion of any of the faculties of either mind or body; from which effect, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to contribute towards forming this part of their character. The tendency, likewiſe, of the animal fluids to putrefaction, which is almoſt always the caſe in ſuch climates, and is probably owing to the conſtant perſpiration, has likewiſe, I imagine, ſome effect in producing this inactivity of diſpoſition,

† Rammazini de Morbis Artificum.

‡ People in the jaundice are almoſt univerſally diſpoſed to be ſluggiſh and indolent.

as

as nothing ſo much or ſo quickly debilitates the human body. This we ſee inſtanced in the caſe of putrid † fevers, a ſudden and remarkable proſtration of ſtrength being one of their moſt diſtinguiſhing ſymptoms. Even the cowardice ‡ of the people operates as a cauſe of their indolence; which laſt favours the other again in its turn.

CHAP. V.

EFFECTS OF A COLD CLIMATE ON THE TEMPER AND DISPOSITION.

SECT. I. *Diminution of ſenſibility in general.*

COLD, by blunting the power of feeling, in the manner above deſcribed, tends greatly to diminiſh the ſenſibility of the ſyſtem in general.

The circumſtances of the greater bulk and bodily ſtrength of the people of cold climates, are likewiſe reaſons why they poſſeſs leſs ſenſibility: a high degree of this quality ~~is~~ being almoſt always connected with ſomething of delicacy and weakneſs of frame; and this may be the reaſon why women have more of it than men; and why perſpiration, by weakening the body, may conduce to the increaſe of ſenſibility.

Hence the inhabitants of cold countries are little ſubject to emotions of paſſion, and, indeed, difficult to be excited on any occaſion.

SECT. II. *Little diſpoſition to the tender paſſions.*

For the reaſons given above, love, as a paſſion, is ſcarcely ſeen in a northern country. As a proof of this, jealouſy, its inſepara-

† Huxham on the putrid fever.

‡ Rambler, No. 134.

ble

ble attendant, when the former is in a high degree, is hardly found; and generally, when it does appear, is made an † object of ridicule. Friendſhip, likewiſe, or that enthuſiaſtic attachment which ſubſiſts between perſons of the ſame ſex, and which is the ſource of ſo much tenderneſs and emotion, is ſeldom found where the influence of the ſun is not tolerably potent. Indeed, as its foundation is laid ſo much in ſenſibility, it can ſcarcely appear where that does not, in ſome meaſure, prevail. I am, however, far from meaning to inſinuate, that people in cold climates are deſtitute of that bond of ſociety, which conſiſts in a regard from one individual to another; but only ſay, that this attachment is derived from other, and perhaps more laudable motives, ſuch as eſteem and gratitude, and ſeldom arrives at that height of fondneſs and partiality which diſtinguiſhes the other.

SECT. III. *Benevolence.*

The people of cold climates, however, are far from being deſtitute of benevolence and kindneſs of diſpoſition: though not ſo readily affected as the ſouthern inhabitant, the impreſſion is more permanent, and attended with greater effect. This is ſhewn in the charitable diſpoſition of theſe people towards the poor, and their mild treatment of priſoners taken in war, and in many other inſtances. They are, likewiſe, much leſs vindictive, and do not retain the memory ‡ of an injury nearly ſo long as the inhabitants of a ſouthern climate. A great writer of the preſent age, Frederic Hoffman, has aſcribed this diſpoſition of theſe people to a cauſe ſeemingly rather whimſical, but perhaps not altogether deſtitute of foundation in truth. He is of opinion ‖, that the

† The progreſs of this paſſion, from a hot to a cold climate, is deſcribed with great force and elegance in Dr. Ferguſon's Eſſay on Civil Society.

‡ Tacit. Germania, chap. xxi.

‖ Hoffman de temperamento fundamento, &c.

large

large ſize and tallneſs of body of the people of northern countries, is adverſe to malice or cruelty of diſpoſition. Hence Cæſar obſerved, that he was under no apprehenſions on account of any danger from Antony and Dolabella, who were plump and well-favoured; but his concern was employed about Brutus and Caſſius, who were of a different complexion, and by whom he at laſt periſhed. The reaſon of this will appear, if we conſider what has been already mentioned of the effect of robuſtneſs and ſtrength of habit in diminiſhing ſenſibility.

SECT. IV. *Steadineſs of conduct.*

The inhabitants of cold countries are more fixed and ſteady in their reſolutions, than thoſe of hot. The impulſe muſt, indeed, be ſtrong to produce any effect; but when the impreſſion is once made, it engroſſes the attention in a great meaſure, and is not liable to be effaced by ſubſequent ones.

SECT. V. *Bravery.*

The diminution of the ſenſibility, contributes to make the people who live in cold countries leſs timid. Slight impreſſions ſcarcely affect them; and the motives that would deter an inhabitant of a hot country from an enterpriſe, never reach the ſenſation of one of a cold climate. This reſolution of the northern nations, in deſpiſing the fear of death, was remarked by ſeveral of the ancient writers, and particularly by † Lucan.

† —— Certe populus quos deſpicit Arctos
Felices errore ſuo! quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces
Mortis; et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Lucani Pharſal. Lib. i.

they

The courage, however, of theſe people appears to be rather of the paſſive kind; though to a great degree inſenſible of fear, they are from the ſame inſenſibility leſs capable of briſk exertion. At this diſpoſition Strabo ſeems to hint †, who remarks, that the northern nations were famous in cloſe fights, and for perſevering courage. This appears too from the circumſtances in general attending the wars in which the Ruſſians have been engaged. Though frequently victorious over the beſt-diſciplined troops, even thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, by their intrepidity and ſteadineſs, they were leſs able to improve a victory, or to reap all the concurrent advantages from it, than their more ſoutherly neighbours.

The Abbè Chappe D'Auteroche has indeed aſſerted, in his account of Ruſſia, that the people of that country are not endued with that courage which ſome philoſophers have aſcribed to the northern nations, but are, on the contrary, puſillanimous and cowardly to an incredible degree. But the behaviour of the Ruſſian troops during the late wars in Germany, and in the campaigns of the years 1769 and 1770, are amply ſufficient to diſprove this aſſertion. The Abbè ſeems to have written his account of Ruſſia under the influence of a ſtrong prejudice, probably ariſing from the jealouſy which the French have for many years had of that power, on account of its connection with Great Britain.

Another cauſe of the ſuperior courage of the people of cold climates is derived, I apprehend, from the habit of labour, exerciſe, and induſtry, inſpired by the climate. ‡ Hippocrates obſerves, "that idleneſs and leiſure increaſe and favour a cowardly diſpoſition, but that manly courage is the produce of labour and exerciſe." The ſtrength alſo which is thus acquired, gives them an idea of ſecurity and confidence, which the inhabitants of hot climates do

† Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Hippocrates de aeribus, aquis, et locis, § 54.

not poſſeſs, as the ſenſe of debility which they have, inſpires a conſciouſneſs of weakneſs and apprehenſion of danger. It appears probable alſo, that the very levity prevalent among the people of warm climates, is adverſe to courage and reſolution, by the unſettled and unſteady diſpoſition with which it is connected, and which it inſpires. † Hippocrates remarks, that a manly habit, a capacity of enduring fatigue, and a courageous mind, are not likely to be found among theſe people, on account of their variable and uncertain regards, affections, and attachments. Other cauſes alſo concur, which ſhall be mentioned in their order.

SECT. VI. *Activity.*

Cold climates are averſe to indolence, at leaſt of the body, and produce a habit of bodily exertion and activity. Repoſe and ſhade are the ſecurities from heat; fire and exerciſe the remedies of cold. So that here, the neceſſities of the climate itſelf contribute to form the character of the people.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE EFFECT OF MODERATE CLIMATES ON THE TEMPER AND DISPOSITION.

SECT. I. *Senſibility.*

MODERATE climates poſſeſs a middle degree of ſenſibility between the cold and hot. Their love of pleaſure, and reliſh for its various enjoyments, is conſiderable, but neither of them ſo great as to engroſs the mind altogether, or to enfeeble the

† Hippocrates de aeribus, aquis, et locis, § 33.

body, as in hot climates; or ſo inconſiderable as to afford ſcarcely any motives to influence our conduct and behaviour, as in cold.

The temper alſo of the people of moderate climates, is of a middle nature between the fire of paſſion of the ſouth, and the coldneſs and patience of a frozen temperature. This medium of diſpoſition has been productive of many happy effects on their ſtate and ſituation in ſociety.

SECT II. *Love.*

Love undoubtedly appears to the greateſt perfection in moderate climates. It is there united with a degree of ſenſibility and paſſion on the one hand, and eſteem and attachment on the other; and free of that debaſement which muſt neceſſarily attend the union of the ſexes being made either an object of mere paſſion, or of ſimple convenience.

SECT. III. *Friendſhip.*

Friendſhip too, which is nearly allied to love, is ſeen to moſt advantage in temperate latitudes. In great degrees of heat, the mind is enfeebled, and the diſpoſition becomes timid, variable, and ſelfiſh, and of courſe unfit for the reception of a paſſion, to whoſe exiſtence fortitude, conſtancy, and ſelf-denial, are ſo neceſſary: and in cold countries, as has been before remarked, the affections are too inſenſible, and too indifferent, to arrive at that pitch of attachment, that comes up to the idea of friendſhip. A latitude, however, rather warm than cool, is moſt favourable to this ſpecies of regard.

SECT. IV. *Moderation of conduct.*

A proper medium alſo between ſeverity and too great forbearance, is moſtly found in temperate latitudes. In hot cli-

mates the ſenſibility is apt to prompt people to active exertions of cruelty; and though this is ſeldom found in cold climates, there is ſtill in them a degree of unfeelingneſs, which is ſometimes productive of effects nearly ſimilar. What Mr. Monteſquieu has obſerved of exceſs of good or bad fortune, is equally applicable to climate—that men, in extremes of either, are equally inclinable to ſeverity; and that it is moderation alone, and a mixture of both, that inſpires us with lenity and pity. Particular inſtances of this will be given when I come to ſpeak of the effect of climate on the laws.

SECT. V. *Fickleneſs of diſpoſition.*

Fickleneſs alſo, or uncertainty of temper, is another mark of the inhabitants of moderate climates. This might naturally be expected from ſuch a medium of temperature, where neither of the two extremes prevail in a degree ſufficient to impreſs the mind with the peculiar effects of either. This diſpoſition is very obſervable amongſt our own countrymen, and begets a habit of impatience, which makes them incapable of bearing even the happieſt and moſt fortunate train of affairs for any long time together. This is remarkably inſtanced in political matters, the preſent ſtate of which is almoſt always repreſented in the common diſcourſe of the people to be the worſt that is poſſible to be imagined. This increaſes often to ſuch a degree, as to cauſe an alteration of public meaſures, and ſometimes of miniſters; which at firſt gives ſatisfaction, but ſoon a freſh ſubject of complaint is ſtarted, and a new mode of conduct becomes neceſſary; which alſo in its turn is changed in like manner. Nor is this confined to public affairs only, although in them it is moſt conſpicuous, as being ſubjects of the moſt general and public debate; but daily appears in private life, in which we ſee people, whoſe ſituation in almoſt every reſpect would appear to a ſtranger nearly as happy as the condition

tion of human nature admits, complaining of their unhappineſs, depreciating every good, and magnifying every frivolous misfortune; and this with ſuch eagerneſs, that they often ſeem, when intent on demonſtrating the miſeries of their lives, to eſcape from their ſorrows, and to find a tolerable paſtime in proving that they are unhappy. Nor are the effects of this diſpoſition confined to mere declamation, or verbal complaint; it often produces the moſt terrible conſequences, by inducing the ſufferers to put an end to their miſeries by a voluntary death.

This often happened among the Greeks and Romans; but we never hear of any of them deſtroying themſelves without ſome apparent cauſe. But the Engliſh, and indeed ſome other nations in nearly the ſame latitude †, often put an end to their lives in the boſom of happineſs. This ſeems to reſemble a diſorder of the climate, and to be interwoven into the conſtitution of the people. With them, labour and pain are in general more tolerable than a wearineſs of life, or an uneaſineſs in exiſtence. Pain is a local thing ‡, which leads us to a deſire of ſeeing an end of it. The burthen of life is an evil confined to no particular place, which prompts us to the deſire of ceaſing to live. This impatience is totally different from the levity of hot climates. The latter, I have before obſerved, is of the nature of a tranſitory attachment, which is effaced by a ſubſequent one; but the former is generally a ſettled diſguſt. In the one caſe, the change happens from a new impreſſion, in the other, from diſlike of the preſent ſituation.

The levity of hot climates differs alſo from the impatience of the Engliſh, in being more perſonal. In the former, they are

† Moore's View of Society in France, &c.—Suicide is as common in Geneva as in England. The French alſo are addicted to it. Abbè Fontana told a very ingenious friend of mine, that more perſons put an end to their lives at Paris, than in London. He had this account from the Lieutenant of the Police.

‡ Spirit of Laws.

variable

variable in their perſonal attachments, whilſt their manners and cuſtoms remain unchanged through ages.

With us, the manners and cuſtoms are perpetually varying, whilſt our perſonal regards are ſteady and permanent. This diſpoſition appears very remarkably in political affairs. In England, the chief complaint againſt any particular adminiſtration is, on account of certain meaſures which they have adopted; and if theſe be altered, the people ſeldom fail of being ſatisfied, at leaſt for a time.

But the inſurrections in the Eaſt, are directed chiefly againſt the perſon of ſome particular miniſter or favourite; and, provided he be but removed, the complaints of the people are generally appeaſed, though the meaſures and ſtyle of government remain as before.

SECT. VI. *Courage.*

The people of moderate climates, although inferior in paſſive courage to thoſe of the cold, have more courage of the active kind, and are more enterpriſing, and able to take advantage of their ſucceſs. Thus we ſee the Romans, even before they had arrived at the perfection in the art of war which they afterwards attained, were ſuperior to the northern nations. The ſame was true of the Greeks, and may now be obſerved on a compariſon of the Ruſſians with the more temperate countries of Europe. Hence † Vegetius recommends the choice of ſoldiers from temperate climates, as being beſt ſuited for military enterpriſes, from their poſſeſſing both active courage, and the ſenſe and underſtanding neceſſary to improve advantages. An ancient writer of intimate acquaintance with human nature, has aſſigned another cauſe for the ſuperiority of the people of moderate climates in point of

† De re militari, lib. xi.

military

military courage, which we, as Engliſhmen, cannot fail to admire, and which it ought to be our ambition to verify. "Hence, ſays †Hippocrates, the Europeans are more warlike than the Aſiatics: and not merely on this account, but alſo on account of the laws by which they are governed; they not being ſubject to a deſpotic government, as is the caſe with the Aſiatics. For wherever this prevails, it follows of conſequence, that the people are timid and daſtardly. For people, whoſe minds are depreſſed by ſervitude, do not freely and of their own accord expoſe themſelves to dangers for the ſake of others. But the people of Europe, who live under their own laws, are ardently deſirous of war, and freely and readily incur all its dangers and difficulties, inaſmuch as they eſteem them to be hazarded on their own account, and as they reap all the advantages gained by them. Hence it appears plainly, how much a legal government conduces to encreaſe courage and magnanimity."

SECT. VII. *Activity.*

The diſpoſition of the inhabitants of temperate climates is alſo more turned to activity and exertion of the powers, both of mind and body, than of thoſe who live where either the cold or heat predominates to a great degree. In the former of theſe, the faculties are ſuffered to ſleep in the lap of eaſe and indolence; and in the other, are obſtructed by inſenſibility. But in moderate ſituations, a medium of temper alſo takes place, which excites the mind to exert its powers, from its being ſenſible of its capacity to contrive and to judge, on the one hand, and of the ſtrength and vigour of body, where that is neceſſary, to execute, on the other.

† De aeribus, aquis, et locis, cap. 54.

Such

Such a ſtate of mind and body is almoſt always accompanied with courage and reſolution, which are much leſs frequently wanting in human nature, on occaſions favourable for their being called forth, than is generally imagined.

SECT VIII. *Variety of character.*

Finally, temperate climates produce a much greater variety of character and diſpoſition, than either of the two extremes of heat or cold.

CHAP. VII.

OF CLIMATES SUBJECT TO GREAT VARIETY OF TEMPERATURE.

HITHERTO I have ſpoken of climates, wherein either the heat or cold prevails through the whole or greateſt part of the year, or where there is a kind of medium betwixt both. But another kind of climate yet remains to be taken notice of, that wherein the heat and cold prevail alternately, during the different ſeaſons, to a great degree.

The effects of a climate of this kind have not, as far as I know, been remarked by any modern writers, but did not eſcape the obſervation of Hippocrates; though the countries he ſeems to rank in this claſs are, indeed, ſuch as undergo conſiderable varieties of temperature at the different ſeaſons; many parts of Europe, for inſtance; but are ſtill what are at preſent eſteemed to be in a moderate climate, and by no means ſubject to ſuch viciſſitudes as a great part of North America, and that vaſt continent between Aſia and Europe, called Siberia and Tartary.

Hippocrates

† Hippocrates obſerves, that in ſuch a climate the ſhape and character of the people are much leſs uniform than in either a hot or a cold country. This appears very probable, as the climate partakes of the extremes of both.

He alſo thinks, that "variations of climate make men more active ‡ in the affairs of life, more brave and reſolute in their conduct, and more auſtere and rugged, though more upright and juſt, in their behaviour. This is nearly the ſame character which we have before aſcribed to temperate climates. How far theſe qualities may be attributed to thoſe climates, being expoſed alternately to the extremes of the two temperatures, is difficult to aſcertain.

CHAP. VIII.

EFFECTS OF CLIMATE ON THE MANNERS.

SECT. I. *General ſtate of morals in different climates.*

IN point of morality in general, it is, I believe, agreed, that the manners of cold climates far exceed thoſe of warm; in the latter, the paſſions are naturally very ſtrong, and likewiſe kept in a perpetual ſtate of irritation from the high degree of ſenſibility that prevails, which cauſes a great multiplication of crimes, by multiplying the objects of temptation. Many deſires and paſſions ariſe there, from cauſes that would either never occur in a cold climate, or be eaſily reſiſted; but in a warm one, the paſſion or inclination is ſtronger, and the power of reſtraint leſs. In cold climates, the deſires are but few, in compariſon, and not often of

† Hippocrates de aeribus, aquis, et locis, § 39, 53, 54, 55.

‡ Mr. Hume obſerves, that uniform climates are unfavourable to the powers both of mind and body.

a very immoral kind; and thoſe repreſſed with leſs difficulty, as they are ſeldom very violent. In temperate climates, the paſſions are in a middle ſtate, and generally inconſtant in their nature; ſufficiently ſtrong, however, to furniſh motives for action, though not ſo powerful as to admit of no reſtraint from conſiderations of prudence, juſtice, or religion. But it will be proper to treat this matter more in detail.

SECT. II. *Effects of the ſenſibility inſpired by a hot climate, on the morals.*

The qualities of a people, in this reſpect, are derived, in a great meaſure, from the diſpoſition; the conſideration of which, will enable us to account, in ſome degree, for the differences of their moral character. The people then of a hot climate, poſſeſſing great ſenſibility, are liable to all its effects on their actions and behaviour.

SECT. III. *Emotions of paſſion.*

Hence the inhabitants of hot climates are diſpoſed to be quarrelſome, paſſionate †, litigious, and revengeful. They are, as it has been before obſerved, cruel from the ſame cauſe. In ſome rare inſtances, indeed, where a great degree of ſenſibility has been united with great abilities and goodneſs of heart, the happieſt effects have been produced. The character of the celebrated Marquis Beccaria in Italy, is an inſtance.

† Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxvi. cap. 6. Cleghorn's Introduction to his Account of Minorca. Addiſon's Travels, account of Naples. Du Halde's Hiſtory of China.

SECT. IV. *Pride.*

Pride alſo appears to be a vice of hot climates, derived from the ſame ſource. This we ſee in almoſt every people in ſuch a ſituation. Numberleſs inſtances of this are to be found in the circumſtances attending the eaſtern monarchs. Herodotus † tells us, that "the Perſians eſteem themſelves much more worthy in every thing than the reſt of men; and others to participate of virtue only in proportion to their nearneſs of ſituation, always accounting thoſe the worſt and the moſt baſe who inhabit fartheſt from them." The term of barbarian was formerly beſtowed, even by the Greeks and Romans, on all nations except their own: and what is more remarkable, and which ſhews how deep this idea was rooted, no leſs a man than Ariſtotle imbibed a prejudice of this kind ſo ſtrongly, as to lay it down in his ‡ works, that his countrymen were originally formed by nature to be ſuperior and command the reſt of mankind. The map of the world in China, was a ſquare ‖ plate, the greater part of which was occupied by the provinces of this vaſt empire, leaving on its ſkirts a few obſcure corners, into which the wretched remains of mankind were ſuppoſed to be driven. If you have not the knowledge of our books, or the uſe of our letters, ſaid the learned Chineſe to the European miſſionary, what literature or what ſcience can you have? The pride of the Spaniards in Europe has alſo been long known.—I have taken theſe inſtances of national pride from improved and poliſhed nations, that it might not be aſcribed to ignorance, which, independently of climate, produces the ſame effects. Thus the Ruſſians, when in a barbarous ſtate, called all other people by the name of Nemei, or dumb nations; and held them in a proportionable ſhare of contempt. But when improve-

† Lib. i. ‡ On Rhetoric. ‖ Du Halde, vol. i. p. 95.

ments prevailed among them, this diſpoſition vaniſhed; and at preſent, foreigners are no where better received or reſpected than in Ruſſia.

As the heat of the climate diminiſhes, as in France, this pride is changed into vanity. This I take to be owing to a decreaſe of the ſenſibility: Where this is very great, every man has, or pretends to have, ſuch an idea of his own importance, as to ſtand in no need of the applauſe of others; but when the feelings are not ſo quick, this ſelf-eſtimation is not ſufficient, and the praiſe of others becomes requiſite, and forms the object of deſire. Strabo deſcribes the vanity of the French nation, and its effects on their conduct, in terms that exactly ſuit their preſent character. They have, ſays that writer, added to their ignorance and ferocity, a great degree of arrogance and folly, and affectation of ornament. They wear golden chains about their necks, and bracelets about their arms and wriſts; and thoſe who are in honourable ſtations, wear garments dyed and variegated with gold. In conſequence of this levity of diſpoſition, they are, when ſuperior in war, extremely inſolent and overbearing; but when defeated, ſtupid and helpleſs. Strabon. lib. iv. Thus the Frenchman aſpires with eagerneſs, after what the Spaniard would eſteem a derogation.

SECT. V. *Gallantry and intrigue.*

From the ſame ſenſibility ariſes the exceſs of thoſe paſſions that are connected with love. Thus intrigue and debauchery with women, are well known to be carried to a high degree in warm climates. Even marriage is held but as a ſlight bar, and often conſidered, where the women are at liberty, rather as a pretence for greater freedom of behaviour, than as a † reſtraint.

† Vide the Life of Petrarch, and the Lives of the Troubadours, elegantly tranſlated by Mrs. Dobſon; where it appears, that addreſſes of love to married women were as common at that time, in France and Italy, as at preſent.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Jealouſy.*

From the ſame cauſe ariſes jealouſy, which in ſuch a country, eſpecially where pride predominates, is carried to a great height. The glory of ancient deſcent and great family are ſenſibly injured by infidelity of this kind, and therefore againſt ſuch diſhonour the guard is ſtrict. But in France, where vanity prevails, and the paſſion of love is not quite ſo powerful, jealouſy has little place. Were a fine woman to be confined there, as formerly in Spain, or in the Eaſt, her huſband would loſe the gratification of his vanity, in being known to poſſeſs a woman endowed with ſuch qualities. The admiration paid to her, is to him a ſource of pleaſure, and enhances his conſequence by the reſpect paid to him on her account.

SECT. VII. *Cowardice.*

Cowardice too, as before has been remarked, is owing in a great meaſure to the ſenſibility of the people, and is one of the vices of hot climates. It may appear ſtrange, to rank timidity, which may be ſuppoſed not to be in our power to prevent, in the liſt of crimes. It is, however, in ſome circumſtances undoubtedly criminal, and was eſteemed as ſuch by the ancient † Germans, who puniſhed it with death, inflicted in the moſt ignominious manner.

SECT. VIII. *Suſpicion.*

Suſpicion too, which almoſt naturally attends a great degree of ſenſibility, joined to timidity of diſpoſition, is obſerved very frequently in hot climates. The profligacy of manners in ſuch ſituations, contributes greatly to encourage ſuch a temper of mind, every

† Taciti Germania.

one

one ſuppoſing his neighbour under little if any reſtraint from principles of morality.

SECT. IX. *Fraud and knavery.*

It is likewiſe remarked, that in hot climates there is much leſs probity and honeſty in the common dealings of life; the preſent object is there ſo much attended to, that ſcarcely any conſideration is paid to future conſequences, as there is but little reflection. Every one, therefore, is anxious to make what advantage he can of the preſent moment; and no regard is paid to the diſcredit or loſs that may enſue.

SECT. X. *Perfidy and inconſtancy*

The levity likewiſe of the people of warm climates, which is ultimately derived from their ſenſibility, is productive of ſeveral vices. Thus they are remarkable for their perfidy and inconſtancy, even to a proverb. Livy † ſays, that the people of Africa are inconſtant in their expectations, and faithleſs in their diſpoſitions. A ſimilar character of them is given by ‡ Virgil and Cicero ‖; to which Salluſt § adds, that they were not to be kept in order by either hope or ⸸ fear. A ſimilar character of the

† Livii, lib. iii. § 5. Lib. xxxvi. § 17.

‡ Virgil Æneid, lib. i.

‖ Carthaginenſes fraudulenti et mendaces. Cicero.

§ Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth. de Numidia loquens.—Modern writers give the ſame account of them.

⸸ "The craft and deceit of theſe people are equally great and inexplicable. To lye for the ſake of falſhood, and to over-reach in matters of no moment, are paradoxes peculiar to the Arabians." *Adventures in the courſe of a voyage up the Red-ſea, &c. by Eyles Irwin, Eſq; 4to.* 1780, p. 54. See alſo Shaw's Travels to the Levant and Barbary, where a ſimilar character is given of them. Ingratitude and treachery, ſays Le Brun, are ſo common among the Perſians, that children make no

the Syrians and Aſiatic Greeks, is given in another place by Livy †, and confirmed by ‡ Vopiſcus. It might, perhaps, be imagined, as indeed Mr. Monteſquieu has done, that this character of the people of Africa was exaggerated by the Roman hiſtorians, from the hereditary antipathy between that people and the Carthaginians; and that it was victory alone that cauſed the proverb to be the Punic, rather than the Roman faith. This I believe to be in ſome meaſure true; but it is certain alſo, that the Phœnicians had a character of this kind aſcribed to them, long before the Roman period. Homer, who we have no reaſon to think lay under any temptation to give them a worſe character than they merited ||, ſpeaks of them in ſimilar terms. The crooked and intriguing politics of Italy have, as well as thoſe of Carthage, formerly been notorious through the whole courſe of modern hiſtory; nor were they different in former periods. The Romans § were ſcarcely leſs perfidious and diſhonourable than thoſe whom they reproached with thoſe vices; and it was as much owing to their deep and inſidious ⸸ policy, as to their arms, that they acquired the ſovereignty of the world.

But in what manner ſhall we account for the punctilious honour of the Spaniards, who live in the ſame latitude with the Italians, and nearly in the ſame manner; and who have, in all ages, been famous for their honeſty? Juſtin mentions their fide-

no ſcruple to cut off the ears, ſlit the noſe, and cut the throat of their parents, if the king requires it, in order to procure what places or fortune they died poſſeſſed of. Le Brun's Travels, vol. iv. p. 143, 4to ed. 1725.

† Hic Syri & Aſiatici Græci ſunt; leviſſima genera hominum. Livii, lib. xxxv. § 17.

‡ Rarum eſt ut fidem ſervent Syri; imo difficile. Aurelian. Vopiſci.

|| Homer's Odyſſey, lib. xiv.

§ The ſimilarity of the ancient Romans to the modern Italians, has been remarked by Mr. Ferguſon, in his moſt ingenious and elegant, as well as learned, Eſſay on Civil Society.

⸸ Monteſquieu, Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire, chap. vi.

lity

lity in keeping whatever was intruſted to their care; they have frequently ſuffered death rather than reveal a ſecret. They have ſtill the ſame fidelity for which they were formerly diſtinguiſhed. All the nations who trade to Cadiz, truſt their fortunes to the Spaniards, and have never yet repented it. A notable inſtance of this quality in that people occurred not many years ſince, when the ſilver which was returned from America by the plate fleet, was debaſed by one of the governors, by which the European traders, who ſent goods to South America, would have been great loſers. The Spaniſh merchants, though no way concerned or anſwerable for the fraud, voluntarily took the whole of the loſs upon themſelves, in order to prevent the national character ſuffering any * reproach. Perhaps the ſtately pride and haughtineſs, ſo eſſential to the Spaniſh character, may have been of ſervice in preſerving them from this fraudulent diſpoſition, which is always connected with meanneſs and cowardice. Perhaps this pride may have been partly inſpired by the peculiar ſituation and circumſtances that have attended the Spaniſh monarchy, the ſubjects of which have been always led to depend upon their perſonal qualifications, eſpecially thoſe of a military kind, and to diſregard the importance produced by trade and commerce. But I offer this only as a conjecture: if, however, it be true, it furniſhes an obvious cauſe for the difference of manners.

SECT. XI. *Idleneſs.*

This prevails to a great degree in hot climates. The people of † Achim are proud and lazy; thoſe who have no ſlaves, hire one, if it be only to carry a quart of rice an hundred paces; they would be diſhonoured if they carried it themſelves. In many places, people let their nails grow, that all men may ſee that they

* Vide Robertſon's America. † Dampier's Voyages, vol. iii.

do

do not work. A ſimilar diſpoſition prevails throughout all the Eaſt. But idleneſs is not only a vice itſelf, but ſtill more miſchievous as an incentive, or at leaſt as affording an opportunity for others: it is indeed * a preliminary to every vice; nor is ſloth ever unaccompanied with ſome wickedneſs or other. What muſt then be the ſtate of morality † in a country where the greateſt part of the people have no work, employment, or calling to occupy their thoughts; and no idea of intellectual entertainment? The reverſe is no leſs true: "Oblige men to work," ſays the elegant and ſpirited Commentator on the Marquis Beccaria, "and you certainly make them honeſt." It is well known, that atrocious crimes are not committed in the country, unleſs when there is too much holiday, and conſequently too much idleneſs; and, of courſe, too much debauchery. This, therefore, is no ſmall cauſe of the general depravity of manners in warm climates.

SECT. XII. *Luxury.*

Luxury likewiſe, and effeminacy; the children of ſenſibility and indolence, are carried to a high degree in hot climates. This was obſerved of them from the ‡ earlieſt times, and is the caſe at preſent.

SECT. XIII. *Exceſs in diet.*

There are, however, ſome, though but few, inſtances in point of morals, in which the warmer climates are ſuperior to the cold. Thus the vice of drunkenneſs ‖ is far leſs common among them;

* Ulloa's Travels, book v. chap. 5.

† Vide alſo an excellent paper on the tendency of idleneſs to produce vice, in the Rambler, N° 85.

‡ Vide the account of Tyre, by the prophet Ezekiel.—Xenophon's Cyropædia, book vii.

‖ Strong liquors, even at this day, are not drank among the Arabs. Irwin's Voyage up the Red-ſea, p. 285.

and, of conſequence, the violence and diſturbance which it ſo often occaſions, are not ſo frequent; nor is, I believe, (though of this I am not certain) the luxury of eating cultivated as among us. The heat requires the diet to be moſtly ſimple, and compoſed in a great meaſure of vegetables; and of conſequence cuts off many of the ſtimulant provocatives to appetite; a large proportion of which are of the animal kind, which compoſe the catalogue of thoſe * articles that miniſter to this mean and deſpicable paſſion.

SECT. XIV. *Gaming.*

I am likewiſe inclined to think, (though of this alſo I am doubtful) that the ruinous and deſtructive vice of gaming, is leſs prevalent in warm than in cold climates.

In the former of theſe, the people are more pleaſed with what directly produces ſome poſitive ſenſual pleaſure, than with what pleaſes merely by intereſting the mind, and putting it into a ſtate of agitation. The latter of theſe would be too violent and robuſt an exerciſe for a hot climate, where any conſiderable degree of even mental employment is a fatigue. But in northern countries, a machine, coarſe and heavy, finds a pleaſure in whatever is apt to rouſe and agitate the ſpirits; ſuch as hunting, travelling, war, and wine: and it will not be denied, that gaming is at leaſt as likely to produce this effect as any of the foregoing.

Experience ſeems to countenance this theory. Tacitus † informs us, that the ancient Germans were paſſionately addicted to

* Salluſt ſays, that the people of Africa, and the Numidians eſpecially, were neither fond of ſalt, or any other of the ſtimulants to appetite. Bell. Jugurthin.

† Aleam (quod mirere) ſobrii inter ſeria exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate ut cum omnia defecerunt extremo & noviſſimo jactu de libertate & de corpore contendunt. Tacitus de morib. German. cap. xxiv.

this

this vice, which is ſtill, indeed, very prevalent among their modern ſucceſſors. The * Canadian ſavage is equally fond of it, as it affords an intereſting occupation to him in the intervals of war and hunting, and ſerves to diſpel that ſluggiſhneſs and inactivity, which the uſual affairs and tranſactions of life have not ſufficient ſtimulus to effect. Warm climates, on the contrary, are but little addicted to this vice; it is with them a matter of diverſion merely; whereas, among the people of cold climates, it is a buſineſs, and one of the moſt ſerious nature. Thus the Turks, although fond of ſome kinds of play, cheſs and draughts for inſtance, make it a rule not to play for money †, but uſe it merely to conſume an idle portion of time in an indolent amuſement, which the climate would prevent being employed in an active occupation.

CHAP. IX.

EFFECTS OF A COLD CLIMATE ON THE MORALS.

THE catalogue of vices here, is much ſhorter than in the former: and they moſtly ariſe from circumſtances in their diſpoſition, which are in the main laudable.

SECT. I. *Proneneſs to acts of violence.*

The ferocious courage of this people is ſometimes apt to prompt them to acts of ſudden violence. This was the caſe

* Laſitæu mœurs de Savages. Charlevoix Hiſt. of Canada.—Carver's Travels, p. 244.

† The Arabs never game for money, or any thing valuable. Adventures in the courſe of a Voyage up the Red-ſea, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq; p. 285.—It is forbid in Japan, on pain of death.

with the ancient Germans, who were apt to kill their ſervants, and ſometimes one another, in their fits of anger; and many invaſions of property were little cenſured, when accompanied with marks of courage and boldneſs. Cæſar * ſays of the ancient Germans, that robbery and plunder, beyond their own confines, was eſteemed no diſgrace, but rather a laudable exerciſe, that preſerved the youth from idleneſs. And † Tacitus appears to account the Chauci an exception to the other German nations, in that their country is not laid waſte with acts of violence and robbery.—But I ſhall ſpeak more on this ſubject, when I come to treat of the laws.

SECT. II. *Drunkenneſs.*

From a deſire, likewiſe, of exerting their powers and abilities, and of a mutual and unreſerved communication of ſentiments, as well as from the neceſſities of the climate, is derived the cuſtom of indulging in the uſe of ſtrong liquors, ſo frequent in cold countries. The Germans, Tacitus ‡ tells us, uſed to conſult over their cups, and during their entertainments, concerning the reconciliation of enmities; forming connections by marriage; the chuſing of princes or chiefs; and even of war and peace; being of opinion, that the mind is never better prepared for the conſideration of common events, or to be warmed and excited by great ones. This people being neither artful nor cunning, the liberty of ſpeech, which is uſual under ſuch circumſtances, cauſed them to diſcloſe all their ſecrets to one another.

This vice, as Mr. ‖ Monteſquieu obſerves, though with ſome

* Comm. lib. vi.
† Germania.
‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xxii.
‖ Spirit of Laws, book xiv. chap. 2.

exceptions,

exceptions *, predominates through the world, in proportion to the coldneſs and humidity of the climate. If we go from the Equator to the North Pole, we ſhall find this vice increaſing together with the degree of latitude. If we go from the Equator again to the South Pole, we ſhall find drunkenneſs travelling ſouth, exactly in the ſame proportion to the decreaſe of the heat.

Drunkenneſs, however, is much leſs culpable in a cold climate, than in a hot one; as in the former, the hoſpitable † diſpoſition of the people, and the neceſſity of the uſe of ſtrong liquors to a certain degree, naturally lead to it. Hence the drunkenneſs of a Spaniard is leſs excuſable than that of a German; as in the former, it is the reſult of mere wilfulneſs; but in the latter, only the exceſs of a natural diſpoſition. Drinking alſo is leſs criminal in cold countries, as its effects there are known to be leſs pernicious both to the individual and to ſociety. In a hot climate, a drunken man is abſolutely frantic and wild; but in a cold one, it only renders him heavy and ſtupid.

SECT. III. *Gaming.*

For gaming, which is alſo, as I apprehend, a vice of a cold climate, (though to this, as well as the other, there are exceptions) there is, I fear, leſs apology to be made. The circumſtances, however, of the climate, that lead to this vice, I have before recited.

* Xenophon deſcribes the ancient court of Perſia as very drunken, both in his Inſtitution of Cyrus, and the Expedition of Cyrus; and Tavernier and Chardin give a ſimilar account. It ſhould, however, be remarked, that Perſia lies in about 32 or 33 degrees of north latitude, and is extremely hilly, ſo that the climate is not exceſſively hot.

† Tacitus tells us, that the Germans principally practiſed this vice in company, Germania, cap. xxi, xxii.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *Decency of conduct and behaviour.*

The virtues belonging to cold climates are more numerous, though for the moſt part of the negative kind. In general, however, decency of behaviour and conduct is preſerved much better in cold climates than in the oppoſite ones. Vice, among them, is not made a ſubject of jeſt or merriment, but of abhorrence; nor is corruption attempted to be excuſed from the pretence of its being faſhionable. In ſhort, as Tacitus ſays of the Germans, a good ſyſtem of manners is with them a greater reſtraint, than good laws are in other countries *.

They are likewiſe leſs debauched with regard to women; and marriage is more reſpected, and the adherence to its obligations more faithful. † Tacitus obſerves, the marriage contract is held very ſacred among the Germans; nor is there any part of their moral character more worthy of commendation. This ſuperiority of the morals of cold climates, eſpecially in the latter inſtance, over thoſe of warm, is owing to ſeveral cauſes.

Firſt, the verſatility of the temper of the inhabitants of the latter, prevents any laſting attachment to the ſame object, and contributes to introduce polygamy; a thing incompatible with a tender affection, which will endure no rival in a regard of this kind. Another reaſon why theſe connections are not ſo durable as with us is, the natural inequality which there is in thoſe climates between the ſexes; women in hot countries are marriageable at eight, nine, or ten years of age. Thus Mahomet married Cadisjah ‡ at eight, and took her to his bed at nine

* Nemo illic Vitia ridet, neque corrumpere atque corrumpi ſeculum vocatur. —Pluſque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges. Taciti Germania.

† Taciti Germania, cap. xviii.

‡ Mr. Le Brun obſerves, that the Perſians marry very young. Travels, vol. iv. p. 260.

years

years old. Hence, in thoſe countries, infancy and marriage almoſt always accompany each other. They are paſt child-bearing, and even old, at twenty: Their reaſon, therefore, never accompanies their beauty; when that demands the empire, want of reaſon forbids the claim; when reaſon is obtained, beauty is no more. It is therefore natural enough in theſe climates, where no law forbids it, for a man to leave one wife to take another, and that polygamy ſhould be introduced.

But in cold climates, the attachment of the people is more permanent, and the ſexes better ſuited in every reſpect for a durable connection; and conſequently, there is neither any natural cauſe or pretence for the ſame licentiouſneſs of manners.—It is probable, that this equality or balance, that there is between the ſexes in cold countries, is no inconſiderable cauſe why the offſpring are more robuſt than in hot. Tacitus ſays of the Germans, that the young men avoided an early intercourſe with women, which preſerved their ſtrength and vigour. The females alſo did the ſame with reſpect to the other ſex. The union was made between perſons of the ſame time of life, and ſimilar ſize of body. The ſtrong and healthy were united together; and from thence, the children inherit the ſtrength and robuſtneſs of their * parents.

Cæſar † too ſays of the ſame people, that they eſteem thoſe men the moſt, who have the longeſt preſerved their virginity; which they believe contributes to their growth, vigour, and ſtrength of nerves; but nothing is reckoned ſo ignominious, as to be connected with a woman before they have paſſed the twentieth year of their age.

* Taciti Germania, cap. xx.

† Cæſar. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 10. § 21.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Candour and openneſs.*

From the confidence and ſecurity produced by the courage and reſolution incident to the climate, the people are more open and candid in their dealings and tranſactions. Of this I have before ſpoken, and is a general obſervation.

SECT. VI. *Conſtancy and reſolution.*

From the little levity that prevails in cold climates, the people are more fixed in their reſolutions, and conſtant in their promiſes and attachments; and of conſequence, more fitted for ſocial intercourſe in general.

SECT. VII. *Activity and induſtry.*

Activity and induſtry, as I have before remarked, are virtues of cold climates. This, however, is confined chiefly to bodily exertion, and has little reference to mental employments.

CHAP. X.

MORAL CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE OF TEMPERATE CLIMATES.

THE moral character of the people of temperate climates is of a mixed kind, though conſiderably more inclinable to * virtue, at leaſt the practical part of it, as far as regards external actions, than thoſe of hot ones. Their greater acquaintance with

* Temperatæ regiones diſponunt egregiè ad Virtutes. Hoffman de Temperamento fundamento, &c.

the nature of trade, and the neceſſity of a mutual confidence, eſpecially in large concerns, renders them leſs knaviſh and deceitful. Their conſciouſneſs of ſuperiority, both in courage and in military ſcience, renders them leſs cruel; and their ſenſe of the neceſſity of decency of conduct and behaviour, in order to preſerve the police and form of government, prevents ſcandalous or open violations of morality.

The confidence in their power and abilities, of which I have juſt ſpoken, is, I imagine, productive of another good effect, in rendering the people leſs ſelfiſh and intereſted, and in infuſing into them a degree of public ſpirit and regard for their country, and mankind in general. When a man lives in daily fear for his perſon or property, all his regards are centered in himſelf, or confined to his neareſt connections; and the farther he enlarges his views, the more he thinks he increaſes his danger. But when a man eſteems himſelf and his connections to be in a reaſonable ſtate of ſecurity, the human mind, naturally active, ſeeks for employment elſewhere; and in thoſe, whoſe diſpoſitions are inclined to virtue, ſettles in promoting the good of their country, or the intereſts of mankind in general.

This is a circumſtance highly advantageous to the public; and accordingly we ſee, in the temperate climates of Europe, that the intereſts of every ſtate are better underſtood, and more attended to, both in their commercial and political capacity, than in any of the other quarters of the world; and that, accordingly, they formerly had, and ſtill retain, the pre-eminence.

CHAP. XI.

OF THE EFFECTS OF A WARM CLIMATE UPON MANNERS AND BEHAVIOUR.

WARM climates have been long ago obſerved to be earlier, and more completely civilized, than cold ones. Aſia, * Hippocrates remarked to be more mild and temperate than his own country; and the manners of the people are more refined and cultivated.

But although this be the caſe, I believe that this boaſted politeneſs conſiſted then, as it does now, in the obſervance of certain fixed and ſtated ceremonials; and had little of thoſe embelliſhments from wit, eaſe, freedom of converſation, and other occaſional attentions, which conſtitute among us the perfection of an intercourſe of this kind. The characteriſtic of the behaviour of theſe people, ſeems to have conſiſted chiefly in two circumſtances, which indeed are nearly connected; *great reſerve*, and *much ceremony and compliment*.

Herodotus † tells us, that Deioces, the king of Media, eſtabliſhed it as a rule, that very few perſons ſhould be permitted to ſee him; and that to laugh or ſpit in his preſence, ſhould be accounted indecent; not doubting, ſays the author, that thoſe who were debarred from ſeeing him at all, would eaſily be induced to think him of a ſuperior nature to themſelves. Diodorus ‡ Siculus ſays, that Ninyas, king of Aſſyria, eſtabliſhed rules of a ſimilar kind, and with the ſame intention. The behaviour of the ancient Perſians alſo, was extremely ſilent and reſerved. Silence ‖ was

* De aeribus, aquis, & locis. † Book i. ‡ Lib. ii.
‖ Amm. Marcell. lib. xxi. cap. 13.

with

with them a deity. They held it impious to ſpeak at † meals; even ſentence of death was ſometimes pronounced by ‡ ſigns. In Spain alſo, at preſent, the behaviour of the people is extremely diſtant and reſerved. This ſtyle of behaviour is connected with the nature of the government that prevails in hot climates. In all deſpotic empires, there is very little perſonal communication between the prince and his ſubjects; he is kept from the public eye, and known only by report. As this mode of government is founded on the paſſions of men, and not upon reaſon, and principally on the paſſion of fear, it is conducive to the encouragement of this paſſion, that ſuch a mode of behaviour ſhould be kept up, in order that the idea of the ſovereign may ſtrike greater || terror, by his perſon not being familiariſed to the ſenſes; it being a property of obſcurity §, to act more forcibly in impreſſing fear, than a thorough knowledge of the object, however terrible. Beſides this general reſerve, a high degree of form and ceremony prevails, not only with reſpect to the prince, but alſo in the common intercourſe between individuals. In Perſia, a certain ceremonial was not only requiſite in addreſſing the ſovereign, but the ſame was obſerved in a great meaſure through all ranks of people. The

† Quint. Curtius, lib. iv.

‡ Theophylact. Simocatt. lib. v. cap. 5.—Hence, perhaps, the uſe of mutes in the Eaſt.

|| It is well known, that expreſſions of ſubmiſſion, homage, and reverence, always have been, and are ſtill, carried to a great degree of extravagance in the eaſtern countries. When Joſeph's brethren were introduced to him, they bowed down themſelves before him with their faces to the earth. Geneſis, xlii. 6. The kings of Perſia never admitted any one to their preſence, without exacting this act of adoration, for that was the proper name for it. "Nepos in Conone. Plutarchi vita Themiſtoclis."—Alexander alſo affected this inſtance of oriental pride. Q. Curtii, lib. vii. and Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Lowth's Iſaiah, Notes on ch. xlix. 23.—Strabo ſays, that the king of Ethiopia is regarded as a deity, and is always ſhut up in his palace. Lib. xvii.

§ Sublime and Beautiful, part ii. § 3.

ſame is the caſe at this day, both in that country, and in India; and ſtill more remarkably in China. In the latter, this is carried to an * extreme degree, and is part of the law of the country, and the conſtitution of the ſtate: the people are daily reminded of it by the head of the family; and twice in every month the Mandarins aſſemble to inſtruct the people in theſe duties particularly. They think that form and ceremony are the barriers which men have erected among themſelves, to prevent the corruption † of one another.

This mode of intercourſe, however, although inferior in point of elegance to the European manners, and deſtitute of the advantages ariſing from a communication of ſentiment and information, is not ill adapted to the ſituation and character of that people. Their timid and ſuſpicious diſpoſition, renders them unfit for mutual confidence, or dependence upon one another: their deſire of revenge would make ſuch truſt unſafe, eſpecially under a government wherein every intrigue, every thing that has the leaſt tendency to interrupt the peace, is moſt ſeverely animadverted. The legiſlatures, therefore, of theſe countries, have, in order to ſupply the defect of a free communication, eſtabliſhed a form of behaviour adapted to the ſeveral purpoſes above mentioned, and calculated alſo to ſuit the indolent and ignorant character of the people. Some part of our modern ſyſtem of politeneſs (perhaps imported from the eaſtern empire, at the time of the

* "Inſtead of a complimentary ſpeech in addreſſing a ſuperior, the Chineſe deliver the compliment in writing, the ſmallneſs of the letters being proportioned to the degree of reſpect intended; and the higheſt compliment is to make the letters ſo ſmall, as not to be legible." Vide Note to Elements of Criticiſm, vol. i. chap. 15.

† "We took our leave of the vizier of Yambo, amidſt a profuſion of high-flown compliments, which we had neither the capacity nor inclination to return. The natives of the Eaſt are ſo habituated to this mode of ſpeech, that well-turned compliments fall from their lips with inexpreſſible readineſs." Adventures in the Courſe of a Voyage up the Red-ſea, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq; p. 67.

Cruſades);

* Cruſades) appears borrowed from the ceremonial of a warm climate, as it conſiſts in a great meaſure in the endeavour to ſave any exertion, or, as it is commonly called, trouble, to the perſon to whom the compliment is intended. But this, when carried to the degree we ſometimes ſee it, becomes highly abſurd, and even ridiculous, as it ſeems to ſuppoſe a degree of imbecillity or incapacity in thoſe to whom we mean reſpect; and is farther ſo, in ſuppoſing, that in a moderate, or rather cold climate, a ſlight uſe of the limbs could be a trouble or fatigue. Some of the titles of honour, likewiſe, that prevailed in the Eaſt, favour of the indolence inſpired by the climate. Thus the titles of Manſuetudo, † Tranquillitas, and Serenitas, which were all uſed in the eaſtern empire, ſeem to have been of this kind; and were applied to emperors, as majeſty is now to kings. The title of Serenity is ſtill in uſe in ſome parts of Europe.

It is obſervable, that in hot climates, the mode of manners and behaviour continues for a long time unchanged. Thus the form and ceremonial of behaviour is the ſame at ‡ this day in Perſia and India, and probably in China, as it was two thouſand years ago.

The cauſe of this immutability, is a curious object of enquiry. One reaſon given for it by Mr. Monteſquieu is, the high degree of ſenſibility which a hot climate naturally inſpires, which is almoſt conſtantly joined with an indolence of mind, connected with that of the body; ſo that when a conſiderable impreſſion is made, and a habit formed by cuſtom, the lazineſs of the people prevents their making any efforts to break through it.

Another reaſon, and perhaps a more ſatisfactory one, is derived from the nature of the government, which in ſuch countries is

* For an account of the effects of the Cruſades in poliſhing and improving manners, ſee Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V, vol. i. § 1.

† See the Dedication of the Hiſtory of Eutropius to the Emperor Valens; and Selden's Titles of Honour, part i. ch. 6.

‡ See more on this ſubject, *on the Effect of Climate on Laws and Cuſtoms.*

almoſt

almoſt always deſpotic. The fear and mutual jealouſy in which the people live of one another, prevents that freedom of communication that takes place in a country of liberty. People there, are not ſo much objects of imitation or confidence to one another, as of diſtruſt and jealouſy; and the timidity inſpired by this government is ſo great, as to deter any from attempting innovations.

In all probability, this uniformity of manners is, in its turn, a powerful cauſe of the uniformity of the government. By long uſe they have acquired a connection, and prove a mutual ſupport to each other. A new form of manners and behaviour, would inſpire a new ſet of ideas and ſentiments, and tempt them to call in queſtion many of thoſe maxims and opinions, on which the form of the government * depends.

But the moſt powerful cauſe of this immutability is, perhaps, the confinement of the women, and their conſequent excluſion from influence in ſociety. In other countries, where there is a free intercourſe between the ſexes, the deſire women have of pleaſing, and the deſire men alſo have of giving them pleaſure, by indulging their curioſity and taſte for variety, produces a perpetual change of manners and behaviour.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF A COLD CLIMATE ON THE MANNERS.

THE manners of the northern nations, in compariſon with thoſe of warm climates, appear rough and auſtere. Their addreſs is uſually blunt and unpoliſhed; and they have few cere-

* Spirit of Laws, book xix. ch. 12.

monials

monials to regulate their behaviour. There is likewiſe a want * of decorum, and a groſſneſs in their manners, that characteriſe them very ſtrongly. This is eaſily to be accounted for from the character of the people; who poſſeſs little ſenſibility, are of a bold and reſolute ſpirit, and accuſtomed to robuſt bodily exertions. Add to this, that the fair ſex are little regarded among them.

The manners of cold climates are alſo much leſs permanent and uniform than thoſe of hot. The manners of the vaſt empire of Ruſſia were changed in a great meaſure in a ſingle age, and without producing any revolution or violent convulſion in the ſtate: ſuch a change would probably never have ſucceeded in the eaſtern countries; or if it had been forcibly introduced, would probably have overturned the ſyſtem of government, and have coſt torrents of blood in its eſtabliſhment. But in that frozen climate, new manners furniſhed a new field for activity and employment, and ſerved to excite ambition and deſire of diſtinction in the one ſex, and curioſity and vanity in the other: they were, therefore, received with a more ready acquieſcence.

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE EFFECT OF TEMPERATE CLIMATES UPON THE MANNERS.

POLITENESS and elegance of behaviour have always attained to the greateſt perfection in temperate climates: this has been owing in ſome meaſure to the greater perfection of arts in general. But I apprehend, that the diſpoſition of the people to activity, joined with a degree of ſenſibility; and a government

* Vide the rules of behaviour at the Court of St. Peterſburgh.

with

with ſome ſhare of liberty, and which conſequently admits of a free communication of ſentiment, are the principal reaſons.

The laſt of theſe, as far as relates to a free intercourſe of company and converſation between the ſexes, is perhaps the moſt active cauſe of any, and ſubſiſts only in moderate climates; the female ſex, in cold ones, being diſregarded, and in hot ones, being in a ſtate of confinement. While in Aſia the fair ſex are conſidered only as a poſſeſſion, in Europe they are objects of tenderneſs, eſteem, and rational attachment. This inſpires a habit of attentive and reſpectful behaviour; their beauty excites admiration and love; and even their very weakneſs adds force to their influence, under the idea of delicacy. Generoſity prevents oppreſſion, where there can be no reſiſtance; and rouſes valour and gallantry in their defence. Whatever they ſay is heard with peculiar attention; and even their * foibles are conſtrued into perfections. Beſides, by their being at liberty, they are enabled to take a part in the buſineſs of the world; to manage domeſtic affairs, which are there regarded as their peculiar province; and to bear an almoſt equal part in the adventures of life; and thus to render themſelves objects of eſteem, when their perſonal attractions are no more.

Another circumſtance highly favourable to the influence of the fair ſex, in moderate climates, is, that in them their beauty and underſtanding accompany each other; ſo that a woman is at the ſame time an object of paſſion and of reſpect. This circumſtance, joined to that of there being but one object, (polygamy not being practiſed) and of conſequence the hopes of offspring depending on her only, inhances much their conſequence in ſociety: and of courſe tends to render the manners of the other ſex ſuch as are agreeable to them; that is, attentive, poliſhed, and elegant.

* Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful, book iii. § 9 and 16.

In

In Aſia, the caſe is directly the reverſe; the women are there ſecluded from converſation with the other ſex, and are regarded chiefly in the light of an object for the gratification of paſſion; and even this regard is divided among a number. Their beauty is tranſient, their manners diſpoſed to be profligate, and their minds uncultivated; they bear no part in the affairs of life, and are eſteemed to be in * an inferior ſtation in point of rank; conſequently, they can neither be objects of reſpect, eſteem, or rational attachment. No wonder then, that the other ſex ſhould be little diſpoſed to cultivate a mode of behaviour adapted to their inclinations. In very cold countries, the fair ſex, though under no reſtraint in point of perſonal confinement, are, as I have before remarked, but little reſpected; and of conſequence their intercourſe with the other ſex has but little effect upon the manners. In Ruſſia, until of late years, they were held to be ſcarcely ſuperior to domeſtic ſervants; were accuſtomed to be beaten, at the pleaſure of their huſbands; and even the ſign of eſpouſal itſelf, was an inſtrument of chaſtiſement. By communication with other nations, this brutality is in a great meaſure worn off; and Ruſſia, in conſequence, riſes in the eſteem and reſpect of Europe: enough, however, is yet left to ſhew the natural diſpoſition of the people.

Some reſpectable writers have attributed this ſituation of the female ſex in cold climates, to the rude ſtate of the people, but without reaſon. Our anceſtors, the ancient † Germans, whoſe country, though cold, was not extreme in degree, held the fair ſex in the higheſt eſtimation, and even veneration; and the ſame

* Grinding corn, a work the moſt laborious and moſt mean of any, in the Eaſt, was always performed by female ſlaves, and is ſo at preſent.—Exodus, xi. 5. xii. 29. Matthew, xxiv. 41. Homer's Odyſſ. xx. 105, 108. Shaw's Travels, p. 297. Harmer's Obſ. i. p. 153.

† Vide—A View of Society in Europe, by Dr. G. Stuart; and Tacit. German. ch. viii. and xviii.

is the caſe with the ſavage nations in ſome of the more temperate climates of America.

I ſhall conclude my obſervations on this head, with the following remark of a great writer: that "it is * an happineſs to live in thoſe climates that permit a communication between the ſexes; and where that ſex which has the moſt charms, conſpicuouſly embelliſhes ſociety; and where wives, reſerving themſelves for the pleaſure of one, contribute to the amuſement of all."

The ſame reaſons which contribute to render the manners of temperate climates more poliſhed and elegant, render them alſo more variable and inconſtant. The fickleneſs of diſpoſition, inſpired by the mutable and ambiguous nature of the climate; a degree of freedom, or at leaſt moderation, in the government; and the influence of women in theſe points, which they eſteem as particularly within their province, account for this very fully. Perhaps it is owing to this mutability, that the elegance of manners itſelf is to be aſcribed, as in ſuch a caſe there is a capacity, and an incitement to improvement, which cannot take place in the eaſtern empires; and though every change may not be for the better, it ſtill tends to promote a ſpirit of enquiry and examination, which generally terminates in a reformation of whatever is moſt exceptionable, either in morals or behaviour.

CHAP. XIV.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE UPON THE INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES; AND FIRST OF A HOT CLIMATE.

SECT. I. *On literature.*

THE ſame cauſes that influence the diſpoſition and manners, have alſo had a proportionable effect upon the intellects. In ſpeaking of the former, I mentioned the high degree of ſenſi-

* Spirit of Laws.

bility

bility with which the people of hot climates were endued, as the leading principle and key to their character. The ſame holds good with reſpect to the mental powers. Hence the fruits of fancy and imagination * have always abounded moſt in the ſouth. To them we owe the invention and embelliſhment of that mythology, and thoſe early traditions, which continue to furniſh the materials of fancy, and the field of poetic alluſion. Perhaps it is to them we owe the poetic ſtyle itſelf, as the moſt ancient models with which we are acquainted, are derived from that quarter. Nor is this turn of the people confined to a certain claſs, or to thoſe only who have received the advantages derived from rank and education, but prevails generally through the people at large. Le Brun tells us †, that the Perſians in general love poetry above all things, in which they are fond of exhibiting the moſt lively and brilliant efforts of genius. Poetical diſputes, even now, are much in vogue among the ‡ peaſants in Minorca:—one of them ſings ſome extemporary verſes on whatever ſubject he pleaſes, and accompanies them with the muſic of his guitar; he is immediately anſwered in the ſame number of unpremeditated lines by another, who endeavours to excel or ridicule him; and this alternate conteſt laſts, to the no ſmall amuſement of their attentive companions, until the wit of one of the rival poets be exhauſted. Theſe are the carmina amœbæa of the ancient Greeks; in imitation of which, ſome of the paſtorals of Theocritus and Virgil were written.

Even the people of Otaheite ‖, rude and uncultivated as they were, had their alternate verſes regularly digeſted into rhythm and

* Fancy, as it is produced by ſenſibility, ſtrengthens the latter again in its turn. —Shenſtone.

† Travels, vol. iv. p. 92. edit. 4to, 1726.

‡ Cleghorn's Account of Minorca.

‖ Forſter's Account of Otaheite.

order; and many of them terminating in rhyme, reſembling, in ſeveral inſtances, the carmina amœbæa above deſcribed.

I ſhall take, as a ſpecimen of the eaſtern poetry, one of the moſt ancient as well as authentic of theſe compoſitions; I mean that elegant performance, known by the name of Solomon's Song. This is undoubtedly a poetical work, though, I believe, not reduced into any metre with which we are acquainted. This, however, is no objection to its claim to that character: perhaps it is more poetical on that account.

A writer of the greateſt taſte, as well as judgment, has obſerved, that the Pſalms of David, even in our tranſlation, are more poetical than any metrical verſion now extant: and the ſame is nearly true of the preſent performance; at leaſt I think that Mr. Prior's verſion of it, in his poem of Solomon, which I believe to be at leaſt as well done as any verſion of the Pſalms that has yet appeared, is leſs poetical than the original.

With reſpect to the ſentiment, we find there a tender, yet animated deſcription of the paſſion of love, great beauty and richneſs of imagery, and fertility of idea and imagination. The ſuperior ſenſibility of the author has, indeed, cauſed the expreſſion to be more plain and undiſguiſed than our manners admit: but this is the general ſtyle of the eaſtern writings. For the ſame reaſon, many of the compariſons or ſimilies * with which this work abounds, appear faint and ſtrained to our ideas. But

* Behold thou art fair, my love; thy hair is as a flock of goats that appear from Gilead. Thy teeth are like a flock of ſheep that are even ſhorn, that come up from the waſhing, whereof every one bear twins, and there is none barren among them. Thy lips are like a thread of ſcarlet. As a piece of pomegranate are thy temples within thy locks. Thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thouſand bucklers, all ſhields of mighty men. Thy two breaſts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies. Thy eyes are like the fiſh-pools in Heſhbon, by the gate of Bathrabbin. Thy noſe like the tower of Lebanon, looking towards Damaſcus.—Solomon's Song.

this

this is perfectly conſonant to the character of that people, among whom * luxuriance of imagination was more ſtudied than accuracy of ſentiment and expreſſion. It is alſo probable, that the great familiarity and local nature of the objects to which thoſe compoſitions allude, together with the high degree of feeling incident to the climate, might make the reſemblance much greater than our imaginations, unuſed to ſuch bold compariſons, and probably unable to enter into their peculiar beauty and energy, can comprehend.

Similies †, indeed, were the favourite ornament both of ſpeech and writing, among the eaſtern nations; and are ſo at preſent. The ‡ ſmalleſt ſimilitude, or reſemblance, will ſometimes occaſion, in their fertile imaginations, ſuch indulgence and liberty of invention, as to give birth to ſome ſtrange report or marvellous narration. We ſee the ſame diſpoſition in all their compoſitions, both ancient and modern, particularly that now under conſideration. The Turkiſh Ode of Meſihi alſo, tranſlated by Mr. Jones, in his elegant collection of Aſiatic poems, bears a ſtriking reſemblance to the Song of Solomon, both in the ſcenery and the compariſons.

* The Arabian language is ſo ſuperior in elegance to the reſt, that this people, in other reſpects ſo remarkable for their ſimplicity, exceed all other nations in the delicacy of their expreſſion, and the agreeable wildneſs of their images.—Adventures in the Courſe of a Voyage up the Red-ſea, p. 67, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq.

† Vide a Note on the ſecond Chapter of Iſaiah, verſes 13—16, by the Biſhop of London.

‡ Shaw's Travels, ſpeaking of the Arabs.

Solomon's Song, Ch. ii.

MY beloved ſpake, and ſaid unto me, *Ariſe, my love, my fair one, and come away:* for lo, the rain is paſt, the winter is over and gone. The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the ſinging of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs; and the vines with the tender grape, give a good ſmell. *Ariſe, my love, my fair one, and come away.*

As a cluſter of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi, I am the roſe of Sharon, and the lily of the vallies. As the lily among thorns, ſo is my love among the daughters. As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, ſo is my beloved among the ſons.

Ode of Mesihi.

THOU heareſt the tale of the nightingale, that the vernal ſeaſon approaches. The ſpring has ſpread a bower of joy in every grove, where the almond-tree ſheds its ſilver bloſſoms. *Be chearful, be full of mirth, for the ſpring paſſeth away, it will not laſt.* The groves and hills are adorned with all ſorts of flowers: a pavilion of roſes, as the ſeat of pleaſure, is raiſed in the garden. *Be chearful, be full of mirth, for the ſpring paſſeth away, it will not laſt.*

The edge of the bower is filled with the light of Ahmed. Among the plants, the fortunate tulips repreſent his companions. The dew glitters on the leaves of the lily, like the water of a bright ſcymitar. The roſes and tulips are like the bright cheeks of beautiful maids, in whoſe ears the pearls hang like drops of dew. Thou art a nightingale with a ſweet voice, O Meſihi! when thou walkeſt with the damſels, whoſe cheeks are like roſes.

Themiſtocles,

Themiſtocles, the Athenian general, was ſo ſenſible of the cuſtom of uſing this mode of ſpeaking, that when introduced to the court of Artaxerxes, he employed this * ſymbolical and figurative ſtyle of expreſſion, comparing a man's diſcourſe to a rich Perſian carpet variouſly wrought and figured, the beautiful images and proper figures of which are beſt repreſented when they are clearly and fairly opened; but when they are contracted and folded up, they are obſcured and loſt. Perhaps this diſpoſition may ariſe from the ſame ſource with that of their talent for imitation, which was obſerved in them of old †; and is the caſe at preſent. A great writer ‡, indeed, whoſe taſte and judgment it were preſumption to queſtion, has aſcribed the faintneſs of the reſemblance, in the paſſages above quoted from the Song of Solomon, to the ſituation of the people at that time in point of improvement, as being a nation juſt then emerging out of barbarity, to whom the beauties of language are newly diſcovered; and from the attachment to them, procured by their novelty, carried beyond moderation. But I am very doubtful if this character will ſuit the Jewiſh nation at that period, who ſeem, inſtead of being in a ſtate juſt riſing from obſcurity, to have long been the ſeat of what literature and arts were then in the world.

Milton, whoſe taſte and judgment were ſuperior perhaps to thoſe of any other man, has delivered it as his opinion, that ſome compoſitions of that nation, prior to the performance now under conſideration, are, excluſive of their ſubject and divine argument, ſuperior in the critical art of compoſition to all other lyric || poetry. It is therefore, much more probably, owing to

* Plutarch—Life of Themiſtocles.

† Strabo, lib. xv. Hiſt. Indiæ.

‡ Lord Kaims—Elements of Criticiſm.

|| Preface to the ſecond book of the Reaſon of Church Government. Vide alſo Paradiſe Regained, book iv. l. 331, et deinceps.

the natural * diſpoſition, which ſuggeſted a great redundance of ideas, than to the cauſe aſſigned for it by this ingenious author.

But ſenſibility and paſſion are not the only marks which diſtinguiſh this poem to be of eaſtern original; there alſo appears in it, if I may uſe the expreſſion, a high degree of flowery indolence, much reſembling the ſcenes deſcribed by Anacreon, which were not unlikely to be borrowed from ſome eaſtern compoſitions.

This will appear ſtill more probable, if we conſider the reſemblance between the following paſſages in the Song of Solomon, and part of the third ode of Anacreon.

* A richneſs and profuſion of imagery, in which the mind is ſo dazzled as to make it impoſſible to attend to that coherence and agreement of the alluſions, which we ſhould require on every other occaſion, gives an idea of great magnificence, and is a ſource of the ſublime; as is well obſerved by Mr. Burke, who has quoted two paſſages, one from Shakeſpeare, and another from the book of Eccleſiaſticus, both of which are parallel, in a great meaſure, to the expreſſions and ſentiment in the book of which we are ſpeaking.—Vide Sublime and Beautiful, p. ii. ch. 13. Vide alſo, as an inſtance, ch. v. verſes 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. of Solomon's Song.

SOLOMON'S SONG, Ch. v.

I Sleep, but my heart waketh: it is the voice of my beloved that knocketh, ſaying, "Open to me, my ſiſter, my love, my dove, my undefiled; for my head is filled with dew, and my locks with the drops of the night." I roſe up to open to my beloved, and my hands dropped with myrrh, and my fingers with ſweet-ſmelling myrrh, upon the handles of the lock.

ANACREON, Ode iii.

IN the midſt of the ſilent night, when the Bear-ſtar is got to the right of Bootes; when deep ſleep falleth upon the fatigued labourer, love approaches on a ſudden, and knocks at the door. Who is that, I cry, that ſhakes the houſe, and diſturbs my repoſe? Open to me, cries Cupid, and fear not the boy. I am wet, and have long wandered about in the thick darkneſs of the night. His piteous complaint moves my compaſſion: I turn the lock, and open the doors, when the winged boy appears, bearing his bow and arrows. Taking him to the fire, I chafe his tender hands with mine, and preſs the dewy moiſture from his dropping locks.

The ſeverer ſtudies, however, and ſuch as require diligence and perſeverance, as well as genius and ſenſibility, have been leſs ſucceſsful in hot climates; ſcarcely any of the Arabian writers deſerve the title of hiſtorians. And although we have ſome later accounts of hiſtorical compoſitions * in the Eaſt Indies, the ſpeci-

* Vide Dow's Hiſtory of Indoſtan, and Richardſon's Preface to his Perſic Dictionary.

mens already produced, give us no reaſon to expect that they will diſpute the palm, in this ſpecies of compoſition, with the Greek or Roman hiſtorians, or even with thoſe of our own country.

In natural philoſophy *, their inferiority is ſtill more remarkable. This ſcience is at preſent at its loweſt ebb in theſe countries: and though it formerly ſhone with ſome degree of luſtre, its brightneſs was but comparative, being always not only greatly clogged and obſcured with hypotheſis and fanciful conjecture, but alſo unſupported by fact and experiment, the only ſolid baſis on which philoſophy can ſafely ſtand.

In medicine, indeed, the Arabians ſeem principally to have excelled; and in this branch, ſome of them merit regard. Several new diſorders, as the ſmall-pox † and ſpina ventoſa, by Rhazes, have been deſcribed with care and accuracy; and ſome new medicines, as ſena, rhubarb, manna, &c. introduced; but the generality of their writings are only tedious comments on the ancient Greek authors, Galen and Hippocrates particularly, whom, nevertheleſs, they have by no means delivered down to poſterity in their native and ſimple form, but diſguiſed and depraved with their own vain fictions and ſubtle ſpeculations. Some, however, of the Arabian phyſicians, have adopted notions more juſt and liberal. ‡ Avenzoar, the moſt judicious, lays it down as an axiom, that experience only is to be the guide in medical practice; and that the curative art is not to be learned from the ſubtilities of logic and ſophiſtry, but by conſtant and daily attention to practice, joined with exquiſite judgment.

* The Arabians not only made no improvements in mathematics, but did great injury, by corrupting and interpolating the text of Euclid, and other writers on mathematical ſubjects. Botany alſo received great injury by the ſame means. —Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſic.

† Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſic, book ii.

‡ Friend's Hiſt. of Phyſic, Life of Avenzoar.

But

But the ſentiments of this great man varied much from thoſe of the age in which he lived. On account of the foregoing doctrine, afterwards revived by Bacon with ſo much advantage to philoſophy, he was eſteemed an empiric by his contemporaries, and is ſo ſtyled in the writings of that age; although he was ſo little liable to the imputation, that he ridicules the folly of ſtated receipts and general preſcriptions, and ranks them with the tales of old women, and the abſurdities of aſtrology.

Logic and moral philoſophy have ſuffered ſtill more in their hands. When, after the deſtruction of literature in Europe, it had a tranſient revival in Egypt and Arabia, the writings of the Greek philoſophers, Ariſtotle particularly, fell into their hands; whoſe nice and ſubtle diſtinctions and arrangements ſuited the inconſtant and curious diſpoſition of this people, who preſently erected, upon his foundation, a moſt tremendous and bulky ſyſtem of Ethics, calculated to prolong argument, and raiſe the reputation of the diſputant; but by no means fitted for the inveſtigation of truth, or the improvement of morality. The conſequences of this have been highly detrimental to ſcience, as it has introduced a mode and ſtyle of argumentation, wherein victory, more than truth, was the object; the bad effects of which have been ſeverely felt, both in philoſophy, morality, and religion.

I have ſpoken thus far on the effects of a hot climate on the intellectual faculties, as they regard literature. Let us now conſider them with reſpect to inventions and arts.

SECT. II. *On inventions and arts.*

The ſenſibility and vivid imagination of hot climates, has been favourable to ſuggeſting diſcoveries. Thus we find moſt of the uſeful inventions of life were originally derived from thence.

There is great reaſon to believe, that even * language itſelf, at leaſt the compoſition of a regular one, was derived from the Eaſt; and that the art of writing came from the ſame ſource. The art of ſowing corn and making bread, was introduced from Egypt; in which country † Iſis is ſaid to have taught the culture of wheat and barley, and Oſiris that of the other fruits. Bacchus ‡ alſo is reported to have brought the uſe of the plough, and the art of planting vines, and of making wine, from India. The uſe of ſilk alſo was an Aſiatic invention; and the ſtill more important ones of printing, gunpowder, and the magnet, were diſcovered in the Eaſt long before their appearance in Europe. Others might be mentioned, but the above are ſufficient.

The arts of mechaniſm || and manufacture, commonly ſtyled the arts of life, are alſo of the greateſt antiquity; and, in many inſtances, have made the greateſt progreſs in hot climates. The taſte and ſenſibility of that people, are diſplayed to great advantage in the § elegance of many of their manufactures; which far ſurpaſs thoſe of Europe: as a proof of which, the imitations of them are always the moſt admired and ſought after among the European manufactures.

Even war itſelf, conſidered as an art, is of greateſt antiquity in hot climates: and it was not until after a long intercourſe

* Cadmus and Prometheus are ſaid to have brought the alphabet from Phenicia.

"Lo, where the morning gilds the palmy ſhore,
The ſoil that arts and infant letters bore." Pope.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. i.

‡ Arrian, Hiſt. Indicæ, liber.

|| Ferguſon on Civil Society, part iii. § 1.

§ Strabo obſerves the elegant taſte of the Eaſt Indian people in matters of ornament, lib. xv.

with

with the people of the South, and repeated * inſtruction in this art, that the northern invader was enabled to complete the conqueſt of the ſouthern countries.

It may perhaps be aſked, If this be the caſe, whence ariſes that military ſuperiority which the people of cold climates have always maintained over thoſe of hot? To this we may anſwer, That although war, as a ſcience, was better underſtood in the South, thoſe people were always, as has already been mentioned, highly deficient in fortitude and military proweſs. Though poſſeſſed, like the Chineſe at preſent, of the cumberſome apparatus of war, they were deficient in the virtues of ſteadineſs, activity, and reſolution: and where theſe are wanting, it is evident the others could be employed to little purpoſe.

The pride alſo, incident to hot climates, is mentioned by Mr. Monteſquieu as a great cauſe of their inferiority in military affairs. The Perſians, long before the conqueſt of Alexander, had experience of the ſuperiority of the Grecian arms and manner of fighting; yet the flattery of courtiers, and the innate pride of the monarchs, would never permit them to doubt whether a better method might not be followed. The ſame diſpoſition cauſed them to venture pitched battles; which ruined the Perſian empire.

Other cauſes, however, it muſt be confeſſed, concurred to make them prefer the latter mode of deciding a conteſt. The cumbrous parade of a vaſt army, and the uncertainty and difficulty of its ſupport, and the doubtful ſtate of their ſubjects obedience, might lead them to determine a diſpute at once. Lucullus, the

* Mr. Gibbon very properly accounts it a high mark of imprudence in the Romans, and what contributed greatly to the downfall of the empire, to take the northern nations occaſionally into pay, and inſtruct them in the uſe of their arms and diſcipline. When they had united theſe, ſays he, to their own native ferocity and courage, they became irreſiſtible.—Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Roman

Roman general, was ſo ſenſible of the policy of the eaſtern nations, in this reſpect, that when engaged in the war with Mithridates, he ruined that prince's armies, not by fighting, but by ſpinning out the time; and, as * Plutarch tells us, "did not make a mock war of it, but puſhed it on in earneſt, and fixed its ſeat in the very bellies of his ſoldiers." In conſequence of this mode of proceeding, he vanquiſhed that powerful monarch with ſcarcely any battle. Cotta, his predeceſſor, by venturing too raſhly a pitched battle, was defeated both by ſea and land; and, had it not been for the interpoſition of Lucullus, would have been taken priſoner.

Another reaſon why the people of the Eaſt were more forward to venture pitched battles was, leſt the allegiance of the remoter provinces might be ſhaken, as there was no firm bond of union between the ſeveral parts of it, as none were attached to the government from regard or affection. A protracted war, therefore, would give time and opportunity for the different governors and commanders to revolt and change ſides. Tiribazus, for this reaſon, repreſented to Artaxerxes †, that he ought not to decline fighting, when attacked by Cyrus, as the conſequence of delay would be the loſs of his principal provinces.

But to return to the ſubject.—In thoſe arts, likewiſe, which concern ſocial intercourſe, hot climates have always been remarkable. Thus commerce has ever been, and is ſtill, ſucceſsfully carried on there, as in Perſia, India, China, &c. the greateſt proof of which is, that the ‡ balance of trade has always been in their favour; and though this is in ſome meaſure owing to a natural cauſe, it ſhews the attention and prudence of the inhabitants in taking ad-

* Life of Lucullus.

† Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes.

‡ Every nation that has ever traded to the Indies, has conſtantly carried bullion, and brought merchandizes in return.—Spirit of Laws, book xxi. chap. 1.

vantage

vantage of it. Were I to hazard a conjecture, I would say, that this was perhaps intended by Providence, to prevent the utter ruin and depopulation of that country. From the weakness of the government, and cowardice of the people, they are a prey to every invader. If then they had no means of reimbursing themselves by commerce, and of compelling, as it were, their plunderers to refund what they had seized, they must soon be utterly undone: commerce, therefore, serves to them as a national support, if not as a defence; as valour, judgment, and the resources of war, do to other countries. The arts of policy and negociation have been said to flourish most in hot climates; but I believe this to be scarcely the case, in the sense hot climates are here understood. The political conduct, however, of the Chinese and of the Japanese, may prove at least, that they are sufficiently versed in their own interest, and attentive to it.

One circumstance, however, peculiar to hot climates, with respect to the intellectual faculties, is necessary to be remarked, which is probably owing to the increased sensibility; I mean, the early appearance of genius and understanding in the children, and its as sudden and early decline. This is observable in all hot climates, and is particularly remarkable in * South America, where this early appearance of genius is supposed to have a bad effect upon the moral character, by bringing them to an acquaintance with vice, and relish for its allurements, before their judgment and understanding are sufficiently mature to perceive its mischievous consequences. To what this early progress of youth is to be ascribed, is difficult to explain. Does the heat of the climate forward the animal and mental powers in a manner any ways analogous to its operations on the vegetable world, where the plants and trees sooner come to perfection, but are at the same time less firm and durable than those that take more time for the completion of their growth?

* Ulloa's Voyage to South America, book i. ch. 4.

Or,

Or, if this analogy ſhould be deemed fanciful, may not the greater degree of ſenſibility which they poſſeſs, and which naturally accounts for their quicker perception, alſo afford a reaſon, from the levity, pride, and indolence which it inſpires, for the ſmall progreſs they make in knowledge in an advanced period of life?

CHAP. XV.

OF THE EFFECT OF A COLD CLIMATE ON THE INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES.

SECT. I. *On literature.*

WHILST ſenſibility and imagination diſtinguiſhed the literary productions of warm climates, judgment, induſtry, and perſeverance were no leſs remarkable in thoſe of the northern. Hence it is eaſy to conceive, why poetry ſhould be little * cultivated in northern countries; and indeed I know of ſcarce any poems that have appeared there, that deſerve that name.

Sciences, however, perhaps more uſeful to mankind, have there received the greateſt improvements. Thus the ſhores of the Baltic were formerly famous for the ſtudies of mathematics and

* Milton appears to have been apprehenſive leſt the coldneſs of the climate ſhould be adverſe to his poetical talents:

> ——————————— Me of theſe
> Nor ſkill'd nor ſtudious, higher argument
> Remains, ſufficient of itſelf to raiſe
> That name, unleſs an age too late, or *cold*
> *Climate*, or years, damp my intended wing,
> Depreſs'd ——— Paradiſe Loſt, book ix. l. 41.

See alſo a thought of the ſame kind in his Reaſon of Church Government.

aſtronomy, as appears from the labours of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler. They ſeem not to have attained the palm of hiſtorical merit, although the faithful detail of public tranſactions, the treaties and claims of nations, and the genealogies of princes, are, in their literature, amply preſerved. But the want of the conſideration of their political importance, and of the actual influence they have exerted upon human affairs; the defect in knowledge of character, and of the ſprings of action; forbid the admiſſion of theſe narrations as hiſtories, or their being ſuffered to uſurp the rank of the Greek or Roman writers upon this ſubject.

Literature and ſcience, however, have been under conſiderable obligations to the North: mathematics and aſtronomy, I have before remarked, received there the moſt ſolid improvement; and medicine is ſcarcely leſs indebted to them. The works of the great Linnæus will always remain as the pride of northern literature. He eſtabliſhed the utility of ſyſtematic arrangement, both in natural hiſtory and medicine; and thereby prevented much of that confuſion in which both thoſe ſciences were before involved. He formed a more univerſal method of attaining to the knowledge of many medicinal ſubſtances, than was before diſcovered; and diffuſed a ſpirit of enquiry, and thirſt after knowledge, the good effects of which are ſenſibly felt in the preſent age. Incited by his example and perſuaſion, Canada and Egypt, Lapland and Paleſtine, Italy and China, Spain and America, Surinam and the Eaſt Indies, beſides many other places, were all viſited by his pupils, with a view to the promotion of natural hiſtory and medicine. * In ſhort, the benefit ſcience has derived from this great man, can ſcarcely be eſtimated in the preſent age, as the enquiries he ſet on foot, and the branches of knowledge he encouraged and promoted, the future improve-

* Mr. Stillingfleet, in his Preface to his Tracts on Natural Hiſtory.

ments in which muſt in a great meaſure be aſcribed to him, will probably have their uſes diſcovered and acknowledged with gratitude even by late poſterity.

Moral philoſophy, metaphyſics, and logic, have gained but little attention in cold climates. The want of ſenſibility * in the people was unfavourable to the knowledge of character, or the inveſtigation of the motives of action; and the ſubtleties of metaphyſics and logic were ill adapted to capacities, more fitted for active employment than for ſpeculation, and diſpoſed rather to reliſh the practice, than to enquire into the nature of virtue.

SECT. II. *Inventions and arts.*

Cold climates appear to have produced originally but few inventions or arts. Even ſome of thoſe which are the moſt familiar to us, and apparently neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, were unknown among ſeveral nations, who, in other reſpects, were far removed from ſavageneſs. Thus the ſowing and reaping of corn was unknown to the Hunns † and the Alans, and even to the ancient Germans ‡, who had not even a word in their language to expreſs that || ſeaſon appointed by nature for gathering the fruits of the earth.—The knowledge of letters was not acquired until a much later period.

But although the northern nations were ſlow at invention, they were not altogether deficient in capacity, as is evident from their having carried many branches of knowledge to greater perfection

* Et quanto Scythis ſit cœlum aſperius quam Egyptiis, tanto & corpora & ingenia eſſe duriora.—Juſtin. Lib. ii. § 1.

† Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

‡ Cæſar. Comment. lib. vi.—Taciti Germania, cap. xxvi.

|| Unde annum quoque ipſum non in totidem digerunt ſpecies: hiems & ver & æſtas & nomen & vocabula habent; Autumni perinde nomen, & bona ignorantur.—Tacit. Germ. cap. xxvi.

than was done by thoſe to whom they were originally indebted for the diſcovery.

The manufactures, however, of the moſt northern parts of Europe are but few in number; and although ſome of them are extremely good in their kind, and well adapted to the ſituation and neceſſities of the people, they have neither elegance nor variety, and ſhew little marks of ingenuity or contrivance in their execution. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that a hot and cold climate, when in the extreme, ſhould reſemble one another ſo nearly, as they are found to do, in ſome of their effects. Strabo * remarks the talent which the people of the Eaſt Indies had for imitation. The ſame is now obſerved of the Chineſe † to a high degree, ſo as to copy even the moſt obvious defects, without diſtinguiſhing them from the reſt of the work. A diſpoſition exactly ſimilar is mentioned of the Ruſſians ‡.

Commerce, although adapted to ſupply the wants, does not appear to ſuit the genius of a cold climate. I muſt, however, be underſtood to mean, that the people in ſuch ſituations are not calculated for that intereſted and artful attention which the perfection of this buſineſs requires: but their induſtry and perſeverance make ample amends; and accordingly we find, that the northern countries, Ruſſia particularly, carry on trade upon terms nearly, if not altogether, as advantageous as any of the European nations.

The arts of policy and negociation, likewiſe, do not ſeem to be in perfection in cold climates. The frankneſs, openneſs, and native ſincerity, incident to them, is by no means a match for the inſidious and ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the

* Hiſt. Indiæ, p. 717, Caſaubon, Paris Edit.

† Don Antonio D'Ulloa ſays the ſame of the people of South America.—Voyage to South America, B. v. ch. 5.

‡ Hiſt. of Ruſſia by the Abbe Chappè D'Auteroche.

ſouthern climates. Hence the remark, which is adopted by Mr. Monteſquieu, that the northern nations are apt to loſe by negociation what they gain by arms.

So far on the two extremes. But it is not, as Mr. * Fergusſon well obſerves, in theſe only that the varieties of genius, before mentioned, may be clearly diſtinguiſhed. Their continual change keeps pace with the variations of the climate with which we ſuppoſe them connected; and though certain degrees of capacity, penetration, and ardour, are not the lot of entire nations, nor the vulgar properties of any people, yet their unequal frequency, and unequal meaſure in different countries, are ſufficiently manifeſt from the manners, the tone of converſation, the talent for buſineſs, amuſement, and literary compoſition, which predominate in each.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE EFFECT OF A MODERATE CLIMATE UPON THE INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES.

LET us now examine the effects of moderate climates in the above reſpects. It is proper to obſerve here, that although I ſpeak in this work of moderate climates, as diſtinct from hot and cold—which I do for the ſake of order and arrangement—yet that this diviſion is not critically juſt.

I am obliged, in the temperate latitude, to rank countries very different from one another in point of heat and cold, and conſequently differing from one another in diſpoſition, genius, &c.

But the diviſion I have made is ſuch as has been before adopted on the ſame ſubject; and I have placed none in the in-

* Hiſt. of Civil Society, part iii. § 1.

termediate

termediate liſt, but ſuch as do not bear the marks of the extreme of either temperature, in any conſiderable degree. In ſeveral inſtances, where the tendency is towards either of the extremes, I have noticed it.

The intermediate climates have always been eſteemed, both in ancient and modern times, to be the moſt favourable to human nature. Galen * obſerves the great ſuperiority of the inhabitants of the temperate zone, over thoſe both of the torrid and frigid; which appears both in manners and bodily accompliſhments, and ſtill more remarkably in the intellectual faculties. † Ariſtotle alſo takes notice, that extremes of temperature are unfavourable to the powers of the mind, as well as thoſe of the body; and that a temperate region is uſeful to both. Later experience and obſervation has uniformly confirmed the truth of theſe remarks. The arts that have, on this ſcene, been repeatedly invented, the extent of man's reaſon, the fertility of his fancy, and the force of his genius in literature, commerce, policy, and war, ſufficiently declare, either a diſtinguiſhed advantage of ſituation, or a natural ſuperiority of mind. What now remains, is to endeavour to account in ſome meaſure for this ſuperiority, by deſcribing their ſtate and qualifications more in detail.

The qualities before-mentioned, as being peculiar to the inhabitants of hot and cold climates, require to be united, or rather a medium to be formed, in order to conſtitute the perfection of the human character. Thus if, with vigour and fertility of idea, perſeverance, induſtry, and judgment be joined, the union exhibits the higheſt degree of human excellence with regard to the faculties. This takes place in ſome meaſure, and in a general view, in temperate ſituations, wherein the inhabitants partake of the properties of both, without the noxious exceſſes of either. It is

* Quod Animi vires, &c.

† Problem, § 13.

obſerved by Ariſtotle †, that people who inhabit a cold country are full of courage and reſolution, but very defective in matters of underſtanding, and the arts; on which account they uſually preſerve their liberty, but fail in the adminiſtration of government, and ſeldom make conqueſts of their neighbours. The Aſiatics, on the contrary, he ſays, are very intelligent and ingenious in diſcoveries and inventions relative to the arts, but are deſtitute of courage and reſolution; on which account they are always in a ſtate of ſubjection and ſlavery. But the Greek nation, being in a middle ſituation between the two foregoing, partakes of the good qualities of both; for it is both brave and animated, and intelligent and ingenious; on which account it always preſerves its liberty, and maintains a good adminiſtration of the affairs of government, and might rule all nations, could it but acquire one uniform form of government within itſelf. To this we may add, as inſtances, the greateſt part of the reſt of modern Europe, part of North America, the northern coaſt of Africa, bordering on the Mediterranean, and part of Aſia Minor. This is probably the cauſe of that ſuperiority which theſe countries, Europe particularly, have ſo long maintained over the reſt of the world.

SECT. I. *On literature.*

In conſequence of the foregoing qualities, the inhabitants of temperate climates, of Europe eſpecially, have far excelled the reſt of the world in almoſt every article of literature: even in poetry, wherein fancy and invention would be moſt happily employed, the more regular and temperate genius of Europe has produced works far ſuperior to the flighty luxuriance of hot climates. A temperature, however, rather warm than cold, appears to be beſt ſuited to a genius of this kind. Thus moſt of the poets

† Ariſtot. Rhetoric.

have

have lived in either Greece or Italy; and although we have one in our country inferior to none of them in point of genius, yet his partiality for the Italian poets, and the advantages he thought he derived from them, ſhew, that in his opinion, ſuch a ſoil was beſt adapted to the cultivation of poetical productions: even in the fabulous and romantic ſtyle, in which the Aſiatics have been thought to excel the moſt, they have been rivalled, and even ſurpaſſed, by European performances.

A moderate climate alſo, or at leaſt one where the heat is ſomewhat abated in its violence, appears to be the proper region of that faculty of perceiving, reliſhing, and judging of beauty and elegance, which we call taſte. To this a conſiderable degree of ſenſibility is neceſſary, which is indeed the life and ſoul of taſte. But it appears that this may be increaſed to too great a degree. To a good taſte, not only ſenſibility of feeling, but ſteadineſs of judgment alſo, is requiſite; not ſolely for the purpoſe of choice, and ſelection of what is admirable, but alſo to give our taſte a certain degree of conſiſtence and uniformity. This is generally obſerved to be wanting, where the ſenſibility is very exquiſite: accordingly we ſee, in the eaſtern performances, great beauty of imagery and expreſſion; but ſuch a boundleſs paſſion for variety, ſuch inconſiſtency, and ſuch improbability, as detract very much from the merit and praiſe to which they would be otherwiſe entitled. The indolence, likewiſe, which heat inſpires, is unfavourable to correctneſs of compoſition; and though this may be carried ſo far as to cramp, rather than improve genius, it is ſtill better than that licentiouſneſs, and diſregard of rule, that prevails in the eaſtern performances. The government alſo, being deſpotic in theſe countries, gives no encouragement to learning, and prevents many exertions of genius, which would otherwiſe appear. The ſame paſſion for ornament and ſhow, appears alſo in their buildings, and even dreſs. A profuſion of riches is oſtentatiouſly

tatiouſly diſplayed; but little judgment or taſte obſerved in the arrangement.

In the more ſober ſciences, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the ſuperiority is ſtill more viſible. Hiſtory, geography, chronology, &c. are cultivated with moſt ſucceſs in temperate climates. The mechanical part of hiſtory, if it may be ſo termed, has been much ſtudied in the North; but the reaſons I have before given, prevent their labours being admitted on a rank with hiſtory. In geography, indeed, a ſtudy which requires more toil than invention, more labour than genius, the northern nations have been more ſucceſsful; but ſtill the moſt conſiderable improvements and diſcoveries have been always made from temperate latitudes. Natural philoſophy alſo, though great additions have accrued to it from cold climates, has ſtill received its moſt ſolid improvement in moderate ones. Germany and Italy, France and England, have almoſt equally contributed to advance this ſcience; ſome branches of which, eſpecially in pneumatics, appear now in our own country to be making a progreſs more rapid than has occurred in any other ſcience for many ages.

No part of knowledge ſhews the ſuperiority of moderate climates more than Medicine. Hot climates indeed probably gave it birth, and the labours of cold ones have contributed to its ſupport; but the reducing of it to a rational ſcience, the laying of its foundation in fact and experience, the cultivation of the preparatory branches which lead to it, and are indeed a part of medicine itſelf, with moſt of the valuable diſcoveries that have been made in them, have nearly all proceeded from a moderate climate.

Moral philoſophy, likewiſe, and its attendant branches, have received the greateſt improvement in ſuch ſituations. The ſame reaſons which cauſed hiſtory and its concomitant ſciences to flouriſh, have alſo cauſed this to proſper. Our own climate ſeems

particularly

particularly adapted to the cultivation of Ethics in every branch.

Were I to hazard a conjecture, I ſhould ſay, that England appears to be the country beſt fitted for obſervation, of any with which we are acquainted. Without the levity of the French, or the inactivity of the Germans, they poſſeſs a great thirſt after knowledge, and deſire of improvement. Their fickle and uneaſy diſpoſition, alſo, is highly favourable to the advancement of ſcience, as it leads them to be diſſatisfied with the preſent, and of courſe, inquiſitive after what is better in future. This diſpoſition induces a ſpirit of examination and enquiry. The cauſes and ſprings of every thing are attempted to be inveſtigated, and are carefully noticed. Add to this, emulation, and a deſire of diſtinction, which ſuch a diſpoſition naturally inſpires. Perhaps the variability of the government may be one cauſe of the ſuperiority of genius in moderate climates. Governments too ſteady and uniform, Mr. * Hume obſerves, as they are ſeldom free, ſo are they, in the judgment of ſome, attended with another ſenſible inconvenience: they abate the active powers of men; depreſs courage, invention, and genius; and produce an univerſal lethargy in the people.

SECT. II. *Inventions and arts.*

Inventions and diſcoveries, I have before mentioned, appear better adapted to the quick perception and ſenſibility of hot climates, than the more temperate genius of moderate ones. In many inſtances, however, the patient, the judicious, the obſervant attention of the European, has produced the ſame inventions or diſcoveries with the more fertile ideas of his Aſiatic rival. Thus a perſeverance in experiment, though miſguided as to its purpoſe, produced the diſcovery of gunpowder. Chance, joined

* Hume's Hiſt. ch. lxxi.

with obſervation, formed one more uſeful, and nearly as important, viz. printing; and one of equal conſequence with either, the polarity of the magnet, was diſcovered by the ſame means.

The diſcovery, however, which does moſt honour to the human capacity, as being deduced ſolely from argument and obſervation, was made by one of our countrymen, the celebrated *Harvey*. I ſcarcely need here mention the circulation of the blood; a circumſtance which had eluded the ſearch of all the ancients and moderns before that time.

But even if we ſhould allow to hot climates the priority in moſt inventions, it muſt be admitted, that their application to uſe, and their improvement, is due in a much ſuperior degree to temperate ones; and in this reſpect our own has been particularly diſtinguiſhed.

Thus, although the great diſcoveries of the magnet, gunpowder, and printing, have been long known in China and in India, they were little uſed, and of ſmall advantage to ſociety; whereas in Europe they were all quickly brought to great perfection, and applied to the moſt important purpoſes. The ſame holds in a great meaſure with reſpect to manufactures. Theſe indeed are in ſuch countries of the higheſt antiquity, and ſome of them carried on in a very extraordinary and extenſive manner; but then they are chiefly ſuch as require only an indolent employment of the mind or body, and no more than the idle occupation of thoſe whom neceſſity has compelled to procure ſuſtenance by labour, and to whom time is of inconſiderable value. Thus, if we compare their mode of performing their works with thoſe of the manufacturers of Europe, particularly of England, the ſuperiority of the latter, in point of contrivance, ſparing of labour, and excellence of execution, will ſoon appear; nay, in ſeveral articles, thought to be peculiar to the Eaſt Indies, we have rivalled them, and that in ſome inſtances wherein their ſuperiority was before thought to be the moſt remarkable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

THIS ſubject would itſelf furniſh materials for a volume; it can therefore be treated only in a general view.

"Municipal * law, or the law of any peculiar ſtate or nation, is defined to be a rule of civil conduct, commanding what is right, and forbidding † what is wrong."

This is the general or avowed intent of all laws, in every climate and ſituation. But the determination of what is right and wrong, and the rewards and penalties annexed to the obſervation and the tranſgreſſion, with the modes of deciſion, vary much in different countries, ſituations, and climates.

I ſhall conſider the influence of climate upon laws in the following order; which, although in ſome reſpects exceptionable, is as good as any that I can ſuggeſt.

SECT. I. *Object of the law, in hot climates.*

The general intent of all laws, I have before obſerved to be the ſame; but the immediate object is regulated or modified by the diſpoſition of the people or legiſlature.

The leading principle of hot climates being ſenſibility, the effects of that will neceſſarily be the moſt remarkable. Thus every tranſgreſſion is there regarded as a perſonal injury; and the object ſeems more to revenge that, than to repair or prevent in

* Introduct. to Comm. on the Laws of England, § 2.

† Imperans honeſta, prohibens contraria.—Cicero.

future the miſchief committed. Hence puniſhments among the Japaneſe || are conſidered, not as corrections of the delinquent, but as the revenge of an injury done to the prince.

Pride alſo, another offspring of ſenſibility, furniſhes another motive for ſeverity. Thus in Japan, crimes were puniſhed with death, becauſe diſobedience to ſo great an emperor merited the moſt rigorous penalty. Here the vindication of the dignity of the emperor ſeems to be the object. This idea has cauſed ſeveral actions to be puniſhed capitally, that have not even the appearance of a crime. Thus in Japan, a man that ventures his money at play, is put to death. Lies alſo, ſpoken before a magiſtrate, are puniſhed with death; a proceeding contrary to natural defence. The ſame law, though I believe not under the ſame circumſtances, was in force in * Egypt.

Jealouſy, likewiſe, which is derived from the ſame ſource, forms a principal object for the operation of the laws. Hence the laws relative to adultery †, in hot climates, are exceſſively ſevere and harſh. The ſame jealouſy, likewiſe, cauſed ſeveral laws to be enacted for the prevention or diſcovery of crimes. Thus the laws of the Viſigoths prohibited a ſurgeon to bleed a free woman ‡, except her father, mother, brother, ſon, or uncle, was preſent.

The law, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, ſuſpected every thing, when the people became ſuſpicious. Timidity, likewiſe, which is incident to hot climates, forms another object for the operation of

|| Spirit of Laws, book vi. chap. 13.

* Diodor. Sicul. book i.

† In Italy and Spain, the injured huſband is permitted to kill the adulterer. —Gudelin. de jure noviſſim. lib. v. cap. 18.——Adultery was death by the conſtitution of Conſtantine, C. 9. 9. 30.

‡ In Tournefort's Voyages, a remarkable inſtance of jealouſy is related, where he was to preſcribe for the ladies of the ſeraglio, but was only allowed to ſee and touch their hands, and from this information was to cure the bodies thoſe hands belonged to.

the

the laws, which is, to preſerve quiet and peace. This is particularly the caſe in China, wherein every diſturbance or forcible reſiſtance is moſt ſeverely puniſhed This principle alſo produces that ſevere and rigid police which is obſerved in that country. It muſt, however, be remarked, that this rigour ſerves more, and indeed ſeems more intended, to humble the ſpirit of the people, and render them ſubmiſſive to government, than to reform their manners; for, although ſo much care be taken to prevent any public diſturbance or commotion, private fraud, provided it be unattended with violence, is ſubject to little or no cenſure from the law.

Even indolence itſelf conſtitutes the object of ſome laws. Thus Foe, the legiſlator of the Indies, formed his ſyſtem of laws from his own feelings; and they are all relative to man in a ſtate of paſſiveneſs or inaction. This doctrine, however, being derived from the nature of the climate, favoured it again in its turn, which has been the ſource of infinite miſchief. More prudent, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, was the conduct of the Chineſe legiſlators, who, conſidering men not in the peaceful ſtate which they are to enjoy hereafter, but in the ſituation proper for diſcharging the ſeveral duties of life, made their religion, philoſophy, and laws all practical. Hence the doctrine of Foe * is deteſted by the Chineſe. It is an eſtabliſhed rule, that the more natural cauſes incline men to inactivity, the more moral cauſes ſhould eſtrange them from it.

This multiplication of the objects of the law, has produced a great multiplication of crimes. Thus the idea of vindicating the dignity of the emperor, has given birth to the moſt horrid perſecutions in China. It is determined by the laws of that country, that whoſoever ſhews any diſreſpect to the emperor, is to be puniſhed with death. As they do not mention in what this diſreſpect

* Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 336.

conſiſts,

conſiſts, every thing may be conſtrued into this crime, and furniſh a pretext to take away any man's life, or to exterminate his family.

Thus two perſons * were put to death for having inſerted ſome circumſtances in the Court Gazette that were not exactly true. Another perſon of high rank was deſtroyed, together with his family, for having inadvertently made ſome mark on a memorial ſigned by the red pencil of the emperor. Both theſe were conſtrued into diſreſpect. In ſhort, the point among the eaſtern † ſovereigns is, not whether a man has done his duty, but whether the prince is offended with him; if he is, confiſcation, impriſonment, and death, are all in his power.

In the later ages of the Roman empire, when its emperors had, by indolence, luxury, and cowardice, degenerated into eaſtern monarchs, their laws came to reſemble thoſe which we have mentioned. Thus it was enacted by an imperial law, in the reign of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodoſius, that whoſoever called in queſtion the prince's judgment, or doubted of the merit of any perſon which he had choſen, ſhould be guilty of high ‡ treaſon. Perhaps this multiplication of crimes might be cauſed in ſome meaſure by the ſtyle of the law itſelf, which was dictated by a figurative ‖ imagination, a thing never to be indulged in the compoſition of laws. Poetical licence, in the deſcription of crimes, leads to ſanguinary § conſequences.

* Du Halde.

† Letters from the Eaſt Indies, p. 193.

‡ In the later ages of the Roman empire, almoſt every crime was conſtrued into ſacrilege or high treaſon.—Vide Mr. Monteſquieu on the Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire.

‖ The ſtyle of laws ſhould be plain and ſimple, a direct expreſſion being better underſtood than an indirect one. There is no majeſty at all in the laws of the Lower Empire; princes are made to ſpeak like rhetoricians.—Spirit of Laws, book xxix. ch. 16.

§ Principles of Penal Law.

The objects ariſing from the timidity of the people, alſo cauſe a great multiplication of crimes. Many actions, which in moderate governments are accounted indifferent, or at leaſt ſlightly cenſured, are conſtrued into crimes under a timid and jealous adminiſtration. Thus the carrying of arms, although no criminal uſe was made of them, is, in ſome countries, a capital crime. The preſuming to mention, or to comment on any of the tranſactions of government, or even to ſpeak of them with approbation, is, in ſome caſes, rigorouſly, if not capitally, puniſhed.

Jealouſy, likewiſe, is a great multiplier of crimes: even to croſs the way, in the eaſtern countries, when * a carriage, containing women, is paſſing, is, in many inſtances, a capital offence.

SECT. II. *Forms of law.*

Forms of law, in hot climates, are always ſimple, and few in number. The law † there is not conſidered as a ſcience; no acts of ſtate, no books of law are conſulted. The tedioufneſs of ſuits—a neceſſary evil, where the privileges of the ſubject are guarded by a multiplicity of laws—cannot here be made a matter of complaint. Nothing more is required ‡ than the proof of the matter alledged; and the deciſion immediately follows. The judge tries, condemns, and orders the puniſhment himſelf. This method of proceeding is natural to the ſituation and ſtate of thoſe people. Their lazineſs is ſuch, that if the proceſs were long and tedious, they would rather ſuffer an injury than be at the trouble of redreſſing it; and inſtead of a bleſſing, would think it an inſufferable misfortune. The introduction of legal forms and law-

* Strabo, lib. xv.—Plutarch, Life of Artaxerxes.

† Letters from the Eaſt Indies, p. 188, 189.

‡ Shaw's Travels into the Eaſt, ch. iv. § 1.

ſuits

ſuits is complained of as a great hardſhip by * Mithridates, in his memorial againſt the Romans: and the tribunal erected by Juſtinian among the Lazi, to try the murderers of their king, created † great diſcontent.

Another cauſe of the ſimplicity of legal proceedings in hot climates, ariſes from the nature of the government, which is deſpotical. Now this kind of government does not admit of many forms, which would ſerve to embarraſs, if not contradict, the abſolute power of the ſovereign. For the ſame reaſon, the duration of law-ſuits is there very ſhort: it ſignifies little how they are determined, ſo that they are but determined. The Baſſa, in Turkey, after a quick hearing, orders which party he pleaſes to be baſtonaded, and then ſends them about their buſineſs. The government in China goes ſtill further, as they not only puniſh one of the parties, but frequently both, where the cauſe of complaint was but of ſmall importance.

Here, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, it would be dangerous to be of a litigious diſpoſition:—this ſuppoſes a ſtrong deſire of obtaining juſtice, a ſettled averſion, an active mind, and a ſteadineſs in purſuing one's point. All this ſhould be avoided in a government where fear ought to be the only prevailing ſentiment; and in which popular tumults are often attended with the moſt ſudden and unforeſeen revolutions.

SECT. III. *Mode of trial.*

The ſame cauſes that render the forms of law ſimple and ſhort, have alſo a ſimilar effect on the mode of trial. This is in general,

* Juſtin. lib. xxxviii. § 7.

† Agathias, lib. 4.—Vide alſo ſome excellent obſervations on this ſubject in Mr. Verelſt's treatiſe on the impoſſibility of introducing the Engliſh laws into Bengal.

by a ſingle perſon, with whom the determination of the law, fact, adjuſtment of the forms, and puniſhment, is entruſted. Several cauſes concur to make them prefer this mode of deciſion. Firſt, it is more ſpeedy, and therefore better adapted to the indolence and lazineſs of the people. Next, it is more deciſive, and agreeable to the ſentiments and diſpoſition of the reigning prince, who, in ſuch governments, is generally lazy, voluptuous, and ignorant. If the judges were many in number, they might differ in opinion, and be obliged to have recourſe to him to decide between them, a thing for which he would be ill ſuited; and alſo, as deſpotic empires are moſtly large, would create an infinite confuſion. The creation, therefore, of a ſingle judge, as of a ſingle vizir, is almoſt a fundamental law of this government.

There are, however, exceptions. In ſome countries, ſuperſtition has overpowered the genius of the climate and government. Thus the trial by water-ordeal prevailed in ſeveral parts of Aſia Minor, and ſome other ſpecies of it on the coaſt of Malabar and Siam; and a mode of trial equally fortuitous and whimſical in the kingdoms of Pegu * and Monomotapa.

In Egypt, indeed, a mode of trial formerly prevailed, ſimilar to what now obtains in free † ſtates. But from the account given

* Vide Comm. on the Laws of England, book. iv. ch. 27.

† "They elected," ſays Diodorus, "ten judges from each of the principal cities of the empire; the city of the Sun, Thebes, and Memphi; which aſſembly was not inferior to the Athenian Areopagus, or the Lacedæmonian Senate. Theſe thirty judges, on their aſſembling together, choſe one of their number preſident, in whoſe room another judge was choſen by the city of the Sun. It was not allowed to thoſe judges to paſs any judgment, to tranſact any buſineſs, or to puniſh any perſon from motives of caprice or reſentment, or any other partial cauſe, or in any reſpect otherwiſe than the law allowed."—It is remarkable, that the mode of proceeding, and even the ornaments worn by the judges in Egypt, were very ſimilar to thoſe now in uſe in our

given by Diodorus Siculus, Egypt, though it went by the name of a Monarchy, had, at that time, a great mixture of Republican government.

The reaſon of this will be attempted to be explained hereafter.

SECT. IV. *Puniſhments.*

The accounts before given of the object of the law, in hot countries, and of the diſpoſition of the people, afford ſufficient cauſe for theſe being extremely ſevere and cruel.

Thus, where the meaſure of guilt of an offence is rated according to the dignity of the perſon ſuppoſed to be offended, the puniſhment muſt needs be rigorous. Thus, by the law of Japan, almoſt every crime is capital: and the like was formerly the caſe in Peru *. Bakers alſo have been impaled in Turkey † for ſelling bread ſhort of weight, a crime which we ſhould eſteem againſt the police only.

Engliſh courts of Law. The preſident, or chief juſtice, was ornamented with a gold chain. The pleadings were all matter of record, as with us. The plaintiff ſet forth a declaration, expreſſing the matter of complaint, the ſtate of the caſe, and the quantum of the damage ſuſtained. The defendant then put in a plea, after having received a copy of the plaintiff's declaration, in which he either traverſed the fact, or demurred to the law, or pleaded in mitigation of damages. The plaintiff might then reply, and the defendant rejoin; upon which the chief juſtice, after conſulting with and collecting the opinions of his brethren, who likewiſe conferred with one another, gave ſentence. It is wonderful how nearly theſe proceedings reſembled ours, and thoſe of the civil law; anſwering in a great meaſure to the declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, ſur-rejoinder, rebutter, and ſur-rebutter, of the former; and to the accuſatio, replicatio, duplicatio, triplicatio, and quadruplicatio, of the latter.——For the above account of the Egyptians, ſee Diodor. Siculus, book i.

* The Inca in Peru was eſteemed a deity; conſequently, crimes were there a ſpecies of ſacrilege.—Robertſon's America.

† Vide on this ſubject, Mr. Monteſquieu's Perſian Letters, Letter cii.

But

But the puniſhments of hot climates are not only ſevere in the proportion, but alſo in the manner of infliction. Not contented with death, which ought to be conſtantly executed without any additional aggravations, it has been uſual to ſew up criminals in the warm ſkins of beaſts, and in this condition to expoſe them to the fury of wild dogs; in others, the limbs are torn in ſunder by trees, chariots, or horſes; in others, recourſe is had to crucifixions, burnings, boilings, flayings, famiſhings, impalements, and other modes of deſtruction equally ſhocking to decency and to humanity. Theſe cruelties, indeed, have, at times, to the diſgrace of human nature, been perpetrated in almoſt every country; but in hot climates they are permanent, and nearly univerſal.

The reaſon before given, of crimes being underſtood in a perſonal light, is undoubtedly a great cauſe of the frequent infliction of the puniſhment of death, as well as of the inhumanity in the mode of execution. But other reaſons alſo concur. I have before obſerved, that the people of hot climates are of a timid diſpoſition. Now cowardice has been almoſt always found to have a kind of natural connection with cruelty: whether it be from the pride of ſhewing a ſuperiority, or from the deſire of preventing reſiſtance, I cannot determine. In ſome inſtances, however, the timidity, or perhaps the indolence of the ruling powers, joined with a great degree of ſuperſtition, has taken a turn directly oppoſite. The emperor Mauritius made a reſolution never to ſpill the blood of his ſubjects. Anaſtaſius puniſhed no crimes at all. Iſaacius Angelus took an oath, that no one ſhould be put to death during his reign. Theſe Greek emperors, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, ſeem to have forgotten, that it was not for nothing that they were entruſted with the ſword.

The nature of the government itſelf, likewiſe, which is generally deſpotic, favours theſe cruelties. Terror is with them the

ſpring of government; and whatever inſpires this the moſt powerfully, is thought to be the beſt adapted to the nature of the conſtitution.

But this notion, if it be not erroneous in its original foundation, is capable of being carried greatly too far; and, inſtead of remedying the evil, makes it infinitely worſe. Thus Mr. Monteſquieu has remarked, that the exceſſive puniſhments of Japan have corrupted that empire, though deſpotic, by rendering the people ſtill more hardened, obſtinate, capricious, and reſolute. The puniſhment of death, being rendered ſo common, becomes with them no object of terror, and loſes its effect in enforcing obedience. Probably for the ſame reaſon it was obſerved of another empire, in form at leaſt deſpotic, China, that the increaſe of penal laws was a ſure prelude to a revolution.

Another cauſe of the greater ſeverity of puniſhment is derived from the ſtate or condition of the people themſelves under the different governments. In thoſe which are deſpotic, Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, that people are ſo unhappy as to have a greater dread of death, than regret for the loſs of life; conſequently, their puniſhments ſhould be more ſevere. In the moderate, they are more afraid of loſing their lives, than apprehenſive of the pain of dying. Thoſe puniſhments, therefore, which deprive them ſimply of life, are ſufficient.

I hope it will not be underſtood, that from aſſigning a cauſe for theſe cruelties, I mean to vindicate or to apologize for them; I am ſatisfied, that in almoſt every inſtance, they tend to counteract the intent propoſed; and were there no other reaſon for their being rejected with abhorrence, the voice of nature itſelf, which, in every climate, ſituation, and condition, cries out loudly againſt ſuch inhumanity, ought to be ſufficient.

It is proper to remark here, that in hot climates, almoſt all diſputes are of a criminal nature. If I complain of an injuſtice done

done to me by another, the judge or baſſa will fine, or perhaps corporally puniſh, the wrong-doer; but redreſs or reparation for the damage is ſeldom conſidered.

CHAP. XVIII.

EFFECT OF A COLD CLIMATE UPON THE LAWS.

SECT. I. *Object.*

WHILE the ſenſibility of hot climates conſtrued every offence into a perſonal injury or affront, the phlegmatic genius of the North reſolved it into the conſideration of loſs and * gain. Thus the object, in the one caſe as well as the other, was of a perſonal kind. But whilſt revenge was the point in the one caſe, reparation of damage was the object in the other. Hence the proſecutions at law, even of thoſe actions which are at preſent accounted with us to be of a public nature, were then carried on as private ſuits; ſuch as accuſations, or, as they were then ſtyled, appeals, of murder, rape, robbery, mayhem, arſon, &c.

Jealouſy too, the offspring of ſenſibility, which forms ſo powerful an object of the laws in the Eaſt, has ſo little influence here, that even in our country, whoſe laws were derived perhaps from a colder climate, adultery, which is capital by the civil law, is no public crime, at preſent ||, with us; and is only puniſhed as a private injury or treſpaſs.

* The Salic, Ripuarian, and other laws of the northern nations, reduced the iſſue of all cauſes to the reparation of damages; ſo that every proſecution was in ſome meaſure civil.—Spirit of Laws, book xxviii. ch. 36.

|| An inſtance of its being made the ſubject of an indictment, and accordingly puniſhed as a public injury, may be found in the 2d vol. of the State Trials.

Timidity,

Timidity, likewiſe, which furniſhed ſo great an object of attention in hot climates, is here little in contemplation. Whilſt force and violence * was ſo carefully reſtrained in Perſia and India by the ſevereſt penalty, and private fraud ſcarcely regarded, the contrary maxim was here obſerved. Among theſe people, courage and intrepidity extenuated the guilt of an action. Thus, among the Alemans, a ſlave, who had committed a clandeſtine † theft, was condemned to a ſevere puniſhment; but if guilty of a forcible robbery, he was only bound to make reſtitution.

This martial and courageous ſpirit, whilſt it diminiſhed the number of crimes in ſome inſtances, increaſed them in others. Thus indolence and cowardice, inſtead of being favoured by the laws, or influencing their ſpirit, were, in ſome places, treated as capital ‡ crimes, and puniſhed with an ignominious death.

The general tendency, however, of the laws of cold climates, is far from being favourable to the multiplication of crimes, or to reducing them to be of a capital nature. On the contrary, the capital crimes are few in number, and the inferior ones diſtinguiſhed by a ſtudied exactneſs in the proportion || of them to one another. The ſtyle of the laws alſo was plain and unadorned; nor was it the cuſtom of the judges to extend their meaning, or increaſe their ſeverity.

But the form of government, which in cold climates has almoſt always ſome mixture of practical freedom at the leaſt, is, perhaps, the greateſt cauſe of the mildneſs of the law. Terror here, not

* In the ancient Roman law, the private thief was condemned to reſtitution of double, and the open thief to quadruple. The ſame idea prevailed in the civil law—"Qui vi rapuit, fur improbior videtur."

† Law of the Alemans, ch. v. § 3, 5.

‡ Ignavos & imbelles & corpore infames cæno aut palude, injecta ſuper crate, mergunt.—Taciti Germania.

|| Vide the Anglo-Saxon laws—Hume's Hiſtory of England—and Wilkin's Leges Saxonicæ.

being the ſpring of government, there is no neceſſity to excite it by ſeverities, which the regulation of ſociety, and the good of the ſtate, does not immediately demand.

SECT. II. *Forms of Law.*

Legal proceedings, and forms of law, in cold climates, are, in general, plain and ſimple, though not in the ſame degree as in hot ones.

Thus the forms of law in the ancient Gothic conſtitution, and even in the ancient * law of England, which is held to be derived from it, were plain, and few in number; and the like appears to have been the caſe among the ancient Germans.

The active, warlike, and unrefining character of this people, was averſe to quirk and ſubtlety; and from their mode of life, form of government, and degree of civilization, they had leſs neceſſity for complication of legal proceſſes.

The pride, however, and haughtineſs of this people is apparent in ſome of theſe, yet remaining. Thus, among the ancient † Germans, thoſe perſons, who were ſummoned to attend in their courts, thought it beneath their dignity to come on the day fixed, leſt it ſhould ſeem the effect of compulſion; but often delayed it to the ſecond, and even to the third. A ſimilar indulgence prevailed in the Gothic ‡ conſtitution, and is at preſent allowed in the || law of England; in which the perſon ſummoned has three days of grace beyond the return of the writ, in which he

* Vide Glanville de Legibus & Conſuetudinibus Angliæ.

† Illud ex libertate vitium quod nec ſimul nec juſſi conveniunt ſed alter & tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium abſumitur.—Taciti Germania, cap. xi.

‡ Illud enim nimiæ libertatis indicium conceſſa toties impunitas non parendi nec enim *trinis* judicii conſeſſibus pœnam perditæ cauſæ contumax meruit. —Stiernhook de Jure Gothorum, lib. i. cap. 6.

|| Blackſtone's Comm. book. iii. chap. 18.

may

may make his appearance; and if he appears on the fourth day, inclusive, it is sufficient. A regulation of a like kind prevailed in the trial by * battle; in which, if the defendant appeared on the third summons, it was enough.

Thus also the challenge at the coronation of the king of Great Britain is proclaimed thrice by the heralds. And Edgar, in Shakespear's King Lear, appears to fight with Edmund at the third sound of the trumpet. Milton has imitated this practice in his Sampson Agonistes, and made Sampson defy Harapha "thrice to single fight."

SECT. III. *Mode of trial.*

The modes of trial here have been various. One of the most ancient methods appears to have been before a considerable number of judges, who were all the peers or equals of the accused. Thus Tacitus ‡ tells us of the ancient Germans, that criminal accusations were tried before the great council of the nation, in which every free individual, as it seems, had a seat. But when this method, by the increase of states in size and number of people, became burdensome, it was changed for another; in which, however, the same principles were retained, viz. the trial by

* Citius autem si non venerit *secundò* exigetur eodem modo & subjunget in fine (præco) "*venite dies transit ocyor.*" Si vero nec tunc venerit exigetur etiam *tertiò*.—Spelman's Gloss. Vox Campus.—The signal for the engagement was given thrice:

"Thrice sounds the trump, and at the warning blast
"His lance in rest the trembling traitor plac'd."

Orlando Furioso, translated by Hoole, book v. l. 603, 604.

Spelman also tells us, that the signal for battle, given by the Constable, was declared three times. Vox Campus.

‡ Licet apud concilium accusare quemque & discrimen capitis intendere.—Taciti Germania.

jury,

jury. The period of the inſtitution of this piece of juridical polity is not * aſcertained: it appears, however, to be extremely ancient, and univerſally eſtabliſhed among the northern nations; and ſo interwoven into their very conſtitution, that the earlieſt † accounts of the one give us ſome traces of the other.

This method of trial was extremely conſonant to the diſpoſition and genius of that people. The number of the perſons appointed to decide, flattered their haughty and martial ſpirit: the ſame circumſtance prevented corruption and perſonal caprice. Their equality in rank to the accuſed, prevented oppreſſion on the one hand, and indignity on the other; and even gave a degree of ſecurity againſt error itſelf, as it could ſcarcely be imagined that ſo many concurring opinions could prove erroneous: add, likewiſe, that this method ſavoured of a republican form, and was conſequently moſt agreeable to the ideas of a free people. But this mode of trial, though with great propriety ſtyled the pride and ſecurity of the rights of freedom in the northern hemiſphere, would probably have been ill ſuited to the diſpoſition of a people of a hot climate. The indolence which prevails in ſuch ſituations, would make the people look upon their being compelled to be judges on ſuch occaſions, as a great fatigue and hardſhip.

Next, the jealouſy which the people have of one another, would make them look upon this mode of trial with diſlike, rather than with ſatisfaction. Their revengeful and malicious diſpoſition would convert it into an opportunity for the gratification of hatred and ill-will; and their corrupt and profligate turn would ſubject them to the temptation of bribery. The ignorance too, which reigns among them, would make them very unfit for the deciſion of matters that require ſome degree of knowledge. Laſtly, the

* Stiernhook attributes the invention of the jury to Regner, king of Sweden, who was contemporary with our Egbert.

† Blackſtone's Comm. book iii. ch. 23.

republican form of this mode of deciſion, would render it totally unacceptable in deſpotic governments.

Another mode of trial, of great antiquity, is that by battle. This was not, however, peculiar to the northern nations, like the trial by jury, as it was uſed in other countries *, Spain particularly. It was, however, in uſe in Germany †; and was one of the modes of trial in the ancient ‡ Gothic conſtitution.

A great ‖ writer of our own country is of opinion, that it owed its original to the military ſpirit of our anceſtors, joined to a ſuperſtitious frame of mind, it being in the nature of an appeal to Providence, under an apprehenſion and hope, however preſumptuous and unwarrantable, that Heaven would give the victory where there was the right. This method of deciſion was undoubtedly natural to a warlike and brave people, eſpecially one that, from ancient cuſtom, went conſtantly armed both in peace and war; yet it is probable, that ſuperſtition had originally ſome ſhare in it, as Tacitus, who by the way does not mention this mode of trial, informs us, that the Germans were a people much addicted to divination §; and that when one ** nation was about to declare war againſt another, they looked out for a priſoner, who was to fight with one of their own people, and by the event they judged of the future ſucceſs of the war. A nation which believed that diſputes of a public kind might be decided

* Quidam quas diſceptando controverſias finire nequierant, aut noluerant, pacto inter ſe, ut victorem res ſequeretur, ferro decreverunt. —— Quum verbis diſceptare Scipio vellet, ac ſedare iras; negatum id ambo dicere communibus cognatis: nec alium deorum hominumve, quam Martem ſe judicem, habituros eſſe.—Livii, lib. xxviii. § 21. —— Polybius alſo mentions this mode of trial being in uſe in Spain in his time.

† Patercul. lib. ii.

‡ Stiernhook De Jure Sueonum, lib. i. cap. 7.

‖ Blackſtone's Comm. book iii. ch. 22.

§ Germania, cap. ix.

** Germania, cap. x.

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by a ſingle combat, might well think it proper alſo for determining the diſputes of individuals. * Nor was this mode of trial, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, though in the main abſurd, ſo entirely void of foundation, in reaſon and experience, as might be imagined.

Cowardice, among a military people, is univerſally odious, not only as a vice itſelf, but as an indication of the character. It ſhews that a man has reſiſted the principles of his education; that he is not directed by the ſame motives that govern other men; that he neither regards their contempt, nor values their eſteem. In ſhort, it amounts to a contempt of the authority of the laws and manners of the people, and may, in that light, be conſidered as a crime againſt the ſtate in general; which might, perhaps, be the cauſe of the ſevere puniſhment inflicted upon it among the ancient Germans.

Another mode of trial in uſe among the northern nations, and probably derived from the climate, was that by denial, on oath of the party, of the fact alledged againſt him. This ſtill ſubſiſts in poſſibility, though not in practice, in our law, in civil matters. It is a notable inſtance of the ſimplicity † and candour of the people who uſed it, and of the confidence they had in one another. Mr. Monteſquieu is of opinion, that the revival of the trial by battle, by Gundebald, king of the ‡ Burgundians, was to

* What the ancient mode of trial in Ruſſia was, I cannot ſay. It ſeems to have been by judges, and managed in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar to the proceedings of the inquiſition. The trial by battle was eſtabliſhed by law in the time of the emperor Iwan, about the year 1580; but whether it was in uſe before, I cannot determine.—Vide Williams's Northern Governments.

†. It was in uſe among the ancient Egyptians, a people remarkable for probity and ſimplicity of character.—Diodorus Sicul. lib. i.

‡ He ſays, it is to prevent our ſubjects from atteſting on oath what they are not certain of, nay, what they know to be falſe.—Law of the Burgundians.

remedy the abuſe of this method of trial, which eſtabliſhed negative proofs. When an action was brought, and it appeared that the defendant was about to elude it by an oath, what other remedy was left for a military man, who ſaw himſelf on the point of being confounded, but to demand ſatisfaction for the injury done to him; and even for the attempt of perjury? As a proof of this, the Salic * law, which did not allow negative proofs, never admitted the trial by battle. Indeed, the confidence placed in the defendant, by this mode of trial, is almoſt too great for human nature in any ſituation, and was only practicable among a people of a high ſenſe of honour and probity. But when the objects attainable by the perjury became conſiderable, it was neceſſary to be aboliſhed or evaded, as it cauſed a total perverſion of juſtice, and corruption of manners.

The above are all the modes of trial I can recollect peculiar to cold climates, all which are now ſubſiſting in our laws, and were formerly univerſal throughout the whole of the North †.

SECT. IV. *Puniſhment.*

The mode of puniſhment alſo peculiar to cold climates is next to be noticed. This, as I have before obſerved, was in general conſidered by the law as a compenſation for a private injury, and conſequently of the pecuniary kind, or at leaſt in the way of recompence. Thus, among the ancient Germans ‖, public miſdemeanors were

* Spirit of Laws.

† Several ſuperſtitious modes of trial, as thoſe by ordeal, and others, do not appear to be particularly influenced by climate, as they have appeared in every temperature.—See more of this in book vi. on the Effect of the Way of Life.

‖ It appears probable to me, from what Tacitus ſays, that injuries were uſed to be redreſſed, among the ancient Germans, in two diſtinct ways; one by

were puniſhed with fines of corn and cattle; and private injuries might be bought off in the ſame way; even murder might be ſatisfied in this manner, by a compoſition paid to the friends or kindred of the deceaſed.—The ſame ſpirit runs through the whole

by application to the law, as a criminal offence; and the other by compoſition between the parties, as a private injury. In the one caſe, the compenſation is called a fine, (mulcta) a part of which was given to the perſon injured, and the other part to the king, or to the ſervice of the ſtate. In the other caſe, the compenſation is denominated a ſatisfaction, (ſatisfactio) and went entirely to the party injured, or to his repreſentatives. The firſt ſeems to have been impoſed by the great council, and againſt the will of the perſon accuſed. The latter was paid in conſequence of his voluntary agreement.

I know, indeed, that Sir Henry Spelman and Dr. Gilbert Stuart, two authorities from whom it is almoſt preſumption to differ, are of another opinion, and think that part of the fine or wergild was paid to the lord or king in every inſtance. But I am clear that Tacitus is here ſpeaking of two different modes of proceſs. They are mentioned in diſtinct parts of the work, and at a diſtance from one another, and ought not to be confounded together. In the firſt, Tacitus tells us expreſsly how the *fine* or *mulcta* was divided, part being given to the party injured, and part to the king or ſtate. (Cap. xii.) In the other inſtance, the compenſation is called by a different name, (ſatisfactio) which is a term more adapted to a private recompence, and is ſaid to be received by the friends of the injured perſon, without any mention of the public at all. (Cap. xxi.) If any part of it had been given to the public, Tacitus would have mentioned it; and his ſilence is an argument to the contrary. Beſides, Tacitus is here expreſsly ſpeaking, not of public crimes, but of private feuds and quarrels, and the method of reconciling them, and not at all of judicial interpoſition.

The *ſatisfactio* mentioned by Tacitus was, in after ages, called *compoſitio*, which is expreſsly ſaid by Mr. Du Cange to be paid to the perſon injured, or to his heirs, without any mention of the public at all.—Vox Componere.—"Delictum tranſactione & compoſitione interveniente expiare, ac luere, & cum læſo, aut ejus hæredibus, de mulctâ ac pœnâ propter illud irrogandâ, paciſci."—The laws of Scandinavia direct how the compoſition ſhall be divided, but make no mention of the ſtate or prince as ſharing in it.—Ibidem Du Cange.——If, however, the crime was of a public nature, and puniſhed by application

whole of the laws of German origin, in which a ſcrupulous exactneſs is obſervable in proportioning the ſatisfaction to the degree of the offence. Thus the law of the Friſians gave a certain compenſation for a blow with a ſtick, and a larger one for a wound. The ſame is found in the Salic law; and the law of the Lombards eſtabliſhed different compoſitions for one, two, three blows, and ſo on. The ancient Saxon laws were in the ſame ſtyle. The

plication to courts of juſtice, a part of the fine impoſed was given to the king or ſtate: this part was called *fredum*, and was one third of the whole. —Du Cange, Vox Fredum.——It ſeems, however, probable, that it was not uſual to proſecute private injuries in a public manner, until private ſatisfaction had been denied. If any criminal action was tried before a court of juſtice, (ſays Du Cange) and the parties could not agree amongſt themſelves about a compoſition, the judge compelled the perſon accuſed to compound with the accuſer. —Vox Componere.

The laws of William the Conqueror, which were in effect the Saxon laws, and derived from a German original, do not direct the manbote wera or wergild, or mulcta of Tacitus, to be levied, unleſs *he refuſes to make amends*. It appears too from theſe laws, that a private compenſation was allowed in caſes of homicide, as well as inferior injuries. "If one man kills another, and is known to have done it, and *refuſes to make amends*, there ſhall be given out of his manbote to the lord, ten ſhillings," &c.—"If one wounds another, and *refuſes to make him amends*, in the firſt place let him pay his *were*," &c. &c.—Laws of William the Conqueror, § 2.——Even the form of the original writ now in uſe in actions of debt in the Common Pleas, which is very ancient, ſeems to intimate, that the ſubſequent proceedings were in conſequence of the defendant's refuſing to make ſatisfaction in the beginning of the ſuit, as it orders him either to do juſtice by paying the money demanded, or elſe to appear before the court to ſhew why he has not done it.

The words of Tacitus, in each of the inſtances above referred to, are as follows: "Sed et levioribus delictis pro modo pœnarum, equorum pecorumque numero convicti *mulctantur*. Pars *mulctæ* regi vel civitati, pars ipſi qui vindicatur, vel propinquis ejus exſolvitur."—Taciti Germania, cap. xii.

"Sufcipere tam inimicitias ſeu patris, ſeu propinqui, quam amicitias neceſſe eſt. Nec implacabiles durant, luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero; recipitque *ſatisfactionem* univerſa domus, utiliter in publicum,

The laws of * Æthelbirt gave different compenſations for the loſs of the hearing of an ear, for the bruiſe of an ear, for the boring of an ear, and for the cutting off an ear; and in a ſimilar manner for injuries to the noſe and mouth, and other injuries done to the body. Nearly the ſame regulations are to be found in the laws of † Alfred. The ſame mechanical method of eſtimating, and of puniſhing offences, is extended to crimes that relate to ‡ religion. The Daniſh || laws are nearly of the ſame kind. We muſt not, however, conclude from hence, that theſe people were in the leaſt inſenſible to what regarded their § honour. The truth is, that blows at that time, perhaps from the cuſtom of the people's going conſtantly armed, were very common, and eſteemed no ** diſgrace. They were therefore regarded only as matters of private injury, or damage. In the ſame mechanical way did they eſtimate the injuries done to women. If a man by force uncovers a woman's head, he pays a fine of fifty ſous; if he uncovers her leg up to the knee, he pays double; and double from

licum, quia periculoſiores ſunt inimicitiæ juxta libertatem."—Cap. xxi.—Vide alſo Spelman's Gloſſar. p. 569, 570.—Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 254.

A practice ſimilar to that mentioned in the former of theſe inſtances by Tacitus, prevails at preſent in England, where the relator, or perſon who ſues in an information, is entitled to one third of the fine impoſed by the court of King's Bench, on his petitioning for it.

* Wilkin's Leges Saxonicæ. Leges Æthelbirti.

† Leg. Ælfredi, cap. 40. de victueribus.

‡ Northumbrenſium Preſbyterorum leges.

|| Leges Cnuti.

§ Tacitus tells us, that to leave the buckler behind in battle was a high diſgrace; and that many, to whom it had happened, had deſtroyed themſelves. Germania, cap. vi.

** The ſame author tells us, that the Germans were much given to convivial meetings; and that at theſe they were very ſubject to intemperance in ſtrong liquors; and that theſe meetings often terminated in wounds and death. Blows, therefore, muſt often paſs, but it does not appear that they were accounted any ſpecific affront.—Taciti Germania, cap. xxii.

the knee upwards. They ſeem, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, to have meaſured theſe affronts to women, as we meaſure a figure in geometry. Nay, even ſome crimes apparently of the greateſt public concern, were capable of being expiated by money; and the ſole ſecurity for the life, even of the * king himſelf, conſiſted in the largeneſs of the ſum to be paid as a fine or wergild for his murder.

This ſtyle of puniſhment, though in part derived from the climate, was alſo owing to ſeveral other cauſes, ſome of which ſhall be mentioned † hereafter. One of theſe was the warlike diſpoſition of the people, who thought their blood ought not to be ſpilt, except ſword in hand; accordingly ‡ their puniſhments were contrived ſo as to affect the life of none but ſuch as were objects of either ‖ deteſtation or contempt, and with whom conſequently it would be either infamous to aſſociate, or unſafe to truſt with military operations or the defence of their country. The ſame temper yet ſubſiſts in the laws relative to puniſhments in the northern countries. Thus the capital crimes in Sweden and Denmark are ſaid to be very few in number; and in the vaſt empire of Ruſſia, that puniſhment is totally aboliſhed. For the ſame reaſon, the uſe of torture is laid aſide, or at leaſt ſcarcely ever uſed in thoſe countries. A brave and gallant people are unwilling not only to ſuffer acts of inhumanity, but alſo to degrade their nature by public inſtances of inſult to their own ſpecies.

The policy alſo of the government itſelf contributes, I imagine, to render torture leſs frequent: were they to introduce it into their laws, it would probably be uſed in the execution of ſtate-criminals, who, though often neceſſary, even from motives of ſelf-defence, to be taken off, are generally looked upon with ſome de-

* Spelmanni Gloſſar. Vox Wera & Wergildus.

† Vide book iv. and book vi.

‡ This had ſome exceptions.—Vide Spelman's Gloſſar. Vox Wergildus.

‖ Taciti Germania, cap. xii.

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gree of compaſſion; and, indeed, frequently are little culpable in a moral light.

In the Eaſtern countries, ſuch executions tend to break and humble the ſpirit of the people, who are naturally daſtardly; but were ſuch ſpectacles to be exhibited in the North, they would very probably rather rouſe than depreſs their indignation, eſpecially on the occaſions above-mentioned, when there is generally a national party on the ſide of the ſufferer.

But although the puniſhments in cold countries cannot be ſaid to be over ſevere or cruel, there is in ſome of them a degree of impropriety, or unfeeling * indecorum, that is very remarkable, and ariſes probably from the inſenſibility inſpired by the climate. At the beginning of the preſent century, it was no diſgrace in † Ruſſia, for a nobleman to be ſtript and ſcourged by the common executioner, for the ſame crime for which a peaſant would have ſuffered the ſame puniſhment. At preſent, this abſurd and degrading practice is aboliſhed by the wiſdom of the reigning empreſs, whoſe ſage regulations will render her name illuſtrious among the greateſt legiſlators of the North.

* Vide the account of the puniſhment of Madame Lapouchin, in the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth.

† In Perſia, when a nobleman had committed a crime for which a peaſant would have been ſcourged, he was only ſtript by the executioner, and the ſtripes given to his garments. In France, formerly, in caſes relating to pecuniary mulcts, the common people were leſs ſeverely puniſhed than the nobility; but in corporal puniſhments it was the reverſe, the nobleman was degraded from his rank; the peaſant, who had no rank to loſe, underwent a corporal puniſhment.—Vide Principles of Penal law, and Spirit of Laws.

CHAP. XIX.

EFFECTS OF A MODERATE CLIMATE UPON THE LAWS.

SECT. I. *Object.*

WHILST the *revenge of an injury*, or the *vindication of the dignity of the prince*, in hot climates, and the *reparation of a loſs* in cold ones, appear to be the main objects of the penal or criminal law, the *prevention of crimes* is the object in moderate ones.

This was the idea of all the greateſt legiſlators, both ancient and modern. Criminals are puniſhed, ſays * Plato, not becauſe they have offended; for what is done can never be undone; but that for the future the criminals themſelves, and ſuch as ſee their puniſhment, may take warning, and learn to ſhun the allurements of vice. "If," ſays † Tullus Hoſtilius to Mettius Tuffetius, "it were poſſible to teach you to preſerve your faith and alliances unbroken, I would have employed ſuch inſtruction to you whilſt yet alive; *but as your diſpoſition is incorrigible, you ſhall, by your own puniſhment, give a leſſon to mankind to hold thoſe things ſacred which you have violated* ‡." Such a ſuperiority at firſt ſetting out, in chuſing a proper object of the law, may well exalt the juriſprudence of moderate climates far above either of the two extremes; and ſhews, that philoſophy and ſcience, which in ſuch

* De Legibus, p. 977.

† Livii, Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 28.

‡ Vide alſo Cicero pro Cluentio.—Marquis Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, chap. iii.—Principles of Penal law, ch. ii.—Blackſtone's Comm. book iv. ch. 1. § 2.

ſituations

ſituations are moſt cultivated, and to which this juſtneſs of ſentiment and idea is probably to be aſcribed, were not encouraged in vain, or without producing the moſt important advantages to ſociety.

The benefits that ariſe from hence are numerous. Some of them I ſhall mention.—The idea of preventing crimes, produces a proper eſtimation of their degree, which is here rated as it ought to be, according to the meaſure of the injury done to ſociety, as ſuch are * firſt and eſpecially neceſſary to be prevented. It produces a due proportion between crimes and puniſhments, regulated by the aforeſaid ſtandard, and thereby prevents the frequent commiſſion of the moſt atrocious delinquencies. But of this more hereafter. It renders the laws leſs capricious, as being governed and directed by a general maxim, than when rendered inſtruments of revenge, or of gratification of paſſion.

It alſo cauſes them to be compoſed with greater temper and conſideration. A legiſlator, with whom puniſhment is the object, frames his law under a ſuppoſition of its being already infringed; and, warm with indignation at the tranſgreſſion, deviſes the penalty under the influence of that paſſion; ſo that under this ſtate of mind he becomes a party, when acting in the † capacity of a lawgiver.

But a perſon who conſiders only the prevention of crimes, has no ſuch idea; the penalty with him is a melancholy, though neceſſary conſideration: and of conſequence not likely to be impoſed, but on the moſt ſober and diſpaſſionate reflection, and from no motive but that of dire neceſſity.

* Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, ch. xlii.

† Decrees even of a very cruel and extenſive nature are often extorted from the eaſtern princes on ſlight grounds and frivolous ſuggeſtions. Thus the decree of Ahaſuerus, for the extermination of the Jews, was obtained on the ſimple requeſt and repreſentation of a miniſter of ſtate, and without any enquiry into the truth of the facts alledged.

The inhuman and vindictive punishments contrived for crimes, by lawgivers under the above-mentioned prejudices, and the rules of * evidence and practice which they have established, give us but too much cause to think that this opinion is not void of foundation.

Lastly, the idea of preferring the prevention to the punishment of crimes, inspires notions more enlarged and liberal; it tends to render the style of the laws clear and simple; it makes the judge rather the friend than the enemy of the accused; it causes the laws to be made for the general good, and not to favour any peculiar class or rank of men; it causes them and them only † to be respected.

SECT. II. *Forms of law.*

The same circumstances that have inspired a right idea of the object of the law, have also improved the forms and mode of proceeding.

Prevention of crimes being the object of the law, has given rise to that benevolent presumption, which supposes the accused to be innocent, until he be proved guilty.

This was the idea of the Roman law, where every charge ‡ was required to be proved by witnesses adduced on the part of the accuser. The accused ‖ was also at liberty to examine the

* This is observable even in the civil law. It is a maxim there, that the more atrocious the crime, the less proof is necessary; and that it is even allowable for the judge to stretch or exceed the law in prejudice to the accused. "In atrociſſimis leviores conjecturæ ſufficiunt, & licet judici jura tranſgredi." Our law, much to its honour, adopts a quite contrary idea.

† Vide Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments, chap. xli.

‡ Accuſatio crimen deſiderat, rem ut definiat, hominem ut notet, argumento probet, teſte confirmet.—Cicero pro Cælio.

‖ Roſini Antiquit. lib. ix. cap. 21.

accuſer's,

accuſer's witneſſes, and to produce * witneſſes of his own, or exculpatory proofs, in contradiction to thoſe alledged againſt him. He might alſo either deny the fact † altogether, plead that it did not amount to the crime charged in the accuſation, or vindicate it as no crime at all. The civil law of Juſtinian, which was made or compoſed in a more corrupt and ſervile period, gave countenance to an oppoſite preſumption, and even denied a man the power of calling witneſſes in his own defence. A ſimilar mode of proceſs to that of the civil law, is adopted in France ‡, which is juſtly reprobated by Mr. || Voltaire, who obſerves very properly, that in many inſtances it ſeems to point at the deſtruction of the accuſed. Our law however, much to its honour, has adopted ſentiments more juſt and liberal. With that, the idea of the poſſibility of the accuſed's innocence is not excluded until the laſt ſtage of judicial proceſs, the paſſing of ſentence: before that, in the contemplation of the law, he may be juſtifiable, or at leaſt exempt from puniſhment, or the neceſſity of pardon. The ſame benevolent diſpoſition has introduced the practice of public trials §, of confronting witneſſes with one another, and with the accuſed;

* "Tenere debimus interrogationes teſtium & accuſatoris & defenſoris fuiſſe & ejus qui producit & ejus contra quem producuntur."—Roſini, Antiquit. lib. ix. cap. 21.—Quoted from Aſconius.

† Tres erant defenſionis arces aut *factum negare* aut *nomen facti*, aut *jure factum probare* — Erant quædam cauſæ quæ commodiſſime inficiatione defendebantur, ut repetundarum & ambitus; aliæ quæ definitione, ut majeſtatis; quædam jure, ut cædis. Primarum exemplum erit defenſio Fonteii, Flacci, Murenæ, & Plancii; ſecundarum, Cornelii; tertiarum, Miloniana.—Roſini Antiquit. lib. ix. cap. 22.

‡ Spirit of Laws, book xxix. ch. 11.

|| Commentary on Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, ch. xxii. — By the ancient French law, witneſſes were heard on both ſides.—Spirit of Laws, book xxix. ch. 11, Note.

§ "Let us compare," ſays Voltaire, "the criminal procedure of the Romans with ours. With them the evidences were heard *publicly*, in preſence of the accuſed, who might anſwer or interrogate them, or employ counſel. This procedure

accuſed; of introducing negative proofs; and of recovering damages for falſe accuſations. All thoſe laws, which encourage proſecutions, by * ſheltering or indemnifying falſe witneſſes, have a manifeſt tendency to multiply crimes, perjury particularly. The ſame idea of the prevention of crimes, has introduced the practice in the Engliſh law, that no perſon is even *ſuffered* to perjure himſelf, by bearing evidence in any caſe wherein he is † intereſted. This is extended to criminal trials, wherein ‡ no man is invited, or even permitted, to exculpate himſelf by a ‖ denial upon oath.

The law of England is almoſt equally cautious in ſuffering a perſon to accuſe or criminate himſelf, and therefore takes but little notice of extrajudicial confeſſions, which are never encouraged in our courts of criminal juriſdiction.

cedure was open and noble; it breathed Roman magnanimity." — Comm. on Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, ch. xxii.

* Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, ch. xv.

† A ſimilar delicacy was obſerved in the Roman law.—" Teſtium fides diligenter examinanda eſt, ideoque in perſonâ eorum exploranda erunt, imprimis conditio cujuſque, utrum quis decurio an plebeius ſit, & an honeſtæ & inculpatæ vitæ, an vero notatus & reprehenſibilis, an locuples vel egens ſit, ut lucri cauſâ quid facilè admittat, vel an inimicus ei ſit, adverſus quem teſtimonium fert, vel amicus ei ſit, pro quo teſtimonium dat. Nam ſi careat ſuſpicione teſtimonium, vel propter perſonam a qua fertur, quod honeſta ſit, vel propter cauſam quod nequè lucri neque gratiæ neque inimicitiæ cauſa ſit, dimittendus eſt."—Roſini Antiquit. l. xix. ch. 21.

‡ In France they adminiſter an oath to the accuſed, that he may inform concerning his own guilt or innocence. The ex officio oath in the Spiritual Courts in England, was of the ſame nature, and was very properly aboliſhed by act of parliament, 13 Car. II. ſt. i. c. 12.

‖ Principles of Penal Law, chap. xv. — Sometimes, in informations in the court of King's Bench, a perſon is permitted to ſwear that he did not commit a certain fact; but this is only as to the propriety of granting or denying the information, and is not permitted on the trial. The ſame practice is uſed with reſpect to interrogatories concerning contempts of the court; which power is in a great meaſure neceſſary for the vindication of judicial authority.

SECT. III. *Mode of trial.*

The conſideration of the proper object, together with the ſuperior improvement of ſcience, have cauſed the mode of trial, in moderate climates, to be excellently adapted to the diſcovery of truth.

The reader will probably perceive, that I here allude to the trial by jury, the invention of which I have before aſcribed to a northern original.

There is, indeed, reaſon to think, that it was firſt diſcovered in the northern climates, and appears to be naturally ſuggeſted by their government and mode of life. Its uſe, however, was not unknown among poliſhed nations, and in moderate climates, as an ingenious * and learned author of our own country has fully ſhewn; and it may be truly ſaid, that if we ſhould allow the honour of the invention to a cold climate, it muſt be acknowledged that it is in a moderate one that it has been brought to perfection.

The excellence of this form of trial will better appear from an accurate examination of it, than from general encomiums. Indeed the praiſe beſtowed on it by † foreign writers, of the greateſt abilities and knowledge in the ſcience of legiſlation, ſuperſede the neceſſity of any farther panegyric.

But how would the admiration of theſe great men have been heightened, had they had an opportunity of ſurveying this mode of

* Pettingal on Juries.—This mode of trial was, according to this elegant writer, known and practiſed among the Greeks and Romans.

† Spirit of Laws, book xi. ch. 6.—Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, ch. xiv.

trial

trial as practiſed in * England! in which country, if there be any defects in the mode of managing it, they are probably little more than ariſe from the unavoidable imperfection of human regulations.

Happy would it be for mankind, both in point of civil and political liberty, the two greateſt national bleſſings upon earth, if this ſpecies of trial were practiſed by all thoſe nations who are ſenſible of its advantages. But although national objects are beſt underſtood, and even practiſed, in moderate climates, the very uncertainty of political character, attending ſuch a ſituation, communicates a degree of inſtability to this bulwark of freedom. This is evident in many inſtances, particularly in that now before us. Happy will it be for us if we take warning from, inſtead of † imitating, our neighbours, and preſerve this invaluable treaſure as the ſureſt guardian of our ‡ liberty and proſperity!

The other modes of trial, that particularly by judges, though inferior in point of ſecurity to the innocent, and, I believe, of detection to the guilty, to that by jury, are ſtill managed, in moderate climates, in ſuch a manner as to give leſs cauſe of offence than might be imagined. The judges are in general ſeveral in number; they are required to be || diſintereſted in the cauſe, and not to condemn without the teſtimony of two or more witneſſes. But the want of an open and public trial, perhaps the moſt important circumſtance of any, and on which our law lays particular ſtreſs;

* For an account of this mode of trial, and of the advantages accruing from it, and its defects in its preſent ſtate, vide Comm. on the Law of England, book iii. ch. 23.—and Sir Matthew Hale's Hiſtory of the Common Law.

† The trial by jury is now laid aſide in Sweden and Denmark.

‡ Where the ſubject has no guard for his innocence, he has none for his liberty. The knowledge already acquired in ſome countries, or that may be hereafter attained in others, concerning the ſureſt rules to be obſerved in criminal judgments, is more intereſting to mankind than any other thing in the world.—Sp. of Laws, book xii. ch. 2.

|| In the civil law, which is generally followed on the continent, the accuſed has the liberty to challenge or except to the judge. Wood's Civil Law, book iv. ch. 1.

the

the omiſſion of confronting the evidence with the accuſed, and with one another; their not giving their teſtimony viva voce, nor permitting a croſs-examination, render this mode of trial very objectionable.

SECT. IV. *Puniſhment.*

The effect of a moderate climate upon puniſhments is next to be noticed.

In hot climates, as I have before obſerved, the puniſhments are in general corporal, and in cold ones they were formerly almoſt altogether pecuniary, or in the nature of fines or amerciaments. Moderate climates have taken a middle path, admitting, in many inſtances, the neceſſity of corporal, or even of capital puniſhment, and chaſtiſing inferior offences in the way of depriving thoſe who commit them, of the whole, or part, of their property.

The adjuſtment of puniſhments to crimes has been always, and with propriety, eſteemed one of the moſt difficult branches of legiſlation, and ſeems only to have been brought to perfection in temperate climates, as it was there only that the proper grounds of it were well underſtood. Our own country is perhaps the moſt complete model, for the due diſtribution of puniſhments, of any in the world, yet even there many circumſtances ſtill remain, that diſgrace our ſyſtem of juriſprudence.

In England, however, in general, all idea of vindictive juſtice is diſcarded, and puniſhment is conſidered only as a neceſſary, though unhappy method of preventing crimes.—Capital puniſhments are admitted upon the above plea of neceſſity, and alſo as being authoriſed by the divine law; but ſuch executions are not aggravated by any circumſtances of pain or inſult, beyond the ſufferings inſeparable from a * violent death. This medium, though ſcarcely ob-

* None of the ſeemingly cruel parts of the ſentence in high-treaſon, ſuch as tearing out the heart, &c. are ever practiſed now until the criminal be dead. Women, in like circumſtances, are always ſtrangled previouſly to their being burnt.

ſerved in any country except our own, has been recommended by ſeveral moraliſts of the firſt claſs in other countries, ſuch as by Mr. Monteſquieu and Mr. Voltaire in France, and Marquis Beccaria in Italy; which laſt has, perhaps, carried his refinement on lenity to ſuch a degree, as to be ſcarcely compatible with the peace and ſafety of ſociety. On the ſame grounds of preventing crimes, our laws have of late years been very cautious of fixing any laſting viſible mark or ſtigma on any individual, as " * it has been found by experience, that the ſaid puniſhment has not had the deſired effect, by deterring ſuch offenders from the future commiſſion of ſuch crimes; but on the contrary, ſuch offenders being rendered thereby unfit to be truſted in any honeſt and lawful way, become the more deſperate."

For the ſame reaſon, however infamous the puniſhment (as of the pillory) for ſome crimes of civil inſtitution, yet the law at preſent with us infers no infamy or loſs of credit, at leaſt in point of teſtimony, on that account. Thus the puniſhment of the pillory for a libel on government does not affect the competency of the offender's teſtimony, as the ſame puniſhment inflicted for an offence of the nature of the crimen falſi, as perjury or forgery, would have done. This maxim † was alſo adopted in the civil law. This adaptation of the puniſhment to the crime is one of the greateſt excellencies of the law of England, and indeed this prevails in a good meaſure through the other countries of Europe.

Crimes may be conſidered as aggravated, either by their enormity or frequent repetition ‡, both of which require an increaſe of ſeverity in the animadverſion of the law. The diſtinctions in our law relative hereto are in moſt caſes highly juſt and prudent. I

* Preamble to an act of parliament, 5th Anne, cap. 6. repealing the puniſhment of branding on the cheek.

† Digeſt. 48. T. xix. § 26.

‡ In the ordinance of Louis XIV. the puniſhment of blaſphemy is increaſed to the ſeventh repetition.

ſhall

ſhall inſtance one wherein the caſes juſt mentioned are exemplified; I mean the wilful killing of another, but without the aggravating circumſtances attendant upon wilful murder. This, our law conſiders, may happen from paſſion, ſlight provocation, want of recollection, &c. which may palliate, but not excuſe the crime. For the firſt offence, therefore, the law does not demand the forfeiture of life, but expects, at the ſame time, that ſuch an eſcape ſhould be a perpetual warning againſt the ſecond commiſſion of ſuch an offence, which laſt is juſtly deemed capital; otherwiſe the law would be no more than a licence to murder with impunity.

With the ſame benevolent intention (the prevention of crimes) fines are in great uſe in our penal laws: theſe are not, however, to be confounded with thoſe confiſcations ſo uſual in hot climates, but rather in every reſpect oppoſite; the former are never inflicted but upon conviction, the latter often take place on mere ſuſpicion only; the former are eſtabliſhed by law, to be only ſuch in quantity or degree, as a man may pay without ruining his family, or beggaring himſelf; the latter always involve all the ‡ property that can be diſcovered: conſequently the former act as a ‖ warning, and tend to reform the offender; the other often affect the innocent, and by making the object deſperate in circumſtances, diſpoſe him to be ſo in his conduct. In ſhort, one tends to reclaim the wicked, the other often perverts the good. It appears, at firſt ſight, ſomewhat extraor-

‡ Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, ſays of the Aſiatics, that the goods and poſſeſſions, not only of the guilty, but alſo of the innocent, were often ſeized, and their perſons alſo, in order to extort ſums of money, and that for this reaſon, thoſe who went to the wars uſually carried with them what they were worth.—Cyropædia, Book vii.

‖ Our law, by keeping the quantum of the fine in the breaſt of the judges, with this limitation only, that it ſhall not extend to the total ruin of any one, is greatly ſuperior to the old Gothic method, wherein the price of each crime was aſcertained. The latter afforded a ſort of impunity to the rich, ſimilar to the ſtory told by Aulus Gellius, of a man who uſed to ſtrike whom he pleaſed, and afterwards tender them the fine for a blow preſcribed in the law of the twelve tables.

dinary, that the ſame circumſtance, the proſecution at the ſuit of the Prince, ſhould have increaſed the ſeverity of the penal laws in Aſia, and moderated it in Europe. In the firſt inſtance, crimes are conſidered as perſonal offences to the ſovereign, and on that account meriting the ſevereſt animadverſion. In the latter, the Prince conſiders the injury to himſelf as merely nominal, and only as a mode of proceſs, and conſequently, except in ſtate offences, does not proſecute the accuſed, or urge his puniſhment with any extraordinary rigour, or uſe any oppreſſive means for his * conviction; which would be more likely to happen if the proſecution was carried on at the ſuit of the ſubject. This circumſtance alone is ſufficient to raiſe our ideas of the European juriſprudence far above the Aſiatic. There is likewiſe in general, and in England particularly, a great degree of decency in moſt of the corporal puniſhments. Women, and people of rank, are treated with a degree of reſpect even in their puniſhments, and are not inſulted or triumphed over by the loweſt people, as in ſome countries. It muſt however be confeſſed, that theſe improvements in legiſlation are far from being univerſally prevalent in thoſe climates that gave them birth. The revolutions of empires, the different ſtates of the people at different periods, in point of aggrandiſement and civilization, together with divers other cauſes, have prevented or interrupted thoſe improvements in this branch, to which the climate appears naturally to lead. Sufficient, however, yet remains, for us to diſcern that this ſcience is planted here in its proper ſoil, however its growth may be obſtructed by accidental circumſtances.

* There is reaſon to believe, that in ſeveral of the European countries, this mode of proceſs was inſtituted to prevent the practice of private war, and cruelty of revenge.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

EFFECT OF CLIMATE ON CUSTOMS.

THE effect of climate on cuſtoms I at firſt propoſed to have conſidered jointly with that of laws; but as laws and cuſtoms are in themſelves different, though nearly allied, I have ſeparated them.

A cuſtom may be defined, a general practice of performing or omitting any action.

Cuſtoms * differ from laws in ſeveral inſtances.

Firſt, they are not written, or reduced into any † legal form.

Thus the cuſtom of uſing a certain form of dreſs, though univerſal among us, is not a matter of law or obligation, either civil or moral, but merely a compliance with the reſt of our neighbours. Laws, likewiſe, are always dictated by the ſovereign or ruling power, wherever that be lodged; cuſtoms, if I miſtake not, are always derived from the body of the people, being a kind of agreement among themſelves, to follow, or comply with, a certain form or mode of practice. Probably it is on this account that cuſtoms are more influenced by climate than laws.

SECT. I. *Effects of a hot Climate on Cuſtoms.*

Were we better acquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of hot climates, the influence of the latter would be more eaſy to be

* Manners and cuſtoms differ, in that the former relate principally to the interior conduct, the latter to the exterior.—Sp. of Laws, book xix. chap. 16.

† Where a cuſtom affects a right, it has the force of a law, as in the common law of England; but I ſpeak of it here, as concerned about matters in themſelves indifferent.

traced.

traced. In ſome inſtances, however, it is ſtill poſſible to diſcover the connection. Thus the dreſs of hot climates is always * looſe and flowing, their public buildings are lofty and large, and their houſes built in a peculiar manner, to prevent the effects of heat. Theſe may be ſaid to be cuſtoms derived from the † neceſſities of the climate.

Other cuſtoms alſo prevalent there, ſuch as the confinement of women, and their conſequent inferiority, and even ſtate of ſervitude, are deducible from the jealouſy, pride, and ſenſibility of thoſe people, joined to a deſpotical form of government; of which laſt more hereafter.

But there are beſides ſome ‡ cuſtoms, which yet appear to be dictated by the climate, for which it is difficult to aſſign an adequate cauſe.

Of this kind are the ſevere penances which ſome of the Indian ‖ prieſts or derviſes inflict upon themſelves, and the cuſtom of the women's burning themſelves, on the death of their huſbands, in the ſame country.

Mr. Monteſquieu attributes theſe extraordinary cuſtoms to the high degree of ſenſibility with which theſe people are endued. Nature, he obſerves, having framed them of a texture ſo weak as to fill them with timidity, has alſo formed them of an imagination

* Illic et laxas veſtes et fluxa virorum velamenta vides.—Lucan, ſpeaking of the Parthians.

Veſte non fluctunte ſicut Sarmatæ et Parthi.—Taciti Germania, cap. xviii.

The Turks and eaſtern people uſe a ſimilar dreſs at preſent.

† "The looſe and light veſtments of the oriental nations are admirably adapted to the nature of their climate, and the numerous folds of the muſlin turban are the beſt invented defence againſt the burning rays of a vertical ſun."—Irwin's Voyage up the Red Sea, p. 123.

‡ Vide an excellent account of many of theſe, and the cauſes of them, in Shaw's Travels into Barbary and the Levant.

‖ See more on this ſubject when we come to ſpeak of the effect of climate on religion.

ſo lively, that every object makes a ſtrong impreſſion upon them: that delicacy of organs that renders them apprehenſive of death, contributes to make them dread a thouſand things worſe than death; the very ſame ſenſibility induces them to fly, and to dare, all * dangers.

Other reaſons, however, of a more particular kind, here concur. † Strabo and ‡ Diodorus tell us, that ſome people thought the latter of theſe cuſtoms was introduced to prevent the poiſoning of huſbands by their wives, which, Xenophon ſays, was a frequent cuſtom in the Eaſt; but this Strabo thinks not to be the true cauſe. If, however, we conſider the ſtate and opinions of that people, this cuſtom, horrid and barbarous as it ſeems, will not appear ſo extraordinary. Suicide was not uncommon in India. The belief of a future ſtate, and that thoſe who died at the ſame time, ſhould attend their companions in another life, in the ſame capacity (which was the old doctrine of the || Scythians, and of the American Indians at preſent) account ſufficiently why they ſhould wiſh to die at the ſame time with thoſe with whom they were connected in the preſent life. This would naturally ariſe, alſo, from a ſenſe of female weakneſs, when their ſupport was gone, which would produce a deſpondence in the widow; and with this a ſenſe ** of glory, and fear of ſhame, to which ſuperſtition might be added, would co-operate. Fire was there a common mode of a voluntary death, as being eſteemed a purifier, as it now is by the Mohammedans. Calanus, the Indian philoſopher, burnt himſelf in the preſence of Alexander, and the Bramins burn themſelves at this day. Jealouſy

* Spirit of Laws, book xiv. ch. 3.

† Lib. xv.

‡ Lib. xvii. p. 610. and lib. xix. p. 688.

|| Herodotus, lib. iv.

** Strabo and Diodorus tell us, that it was held a diſgrace for the Indian women not to burn themſelves on the death of their huſbands.—Lib. xv. Strabonis, & Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix.

might,

might, perhaps, here concur. A man would not allow his wife to be connected with another, even after he was no more.

The cuſtoms of hot climates, as well as their manners, are in general extremely permanent. Thus thoſe of the * Eaſt are nearly the ſame now that they were two thouſand years ago. Their dreſs, at that time, was a looſe robe, and a † turban upon the head, as at preſent. It was cuſtomary then, as now, for the prince to ſeclude ‡ himſelf from the public eye, and to live confined in his palace.

It was uſual formerly, as it is at preſent, for the courtiers to attend in the ‖ gate of the palace; a cuſtom ſaid to be introduced by the firſt Cyrus, but probably of much older date. The courts

* The Arabs, ſays Dr. Shaw, retain a great many of thoſe manners and cuſtoms that we read of in ſacred as well as in profane hiſtory. For if we except to their religion, they are the very ſame people that they were two or three thouſand years ago, without having embraced any of thoſe novelties, either in dreſs or behaviour, which have had ſo many revolutions among the Turks and Moors.—Shaw's Travels, p. 227.—See alſo a very ſenſible letter on this ſubject in Mrs. Kinderſley's Letters from the Eaſt Indies, Letter lxii.

† Herodotus, book iii. —— It is cuſtomary through all the Eaſt, ſays Sir John Chardin, to gather together an immenſe quantity of furniture and cloaths, for their faſhions never alter.——It is the cuſtom at preſent, as it was in ancient times, to paint the hair and edges of the eye-lids with ſtibium, or the powder of lead ore.—Shaw's Travels, p. 294.—See too the Notes to the Biſhop of London's Tranſlation of Iſaiah, ch. iii. verſe 16.

‡ Vide Herodotus's account of Deioces, King of Media, lib. i.—Juſtin's account of the Perſians, book i. ch. 9.—and Strabo's account of the Ethiopians, book xvii.

‖ Hence, ſitting in the king's gate, was a mark of honour, probably, as denoting an attendance upon the king. Thus Mordecai the Jew ſat in the gate of king Ahaſuerus, and Daniel in that of Nebuchadnezzar; and Xenophon, both in the Expedition of Cyrus, and in the Cyropædia, ſpeaks of the attendance of the principal courtiers at the king's gate. Εφοιτων μεν ουν επι τας θυρας κυρου οι ευτιμοι συν τοις ιπποις και ταις αιχμαις.—Cyropædia, l. 8.—The ſame cuſtom is in uſe in the Eaſt at preſent, and in Barbary, as we are told by Dr. Shaw; who is of opinion, that the court of the Grand Seignior was called the Porte from hence.—Shaw's Travels, p. 253, 4to edition.

of

of juſtice alſo, were then held in the gate of the palace, as * they are in the preſent age.

It was alſo the cuſtom of the Medes †, in very ancient times, to ſend to ſtrangle a governor who had incurred the diſpleaſure of the emperor; and the ſame practice exactly is in uſe at preſent.

Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, both of them mention the Indian women burning themſelves at the death of their huſbands: and the circumſtances ‡ attending this horid ceremony, are deſcribed by the latter of theſe authors to have been almoſt exactly the ſame with thoſe now practiſed. Numerous inſtances beſides might be produced, many of which are taken notice of in Dr. Shaw's Travels to the Levant and Barbary.

* Hence, the expreſſions in ſcripture,—"unto the elders of the city in the gate." —Deuteronomy, xxii. 15. and xxv. 7. —— "They ſhall not be aſhamed when they ſpeak with their enemies in the gate."—Pſalm cxxvii. —— "Lay a ſnare for him that reproveth in the gate." — Iſaiah, xxix. 21. —— "They hate him that rebuketh in the gate." — Amos, v. 10. —— Homer, likewiſe, makes Priam ſit with his counſellors in the Scæan gate. And Plutarch tells us, that at Rome, ſome of the trials, even of capital offences, were in the gates of the city. Thus Manlius Capitolinus was tried in the gate. — Plutarch's life of Camillus. —— Dr. Shaw tells us, that at Algiers the courts of juſtice are now held in the gate of the palace, exactly as formerly. It is remarkable, that even in our own country, the priſons were formerly moſtly in the gates of towns: perhaps from ſome idea of this kind. Newgate, Ludgate, and the Gatehouſe, in London, were of this ſort; and numerous inſtances might be brought from other places.

† Vide Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

‡ Diodorus tells us, that the burning was quite voluntary, and that the women contended for it as an honour. — The widow was attired in her beſt dreſs and ornaments, and crowned with a crown, when ſhe was led to the pile: ſhe there diſtributed her ornaments amongſt her friends, and took leave of them; and being placed by her next relation on the pile, ſhe then leaned on her deceaſed huſband's body, and endured the flames without ſhrinking, or ſhewing the leaſt ſign of impatience or feeling of any kind.—Diodorus, book xix. —— An account nearly ſimilar, but of a woman of an inferior rank of life, is given in the Annual Regiſter for 1777.

This immutability of the cuſtoms in theſe climates, is owing to ſeveral cauſes. Firſt, the regularity of the climate itſelf, which is ſubject to far leſs variety than thoſe are which lie in a more temperate latitude, ſo that their way of life throughout the whole year is nearly uniform.

Next, the delicacy of the organs of ſenſation, which renders theſe people ſo ſuſceptible of every impreſſion, is accompanied alſo with a ſort of lazineſs of the mind, naturally connected with that of the body, by which they become incapable of any action or effort. From this it is eaſy to comprehend, that when the ſoul has once received a ſtrong and repeated impreſſion, it can hardly change it. Hence the amazing force of habit in thoſe countries. Every repetition of a practice, impreſſes it ſtill more ſtrongly; and, like what Mr. || Burke ſays of the ſame effect of the ſame cauſe operating on mad-men, "their hurry of ſpirits, (ariſing from too great ſenſibility) unreſtrained by the curb of reaſon, continues to the end of their lives."

This, perhaps, may be the cauſe of ſome of the above-mentioned ſeeming contradictions in the character of theſe people.

Another cauſe of the permanence of the cuſtoms in theſe countries is, their being united with religion and the laws. In India, the religion, laws, and cuſtoms, are all the ſame; every uſage is a precept of religion, and a maxim of juriſprudence; and the ſame is true of China.

Mr. Monteſquieu * is of opinion, that the difficulty of writing has been one cauſe which has contributed to imprint the cuſtoms of the Chineſe more deeply on their minds, as it employs their attention through life, and is neceſſary to enable them to read and underſtand the books in which theſe cuſtoms are contained.

|| Sublime and Beautiful, part ii. § 8.

* It is this, ſays that writer, which has baniſhed lazineſs, eſtabliſhed emulation, and cultivated a love of learning.—Spirit of Laws.

Another

Another cauſe aſſigned by this † writer is, that theſe rites or cuſtoms having nothing in them that is ‡ ſpiritual, but being merely rules of common practice, are more adapted to convince and ſtrike the mind, than things merely || intellectual. This is eſpecially the caſe in warm climates, where ſenſible objects make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion.

Cuſtoms, likewiſe, in hot climates, are very univerſal, at leaſt through the more civilized parts. Thus the ſame mode of life and cuſtoms prevails in a good meaſure, through the Eaſt; and the vaſt empire of China is under the direction of an uniform cuſtom, even in the moſt minute articles. The reaſon given above for the permanence of the cuſtoms, accounts ſufficiently for their univerſality.

SECT. II. *Effect of a cold climate on cuſtoms.*

Cold climates, as well as hot, influence the cuſtoms of a people: though not, I think, ſo powerfully, univerſally, or uniformly.

Thus the form of dreſs, in cold climates, as well as in hot, is probably a cuſtom ſuggeſted by the climate. This, though it has varied much in its form, had probably, in its origin, a conſiderable reſemblance to our preſent mode; at leaſt to the dreſs in uſe about two hundred years ago. Thus Tacitus tells us, that the dreſs of the * Germans, in his time, was not looſe and flowing, like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but cloſe and tight to the body, and allowing the ſhape of all the limbs to be diſtinguiſhed

† Spirit of Laws, book xix. ch. 17.

‡ This will be farther explained afterwards, when we come to ſpeak of the effect of climate on religion.

|| This ſeems to have been the opinion of Cicero:—"Et ſi omnia præcepta philoſophiæ referuntur ad vitam arbitramur nos & publicis & privatis in rebus ea præſtitiſſe quæ ratio & doctrina præſcripſerit."—De Natura Deorum, lib. i.

* Germania, cap. xvii.

through it. The dreſs of the German women, as deſcribed by that author, reſembles the European dreſs in the preſent age ſtill more nearly. Their garments had no ſleeves, but the arms were naked from the elbow to the wriſt, and the upper part of the neck bare alſo. It is difficult to conceive how this form of dreſs came to be choſen for a cold climate. Perhaps it was on account of its being better adapted to ſome kinds of domeſtic induſtry, as waſhing cloaths, &c.

The learned Dr. Arbuthnot is of opinion, that the air, or rather the temperature, has ſome influence in forming the nature of the language. The ſerrated cloſe way of ſpeaking of the northern nations, may be owing to their reluctance to open their mouths wide in cold air, which muſt make their language abound in conſonants. Whereas, from a contrary cauſe, the inhabitants of † warmer climates opening their mouths wider, muſt form a ſofter language, abounding in vowels.

The attachment of the people of cold climates to their cuſtoms, is far leſs than in hot. The Czar Peter the Firſt, accompliſhed an almoſt entire change in the manners and cuſtoms throughout the vaſt empire of Ruſſia, and this without any great oppoſition, or the being obliged to have recourſe to arms. An attempt of the like kind in China ‡, though far leſs extenſive, produced a revolution in the ſtate. If we conſider the different characters of the people, the former ſtrong and courageous, the latter weak and effeminate, we may judge with how much greater eaſe the cuſtoms were likely to be impoſed in China than in Ruſſia: had it not been, that where the power of reſiſtance was greateſt, the diſpoſing cauſe was leaſt: and where that power was leaſt, its ordinary deficiencies were compenſated by the cauſe diſpoſing to reſiſt, their attachment to cuſtoms, being ſo much greater.

† Arbuthnot concerning the Effects of Air upon Human Bodies, ch. vi. § xx.

‡ An attempt of one of the Chineſe emperors, to oblige his ſubjects to pare their nails and cut their hair, produced a revolution.—Du Halde.

SECT.

SECT. III. *Effect of moderate climates on cuſtoms.*

Moderate and temperate climates can ſcarcely be ſaid to have any cuſtoms peculiar to them. Their uſages or practices, likewiſe, are extremely || mutable, at one time leaning towards thoſe of the colder, and at others towards thoſe of warmer climates, accordingly as increaſe of dominion, riches, or influence of any particular ſtate, and a thouſand other circumſtances, lead or direct.

CHAP. XXI.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SECT. I. *Effects of a hot climate.*

THE influence of climate on the form of government is no leſs powerful and extenſive, than in any of the other reſpects above-mentioned.

Where the heat of the ſun prevails to a great degree, the government, except where particular cauſes (ſuch as I ſhall hereafter mention) have intervened, has been always and uniformly † deſpotic.

|| The celebrated author of the Perſian Letters, has made the ſudden and frequent changes of the faſhion and cuſtoms at Paris, an object of the greateſt ſurpriſe to the Perſian traveller.

† Felices Arabes, Medique Eoaque tellus,
Quam ſub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis.
LUCANI, lib. vii. l. 442.

As knowledge and ſcience were firſt known in the Eaſt, it is poſſible that Salluſt, Juſtin, Cicero, and ſome other writers, might draw from thence the idea, that kingly government was the moſt ancient of any.

ſpotic. This has been the ſtate of the continent of ‡ Aſia, and of Africa (Carthage, and perhaps Cyrene, excepted) from the earlieſt times, and appears likewiſe to be the condition of the warmer parts of America.

This ſeems eaſily deducible from the effects of heat on the human body, before recited.

The preſervation of liberty, either civil or political, requires national vigour and exertion in the ſupport of thoſe privileges to which the people have aſſumed a claim; and without courage and reſolution, no effectual ſupport can be given. If multitudes, therefore, as in the timid empires of the Eaſt, ſhrink, either before a foreign invader, or the ambition of a fellow citizen, what wonder is it that encroachments ſhould take place? Laws and forms of government are but ſlight barriers, unleſs ſupported by ſteadineſs and reſolution; and, inſtead of contributing to the ſupport of liberty, often furniſh only a pretence to make the government more deſpotic ‖, oppreſſive, and tyrannical, by the preſervation of the ancient form and appearance.

The indolence, likewiſe, of the people of hot climates, has contributed greatly to produce this form of government.

The preſervation of liberty requires not only courage and re-

Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit.) — Salluſtii Bell. Catalinar.

Principio rerum, gentium nationumque imperium, penes reges erant.

Populus nullis legibus tenebatur, arbitria principum pro legibus erant.—Juſtin, lib. i.

Omnes antiquæ gentes regibus quondam paruerunt.—Cicer. de Leg. l. iii.

‡ Vides quam libenter Syri inſerviunt aliis nationibus, contra vero quantus amor libertatis in Celtarum populis.—Julian apud Cyrillum.——"Much the greateſt part of Aſia is under a kingly government." — Hippocrates de aeribus, aquis, & locis, § xxxix. & § liv.——Strabo ſays, the people of both Aſia and Africa were uſed to be governed by kings, lib. vii.

‖ This was the ſtate of the Roman government under ſome of the emperors. Tiberius executed all his bloody and execrable purpoſes under pretence of the authority of the ſenate.

ſolution, but a conſtant and unremitting attention, that no breach be made in the conſtitution, or encroachment upon private property. But the lazineſs of this people is ſuch, that injuries are more tolerable than the trouble of redreſſing them; and they think it eaſier to ſubmit to the violence or wrong, than to undergo the * fatigue of procuring relief by aſſerting a right.

The ſimplicity of a deſpotic government, alſo, is very agreeable to a people of this diſpoſition. Liberty requires a number of forms in the deciſion of a diſpute; and that no puniſhment be inflicted, or property diſpoſed, without a certain ceremonial of juſtice. Every thing there is conſidered as governed and directed by laws made antecedent to the event. This naturally gives birth to altercation and diſpute concerning the meaning of theſe laws, and prolongs the time of deciſion. But, as I have before remarked, the ſimple and ſpeedy determination incident to a deſpotic government, is more agreeable to the manners and diſpoſition of the people, and compenſates in ſome meaſure for the precarioufneſs of their liberty and property.

This indolence forms, perhaps, the beſt apology for deſpotiſm and ſervitude that can be offered. In countries † where the heat is exceſſive, it enervates the body to ſuch a degree, and renders men ſo ſlothful, that nothing but the fear of chaſtiſement can oblige them to perform any laborious duty. Slavery is therefore more reconcileable to reaſon; and the maſter being as lazy, with reſpect to his ſovereign, as the ſlave is to his maſter, this adds a political to a civil ſlavery.

The general depravity of manners alſo, among the people of hot climates, is another, and a principal cauſe why their government is deſpotic. It has been well obſerved, that the rules of deſpotiſm were made for corrupted men; and this ſpecies of govern-

* Slavery is there more ſupportable, than the vigour of mind neceſſary for human conduct.—Spirit of Laws, book xiv. ch. 3.

† Spirit of Laws.

ment,

ment, indeed, comes naturally in the progreſs of a continued and growing corruption. Were liberty to be offered to a people in ſuch a ſtate, it would be only an aggravation of their miſery, by removing many of the checks to luſt, avarice, and rapacity.

A free government can only be maintained, where individuals have ſome degree of confidence in one another. But there can be no confidence in a corrupt ſociety, but of neceſſity a mutual diſtruſt; conſequently, ſuch a form could not ſubſiſt.—The project of beſtowing * liberty upon a people actually ſervile, is, perhaps, of all others the moſt difficult; and requires moſt to be executed in ſilence, and with the deepeſt reſerve. Men are qualified to receive this bleſſing only as they are made to apprehend their own rights, and to reſpect the juſt pretenſions of mankind; in proportion as they are willing to ſupport, in their own perſons, the burden of government and of national defence, and are willing to prefer the engagements of a liberal mind, to the enjoyments of ſloth, or the deluſive hopes of a ſafety purchaſed by ſubmiſſion and fear. For theſe reaſons, the deſpotic form of government has always prevailed through the Eaſt. Revolutions, indeed, have often taken place; but theſe have only produced a change of maſters, without cauſing any alteration in the nature of the government.—This uniformity is owing to the ſame cauſes that produced the ſame effects on the laws and cuſtoms; and particularly to that policy in the legiſlators, that connected the manners, laws, cuſtoms, form of govenment, and religion, together, and thereby rendered their overthrow nearly impracticable.

Probably it was owing to an obſervation of theſe circumſtances, that Alexander the Great, after having conquered Perſia, inſtead of attempting to new model the government, according to the plan of the Macedonian or Grecian ſtates, as he was adviſed by Ariſtotle, not only left it in its ancient form, but himſelf adopted, and obliged his followers to conform to the Perſian model and cuſ-

* Ferguſon on Civil Society.

toms,

toms, and even to assume the habit of that country: a policy which has always been much applauded, and which appears to great advantage, if we consider that Alexander herein acted contrary to the advice of his principal counsellors; which could only proceed from his greater and more penetrating genius, perceiving the necessity of such conduct. The consequence of this management was, that, at his death, whilst his other dominions were disturbed by intestine commotions, not a single province of Persia revolted.

Mr. Montesquieu *, on this occasion, draws a comparison between Alexander and Julius Cæsar, in which the Macedonian prince appears to great advantage. The Roman general, he observes, by attempting to imitate the Asiatic monarch, flung his fellow-citizens into a state of despair, for a matter of mere ostentation; the Macedonian prince, by the same imitation, did a thing which was quite agreeable to his original scheme of conquest.

The connection between the form of government, and the customs, of hot climates, appears remarkably in the circumstance of the † confinement, and consequent state of subjection, of the women.

Despotism requires, above all things, that a particular regard should be paid to its tranquillity, and, where the extreme subordination calls for it, it is absolutely necessary to confine the women, as their intrigues would prove fatal to their husbands. A government, which has not time to examine into the conduct of its subjects, views them with a suspicious eye, merely because they appear at all, and suffer themselves to be known. Let us only suppose that the levity of mind, the indiscretions, the tastes and caprices of our women, attended by their passions of a higher and lower kind, with all their active fire, and that full liberty with which they ap-

* Spirit of Laws, book x. ch. 14.

† The confinement of the women in the East is also said to be necessary, in order to preserve their morals.—Sp. of Laws, book xvi. ch. 10.

pear among us, were conveyed into an eaſtern government; where could be the father of a family, that could enjoy a moment's repoſe? The men would be every where ſuſpected, every where enemies; the ſtate would be overturned, and the kingdom overflowed with rivers of blood.

It ſeems extraordinary at firſt ſight, that whilſt the power of huſbands over their wives is ſo great, ſo little attention ſhould be paid in theſe countries towards enforcing paternal authority. There, however, appears a reaſon for this, founded on the nature of the government.

In a ‡ republic, where morality and virtue are of great conſequence, and, as it were, its ſupports, paternal authority is generally in high reſpect, as conducing to that end; but in deſpotic governments, where virtue and public ſpirit are, as it were, oppoſite to the principles of the conſtitution, no attention is paid to the ſupport of paternal authority.

This authority would alſo be dangerous to be encouraged under that form of government, on another account.

Fear is the principle of deſpotiſm, and the nature of it requires, that it ſhould be confined to a ſingle object, the ſovereign. Now if paternal authority were eſtabliſhed, the ſubject would be diſtracted between the obedience due to his father, and that to his ſovereign, and conſequently the tranquillity and uniformity of the government would be deſtroyed, and a different object of regard eſtabliſhed; a thing incompatible with this form of government.

It is likewiſe very probable, that the polygamy that prevails through the Eaſt, would be a powerful cauſe of the relaxation of the attachment between parents and their children; the variety of

‡ Republican governments are not poſſeſſed of a force ſo coercive as other governments; the laws, therefore, muſt ſupply this defect by ſome means or other, and this is done by paternal authority. But deſpotiſm, whoſe ſpring is fear, is of itſelf ſufficiently coercive, and wants no aid from paternal authority.—Vide Sp. of Laws, book v. ch. 7.

the

the connections, and the mutual jealouſies between the different families, would, we might imagine, tend to deſtroy that confidence, on which this regard depends.

SECT. II. *Effect of a cold climate on the form of government.*

From what has been ſaid of the effects of cold upon the human body, we might be led to imagine, that its influence on government would be totally oppoſite to that of heat; and where the cold is not in the extreme, this is really the caſe; but when that is exceſſive, its effects in a great meaſure reſemble thoſe of extreme heat.

The diſpoſition of mankind is prepared for ſervitude in either extreme of temperature. In the one, the inactivity of the people makes them think no evil ſo great as exertion and reſiſtance, and their ſenſibility magnifies the difficulty and danger of every ſtep of this kind. In the other, the inſenſibility is ſo great, as to make them diſregard the progreſs of deſpotiſm, and perhaps not feel its effect until reſiſtance be too late.

The maintenance of liberty demands not only reſolution and good intention, but a vigilant and || conſtant regard to the proceedings and buſineſs of government. If this vigilance be ever intermitted, one incroachment is pleaded in behalf of another, and the people are defrauded of their freedom before any alarm is given of its being in danger.

In hot climates, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, the ſpirit is ſubdued by fear of the future; in cold ones, it is not rouſed, even by ſenſe of the preſent.

But although the government of countries in the extreme of cold,

|| Tyranny is ever feeble and ſlow at its commencement, as in the end it is active and lively; which at firſt ſtretches out a hand to aſſiſt, and exerts afterwards a multitude of arms to oppreſs.—Sp. of Laws.

may appear equally deſpotic with thoſe in the extreme of heat, (that is, in neither is there any conſtitutional bar to the will of the prince) yet the ſubjection in cold climates is by no means ſo abject as in hot ones. The princes themſelves, not being enervated by the climate, are more brave and courageous in their perſons, and, of conſequence, leſs ſuſpicious and tyrannical. They are not endued with much ſenſibility or ſubtlety, and therefore leſs prone to court-intrigue, to which multitudes are ſacrificed in the deſpotic empires of the Eaſt.

They are not, likewiſe, ſo indolent as to truſt their affairs entirely to a * prime miniſter; but generally ſuperintend them themſelves: whence their authority is leſs ſubject to be proſtituted to the gratification of avarice or private reſentment, which is one of the greateſt aggravations of the miſery of deſpotiſm.

Jealouſy too has ſcarcely any place among them, and thus another ſource of cruelty is cut off.

Laſtly, their acquaintance with the character of the people warns them againſt any very violent or injurious exertions of power. Their ſubjects, though not eaſily rouſed, are not inſenſible, and upon an adequate provocation may exert themſelves; and in ſuch a caſe their reſentment cannot fail of being very dangerous, as being very durable, and, by their bravery and reſolution, furniſhed with the means of its gratification.

It was, probably, from ſome ſuggeſtion of this kind, that the Ruſſian government, ſince the country was in ſome meaſure civiliſed, and arms put into the hands of the inhabitants, have very prudently made uſe of many expedients, which have the appearance at leaſt of tempering their arbitrary power. They have

* Mr. Monteſquieu's remark (Sp. of Laws, book ii. ch. 5.) that in a deſpotic government, the ſingle perſon inveſted with the power, always commits the execution of it to a ſingle perſon, and neglects the management of affairs himſelf—is applicable to the eaſtern governments, but not to thoſe of cold climates. The princes of Ruſſia have always attended in perſon to buſineſs and affairs of ſtate.

broken

broken their vaſt bodies of troops, aboliſhed capital puniſhments, mitigated their penal ſtatutes, enacted permanent laws, erected tribunals of juſtice, entered into a knowledge of the laws themſelves, and publiſhed them to the people, inſtructed their ſubjects, and condeſcended to reaſon with them, and, what is more important, releaſed the common people, in a great meaſure, from the ſlavery to the higher ranks, to which they were ſubject.

The inſenſibility, however, of this people, with reſpect to matters of government, is in ſome inſtances very remarkable. Several revolutions in the ſtate have occurred within the laſt forty years, which have been attended with a conſequent change in the ſucceſſion to the throne; yet none of theſe produced any inſurrection among the ſubjects of the empire in general, who acquieſced under the government of Anne or Elizabeth, Peter or Catherine, with equal indifference. The like happens, indeed, in the eaſtern kingdoms, but from a different cauſe. In the latter, fear is the motive of obedience; in the former, their acquieſcence is owing to inſenſibility.

This has ſome bad effects in the ſtate, as it renders the throne unſteady, and the ſucceſſion uncertain. I imagine, however, that it is productive of ſome happy conſequences: it excites princes to diſtinguiſh themſelves in ſome ſtriking and uſeful improvements, and to attract the notice and reſpect of their ſubjects by † ſplendid and gallant actions, in order to make ſome impreſſion upon their diſpoſitions, and lay the foundation of their authority in the eſteem and admiration of the people.

This circumſtance renders a government of this kind much more tolerable to the people, than the deſpotical conſtitutions of Aſia and Africa. In the latter, the prince, relying on the fear his ſubjects have of him, as his greateſt ſupport and ſecurity, endeavours

† "Precipua rerum ad famam dirigenda."—Taciti Annal. lib. iv. Vide alſo Machiavel's Prince, chap. xxi. on this ſubject.

to

to ſtrengthen his authority by means which operate upon their timidity. Hence they are apt to perform acts of cruelty and of oppreſſion, not only to gratify avarice or reſentment, but, by terrifying ‡ the people, to prevent oppoſition to their own power. But ſhould a prince, in a cold climate, attempt to eſtabliſh his authority by ſuch means, he would be more likely to rouſe than to ſilence oppoſition. His power depends on his keeping within certain bounds, and not exerting it in actions that may ſtir up a ſpirit of reſiſtance.

SECT. III. *Influence of a moderate climate on the form of government.*

The form of government in moderate climates is, like their manners and cuſtoms, of a mixed kind, varying from the moſt perfect republic to a great, though not abſolute, degree of deſpotiſm. This is fully exemplified in the hiſtory of Europe, both ancient and modern, which has exhibited inſtances of all the above-mentioned modes of government, many of which have, at different periods, occurred in the ſame ſtate. It is, however, a melancholy conſideration, that arbitrary power appears at preſent to preponderate greatly. Our own country, however, the Swiſs, and perhaps ſome others, ſtill remain inſtances of a contrary tendency; and that they may ever continue ſo, to their own mutual ſupport, and that of virtue and liberty, is the wiſh of all who underſtand, and mean to promote, the intereſts of mankind.

The reaſons before given for the inſtability of their manners and cuſtoms, afford a ſufficient cauſe for the mutability of the form of government. It is, however, neceſſary to obſerve, that the power

‡ Philip de Commines tells us, that Lewis XI. (who in arbitrary diſpoſition, cruelty, and ſuſpicious turn, reſembled an eaſtern monarch) uſed to puniſh and execute a great number of people, in order to make himſelf feared and obeyed.—Memoires, liv. iv. ch. 8.

veſted

veſted in the hands of the ſovereigns of Europe, who eſteem themſelves the moſt abſolute, is ſtill far ſhort of that of the eaſtern monarch. Though there is here, indeed, no conſtitutional || bar to the will of the prince, yet his power is circumſcribed by various circumſtances.

Firſt, there are, in every country in Europe, certain laws and privileges, which have exiſted time immemorial, and which, by conſtant obſervance, are accounted part of the conſtitution of the country, and equally ſacred with the authority of the prince: theſe, of conſequence, it would be dangerous to infringe. Of this kind is the Salic law in France, and perhaps ſome others. The greater progreſs alſo, and more general diffuſion of learning among all ranks of people, has been no ſmall check upon deſpotiſm in Europe. It has taught the people to know and aſſert the rights of mankind, and warned princes to reſpect them. Accordingly we find, that where literature has been encouraged, it has always tempered the violence of arbitrary power. But more of this in another place.

Beſides, the diſpoſition and temper of the inhabitants of moderate climates is averſe to deſpotiſm. Theſe people have a natural turn for enquiry, and for ſpeculation, and a certain degree of unſettledneſs, in any, even the moſt happy ſituations. How would ſuch a people endure the rigours and tyranny of an abſolute government? In hot climates, the people are content with deſpotiſm, from lazineſs and cowardice, and in cold ones, from inſenſibility; but in a moderate climate, ſlavery would be inſupportable, from the uneaſineſs the reflection on it would occaſion. The diſtinction, therefore, of Mr. Monteſquieu, is well founded, wherein he gives to the

|| A great degree of deſpotiſm has been ſometimes practiſed by the European ſovereigns; but it has ſeldom been openly avowed. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, intimates, that the law was to be the rule of obedience in the ſubject.

Regimur a te, & ſubjecti tibi, ſed quemadmodum legibus ſumus.—Plinii Panegyr. Trajan.

European ſovereigns the title of * monarchs, whilſt that of deſpot is confined to the princes of the Eaſt, and the hotter climates.

It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that exertions of power, highly tyrannical, have occurred, and ſtill occur, in the European governments: but theſe, not unfrequently, have met with either ſuch a reſiſtance as has prevented their frequent repetition, or have at leaſt excited ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent as has been equivalent to a bar againſt their being often repeated.

The forms of government in moderate climates not only vary more from one another, but are alſo leſs † uniform in themſelves, than in the extremes of either hot or cold. Scarcely any country in Europe, Ruſſia excepted, (which may well be accounted to be beyond a temperate latitude, and has only of late been known) but has changed its form of government ſeveral times. I mean not, however, to ſay, that the external form has in many of them varied much; but the powers aſcribed to the different orders in the ſtate have been at times diſtributed in different proportions; at one period inclining to the people, at another, to the nobility, and again to the regal power, as circumſtances may have varied.

This mutability in the form of government is owing, in a great meaſure, to the variability of the manners and cuſtoms: the people not having any inherent attachment to one or another form of government, but ſubject to alter it as the ſtate of affairs changes. Another reaſon why the form of government in temperate climates, Europe particularly, has been more variable than in the Eaſt, is that the Europeans have been ſubject to much greater changes in

* Monarchy is that government in which a ſingle perſon rules by fixed and eſtabliſhed laws; deſpotiſm, that in which a ſingle perſon directs every thing by his own will and caprice.—Sp. of Laws, book ii. ch. 1.

† This variability of the form of government in moderate climates may, perhaps, be one of the reaſons which cauſe them to have a tendency to liberty, or, at leaſt, to moderation. Mr. Hume obſerves, "that governments, very ſteady and uniform, are ſeldom free."—Hume's Hiſt. of England, chap, lxxi.

point

point of civilization and improvement. At one period, learning, and the cultivation of arts, was carried almoſt to its higheſt pitch; which again, by the inundation and ravages of the northern nations, ſunk nearly into abſolute barbariſm, and again emerged into the ſtate in which we ſee them at preſent. The alteration of manners conſequent upon ſuch changes, as well as the introduction of a * new ſet of people into every country, muſt neceſſarily alter the form of government; which, we may obſerve, has, in effect, often happened.

In Perſia and India, although revolutions in the ſtate have frequently taken place, they have not introduced ſuch a deſtruction of arts, and of civilized manners: becauſe the cuſtoms have early and deeply been impreſſed into the mind of each individual; and the arts of life and of civilization, being conſidered as ſuch, have formed a permanent depoſitary in the mind of each perſon, which prevents their being loſt or deſtroyed; ſo that when the hurry of conqueſt is over, things ſoon return into their old channel. Moreover, as the arts before mentioned render both the country and the people more valuable to the conqueror, he is diſpoſed to encourage them upon his own account.

Theſe circumſtances afford an obvious and a powerful cauſe of the uniformity of the government in the Eaſt; and in conſequence thereof we may obſerve, that the conquerors of Europe have always attempted to new model the government of the country on which they ſeized, whilſt thoſe of Aſia were content with changing the ſucceſſion, and left all the forms of government as before.

* This was the caſe with the Goths, and the other barbarous nations that invaded the Roman empire; and in ſome degree with the Normans, at the invaſion of William the Conqueror. I do not mean to enter into the queſtion, how far this acquiſition of the throne of England was by conqueſt, conſidered in the light of a victory over the Engliſh, but only to remark, that his acceſſion produced many material alterations in the conſtitution and form of government.—Blackſtone's Comm. book iv. ch. 33.—and Hume's Hiſtory, Reign of William I.

CHAP. XXII.

EFFECT OF CLIMATE UPON RELIGION.

SECT. I. *Object of Religion.*

THE ſenſibility of mind, incident to hot climates, is more connected with ſenſible and viſible objects, than with mere ſpiritual ideas. This is eaſy to be underſtood from what has been before obſerved concerning their diſpoſition. The preſent object affects them ſo powerfully as to leave no room for reflection upon others more remote. Now as ſenſible objects make the moſt immediate impreſſion, and are moſt conſtantly preſent, it ſeems reaſonable to infer that they would engroſs the attention of ſuch a people. This ſeems ſtrongly exemplified in the preſent inſtance. Almoſt all the religions of hot climates were connected with ſome ſenſible object. Thus the ancient religion of the Perſians was directed to the * ſun principally, to whoſe influence they were particularly expoſed. They alſo worſhipped the † moon and celeſtial bodies, and fire (perhaps as emblematic of the ſun) the earth, the winds, and water. Nearly the ſame objects of worſhip were adopted by the ‡ Egyptians and Aſſyrians, and in later times by the people of Peru and Mexico. Numberleſs inſtances might be

* Strabo, lib. xv.—Herodot. lib. i.—Juſtin, lib. i. cap. 10.

† Ibidem.

‡ The Sun under the name of Oſiris, the Moon under that of Iſis, Water under the name of Oceanus, Air under that of Minerva, and the Inventor of Corn under that of Ceres, were the principal deities of the Egyptians.—Diodorus Siculus, lib. i.

The moon and ſtars were a very natural object of worſhip, in a country and climate where the night was rather the time of recreation than of repoſe. They ſlept on the tops of the houſes in the ſummer ſeaſon, which were flat-roofed for that purpoſe, and the clearneſs of the atmoſphere in that climate rendered the heavenly bodies always viſible.

brought

brought from other countries, ſituated in hot climates, of the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to religion, prevailing there.

The *image-worſhip alſo, which formerly was ſo univerſal in the pagan world, was probably owing to this attachment to † ſenſible objects. The deification, likewiſe, of men who had become illuſtrious or powerful here upon earth, was likely to ſpring from the ſame ſource.

But the power of climate, in this reſpect, has not been exerted upon falſe religions only. It has alſo infected the true; witneſs Chriſtianity.

Notwithſtanding the contradictorineſs of this practice to the fundamental precepts of this religion, we ſee that the worſhip of images has prevailed through a great part of the Chriſtian world. Thus the Romaniſts, at preſent, pay an extravagant and abſurd, not to ſay an impious, adoration to certain images of ſaints, and of other holy perſons, on which they beſtow honours due to the Almighty only; the doing of which had formerly been the foundation of one of their moſt vehement charges againſt the heathen world.

From the ſame cauſe is derived, in ſome degree, that extraordinary regard and veneration paid by that religion to relics or remains of perſons illuſtrious in religious concerns. Something of

* The Mahommedan religion allows no repreſentation of the Deity; but this tenet was, perhaps, borrowed from the Jews.

† Perhaps this attachment to ſenſible objects may be, in ſome meaſure, owing to the nature of the government in hot countries. It is remarked by the Marquis Beccaria, that as the ſentiments which unite us to the ſtate become weaker, thoſe which attach us to the objects which immediately ſurround us, grow ſtronger; now in a deſpotic government there is no regard or attachment to the ſtate whatſoever, but all is governed by fear only.

Perhaps this regard to viſible objects, in the religion of hot countries, may be a more powerful cauſe of the prevalence of the Romiſh perſuaſion in hot, and its rejection in cold climates, where the contrary idea prevails, than that of the greater ſpirit of liberty and independence, and their conſequent averſion to a viſible head of the church, which is the reaſon aſſigned by Mr. Monteſquieu, in the Sp. of Laws, book xxiv. ch. 5.

this ſort appears to be natural to the human mind, and implanted in us for a * good purpoſe. No one can be ignorant of the regard, and even veneration, uſually paid to ſuch things as have belonged to thoſe to whom we are attached, either by love or reſpect; but it has been peculiar to certain climates and ſituations, to exalt their value and conſequence to the extravagant pitch which is here conſidered.

From a ſimilar diſpoſition, joined with ſomewhat of a turn for gallantry, both of which are congenial to a warm climate, ariſes that extravagant attachment beſtowed by the Romiſh church upon the Virgin Mary; whom they have, without any foundation in hiſtory, deſcribed to have been of exquiſite beauty, and have alſo, in all their paintings, ſtatues, and ſculptures, arrayed with the richeſt apparel; and their addreſſes to her are often couched in ſuch terms as to reſemble more the effuſions of a carnal paſſion, than the religious veneration due to a ſuppoſed ſuperior being. Their jealouſy, alſo, of the reſpect due to her rank and character, appears to be of the ſame nature. † When the people of Epheſus were informed, that the fathers of the council had declared that they might call the Virgin Mary the Mother of God, they were tranſported with joy; they kiſſed the hands of the biſhops; they embraced their knees; and the whole city reſounded with acclamations.

In another place, a Jew was accuſed of having blaſphemed the bleſſed Virgin, and, upon conviction, was condemned to be flayed alive. A ſtrange ſpectacle was then ſeen—Gentlemen, maſqued, with knives in their hands, aſcended the ſcaffold, and drove away the executioner, in order to be the avengers, themſelves, of the

* Salluſt tells us, in his preface to the Jugurthine war, that Fabius Maximus, and Publius Scipio, and many other great men, uſed to ſay, that when they looked on the ſtatues of their anceſtors, their minds were fired, to the laſt degree, with the love of virtue; which naturally excited in them an attempt to emulate the characters which were the objects of their admiration.

Dr. Johnſon, likewiſe, has deſcribed the effects of memorials of this kind with great elegance, as well as juſtneſs of ſentiment.—Rambler, No. 83.

† St. Cyril's Letter.

honour

honour of the bleſſed Virgin. I do not, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, chuſe here to anticipate the reflections of the reader.

The ſtrongeſt inſtance, however, of attachment to viſible objects, is contained in the Romiſh doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, wherein this idea is carried to an inconceivable length. It is needleſs to expatiate on the abſurdity of this ridiculous farce; but I ſhall only remark, that, abſurd as it is, it was conceived with great knowledge of human nature, and admirably adapted to the diſpoſition and ſtate of improvement of the people on whom the deceit was to be practiſed. Since, however, the advance of ſcience and philoſophy in Europe, this tenet has been gradually loſing ground; and, although ſtill maintained by the Romiſh church, it requires all the violence of arbitrary power, as well as all the ſophiſtry of jeſuitiſm, to prevent its becoming univerſally an object of ridicule, as well as of abhorrence. The diſpoſition of cold climates is directly oppoſite in this reſpect. Religion with them is rather a ſubject of internal contemplation; and its influence is directed more to the reaſon than to the paſſions. Hence they have always been averſe to * repreſentations of the Deity by ſenſible objects. This is the character given by Tacitus of the ancient † Germans; in which reſpect they differed much from their neighbours the Gauls, who had many images of their ‡ deities.

The ſame diſpoſition has prevailed in Chriſtianity. In times of ignorance and barbariſm, and when the ſpirit of the people was ſubdued, the abſurdities of the Romiſh church were received among the northern nations; but when learning and a ſpirit of enquiry began to be diffuſed, the people preſently exerted the diſpoſition natural to them, broke their chains, and eſtabliſhed a

* Cæterum nec cohibere parietibus Deos neque in ullam humanitatis ſpeciem aſſimilare ex magnitudine cæleſtium arbitrantur.—Germania, chap. ix.

†, Tacitus, in his account of the Germans, is thought to have deſcribed the manners of the northern nations.—Vide Sir Thomas Craig de Jure Feudali.

‡ Cæſar Comment. lib. vi. chap. 9.

mode

mode of worſhip conſonant to the ideas ſuggeſted by the climate. This has been the caſe with ſeveral of the northern powers, as Sweden and Denmark, and a great part of Germany, to whom the idolatrous worſhip of images was a principal * object of deteſtation.

From the ſame turn of mind aroſe the violent oppoſition which the northern nations made to tranſubſtantiation; a doctrine which comprehended all the impiety of the former, joined to an abſurdity more † glaring and impudent.

The trueſt ideas, however, of the objects of religion, as well as of other ſciences, have been always found in temperate climates. Greece and Italy, formerly, furniſhed the juſteſt notions concerning the ‡ being and nature of the Deity: and although it pleaſed the Almighty to make a warm climate the ſcene of his particular revelation, it has been in temperate latitudes that Chriſtianity has been beſt underſtood and practiſed. It is, indeed,

* The idolatry of the Romiſh church in image-worſhip, was the principal article alledged againſt them by the Reformers. Hence, the latter demoliſhed the ſtatues in the churches, and even thoſe on the outſide. In many places, particularly in Scotland, they even deſtroyed the churches themſelves.

† Cicero ſpeaks of the eating of a god as the height of madneſs and abſurdity: —Quum fruges Cererem vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem ſermonis utimur uſitato, ſed ecquem tam amentem eſſe putas, qui illud quo veſcatur deum credat eſſe?—De Naturâ Deorum, lib. iii. cap. 53.——Who could have thought, that at any period, the belief of the ſame folly ſhould be enjoined in the ſame country, on the penalty of being burnt alive?

‡ "The philoſophers ſay, that we are firſt to learn that there is a God, and that his providence directs the whole; and that it is impoſſible to conceal from him, not only our actions, but even our thoughts and emotions."—Epictetus, book ii. ch. 14. § 2.——All things, ſays Marcus Antoninus, are full of the Deity and his providence; nor do thoſe things which appear to happen by chance, fall out without the aſſiſtance of nature, or without a connection with and dependence on the regulations of providence.—Marcus Antoninus, book ii. § 3.

Numberleſs inſtances of the ſame kind might be produced from Xenophon's Memorabilia, and Cicero's and Plutarch's Philoſophical Works.

unfortunate,

unfortunate, that ſuch countries are ſubject to great revolutions in point of improvement and ſcience, the bad and good effects of which have been felt in religion, as well as in other branches of knowledge. At one time it has been made an article of liberal ſtudy and enquiry; and at another it has been wrapt up in myſtery, obſcurity, and implicit faith. It is, however, greatly to the credit of our own country, that one of the greateſt * men of the age, and who was himſelf of a different perſuaſion, ſhould recommend the works of the Engliſh divines, as ſome of the beſt that have been written on this ſubject.

SECT. II. *Attributes aſcribed to the Deity.*

The influence of climate is alſo diſcernable in the attributes aſcribed by different nations to their deities. Thus the Indians, where the heat is very great, make inactivity one of the attributes of the Supreme Being, and his † principal perfection; as it conſtitutes the greateſt happineſs with them here upon earth. In countries where the heat was leſs violent and conſtant, and not ſo enervating to the body, and conſequently where the indolent habit was leſs prevalent, but the ſenſibility to the pleaſurable paſſions very powerful, a diſpoſition to pleaſure of the amorous kind, was eſteemed an attribute of the Deity. Hence the fables of Cupid and Venus in the iſland of Cyprus; of Venus and Adonis in Syria; and many others of the amours of the deities in the Pagan Mythology.

Northern countries, on the other hand, have attributed an active diſpoſition, both of mind and body, to the Deity. Thus the Scy-

* Spirit of Laws, book xix. ch. 27.

† The Indians believe, that repoſe and non-exiſtence are the foundation of all things, and the end in which they terminate. Hence they conſider entire inaction as the moſt perfect of all ſtates, and the object of their deſires. To the Supreme Being they give the epithet of Immoveable.—Panamanack. vide Kircher.

thians ‡ worſhipped deities that correſponded nearly with Hercules, Mars, and Apollo. The ancient Germans regarded the Deity as the ‖ inventor of uſeful arts, and aſcribed to him both ſtrength and courage. —A deity, nearly of a ſimilar kind, was worſhipped by the § Hunns and the Alans.

Moderate climates have carried this idea ſtill farther, and imputed every uſeful art or invention to ſome Divinity. Thus Ceres was the inventor of corn or bread, Bacchus of wine, Minerva of uſeful domeſtic arts, Diana of hunting—all which prove, that they aſcribed an active principle to their deities; and were of opinion, that they concerned † themſelves about the affairs of life. Their opinion of the Supreme Being was, indeed, much more juſt and rational than that of the other extremes, and more conſonant to thoſe informations which we have received from revelation. It was, nevertheleſs, unaſſiſted by the latter, ſo imperfect, as to convince us that human reaſon, however it may be counted an uſeful aſſiſtant in religious matters, is by no means to be eſteemed as an infallible guide.

SECT. III. *Nature and principles of religion.*

The nature and principles of religion alſo, or what it recommends or forbids, are, in ſome inſtances, conſiderably influenced by the climate. Thus indolence is made an article of religion among the diſciples of * Foe, the Indian legiſlator; and the like principle

‡ Herodotus, lib. iv.

‖ Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt: cui certis diebus humanis quoque hoſtiis litare fas habent. Herculem & Martem conceſſis animalibus placant. —Germania.

§ Ammianus Marcellin. lib. xxxi. cap. 3.

† Plato ſays, that they are guilty of impiety towards the gods, who maintain that they do not interfere with the affairs of men.—De Legibus, lib. x.

* The number of holidays commanded by the religion of the Gentoos, engroſs at leaſt one third part of their time.—Letters from the Eaſt Indies.

Foe

principle ſeems to prevail in a great degree among the Mahommedans ||. The ſame diſpoſition, alſo, is the ſource of monachiſm, which prevails, in ſeveral perſuaſions, and of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. The doctrine of predeſtination alſo, which is prevalent among the Mahommedans, is probably a conſequence of the indolent diſpoſition inſpired by the climate, which it reciprocally favours. Human affairs, they ſay, are guided by the unalterable decrees of God; therefore, they may indulge their repoſe. Many laws of religion alſo, which appear to be of the local kind, have their foundation in the climate. Thus the prohibition of pork to the Jews and Mahommedans, is probably a law derived from this ſource.

The hog is ſcarce in Arabia and Paleſtine, from there being hardly any woods, and of conſequence no proper nouriſhment for theſe animals, which never arrive at perfection, and are generally in a diſeaſed ſtate. Beſides, there is reaſon to believe, that pork not only * perſpires little itſelf, but alſo hinders the perſpiration of other meat, a thing of great conſequence in hot climates, eſpecially ſuch wherein cutaneous † diſeaſes are prevalent. The prohibition, therefore, of the feeding upon this animal, was not unreaſonably made a precept of religion among the Jews and Arabs.

In the Eaſt Indies, cattle are reared with difficulty; and their

Foe endeavoured to reduce the heart to a mere vacuum. We have eyes and ears, ſaid he; but perfection conſiſts in neither ſeeing nor hearing: a mouth, hands, &c.; but perfection requires that theſe members ſhould be inactive.

|| The Mahommedans pray five times a day, and each time are obliged to caſt behind them every thing which has any concern with the preſent world. This forms them for ſpeculation. Add to this, that indifference for all things, inſpired by the doctrine of unalterable fate.

* Sanctor. Aphoriſm. Stat. § iii. aphor. 23.

† Cutaneous diſeaſes, the leproſy particularly, were very frequent in Arabia and Paleſtine.

fleſh is inſipid. The milk and butter ‡, however, which they produce, is extremely uſeful, and ſerves as a part of the ſupport of the inhabitants. A religious precept, therefore, which forbids the killing them, is ſuited to the climate and policy of the country. In the Indies, our European grain will not come to perfection; but rice, and ſeveral ſorts of pulſe, in certain ſituations, thrive exceedingly. A law of religion, therefore, which recommends this kind of nouriſhment, muſt be highly beneficial, in directing the application of induſtry to the cultivation of what is likely to be moſt univerſally uſeful. This precept is of more conſequence in India, as the climate favours indolence ſo much, that they cannot allow for the leaſt miſapplication or waſte of induſtry.

Probably too, the opinion of the Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, was introduced to prevent the deſtruction of cattle; to which it is admirably well adapted.

The prohibition of wine alſo, among the Arabians *, which was an ancient precept of the † Saracens and Carthaginians, is a law alſo of the climate. Strong liquors, in ſuch a country, would produce infinite miſchief, by heating the body, and by producing inflammatory and other diſorders; and are moreover unfit for dilution of the animal fluids, which they have rather a ten-

‡ Butter and milk were great delicacies in the eaſtern countries. "Butter and honey ſhall he eat."—Iſaiah vii. 14.——"A land flowing with milk and honey."—Joſhua, v. 6.——"Jupiter was nurſed with milk and honey."—Callimachi, Hymn in Jov. xlviii.——Homer ſays, that the orphan daughters of Pandareus, were nurſed with wine, honey, and milk.—Odyſſ. xx. 68.

* The Arabs drink water at preſent.—Vide a Journey up the Red-ſea, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq.

† "Idem tumultuantibus iis qui a Saracenis victi fuerant & dicentibus vinum non accepimus pugnare non poſſumus."—"Erubeſcite, inquit; illi qui vos vincunt aquam bibunt."—Spartiani Percennius Niger.

Saraceni vini uſum penitus ignorantes.—Amm. Marc. l. xiv. c. 5.——Appian alſo, in his Hiſtory of the Punic War, repeatedly mentions, that the Numidians drank no wine.

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dency to coagulate. The quantity alſo, in which drink is || required to be taken in ſuch climates, would render ſtrong liquors, at any rate, very improper. Add to this, that the effects of intoxication, in hot climates, are very dreadful: as it makes people outrageouſly mad, and not ſtupidly heavy, as in cold countries.

Some religious auſterities appear to have an intimate connection with a warm climate. One of theſe is the abſtinence from animal food, which is ſo frequently enjoined by the Romiſh religion; and which is uniformly adhered to by ſome of the more rigid orders of the monaſtic kind, as that of Latrappè in France; and, I believe, ſome others. But in a ſituation ſo far removed from the extremes of heat, ſuch a precept is found to be highly injurious, as well as unnatural, few of theſe devotees ſurviving long this ſeverity of regimen. In conſequence of this effect, it is ſaid, that they moderated their rigour, and allowed in ſome meaſure the uſe of animal diet. But in the Eaſt Indies, where the heat is exceſſive, ſuch a regimen is not found to produce ſimilar effects, although obſerved with equal ſtrictneſs by many extenſive and populous nations. Hence it appears, that ſuch a diet is more conſonant to nature in a hot climate than a cold; and that ſuch precepts may be there more ſafely practiſed.

So far on the effects of a hot climate upon the nature and precepts of religion. Let us now examine the effects of an oppoſite temperature.

And here I take it that the doctrine of Predeſtination, which prevails in hot climates, and is inſpired, as I have before obſerved, by that circumſtance, is produced, likewiſe, by the climate in cold countries. This principle, which in the former is ſuggeſted by indolence, and made an excuſe for it, is here ſuggeſted by, and made an ex-

|| Mr. Bernier, travelling from Lahor to Cachemir, mentions, that he could not drink leſs than ten pints a day.—Tom. ii. p. 261.

cuſe for, inſenſibility. Incapable of tracing the motives of action from the feelings of the heart, or ſuggeſtions of the underſtanding; or of conſidering the natural courſe of events; they attribute them to a more obvious and univerſal cauſe, the * predetermination of the Almighty. This ſupplies the want of reaſoning and philoſophy, and affords a motive ſufficiently powerful to influence their conduct.

The principles of religion, in moderate climates, have been, in general, from the greater cultivation of ſcience and literature, more liberal and enlarged, and more connected with philoſophy, than in either of the extremes. They have, however, been ſubject to great fluctuation; ſometimes riſing to a great degree of bigotry and ſuperſtition, and at others ſinking into atheiſm and diſbelief of all religion whatever.

SECT. IV. *Forms, ceremonies, and inſtitutions.*

The influence of climate on the forms, ceremonies, and inſtitutions of religion, is next to be conſidered.

Religious † forms and ceremonies have always been very numerous in hot climates. Thus the Mahommedans and Gentoos conſume a large portion of their time in prayers; and the frequent devotions enjoined among the Romaniſts, are well known.

The prayers, too, of theſe people are not only very frequent, but are alſo attended with much pomp and ceremony.

They are alſo all of a ſtated or fixed kind, with ſet forms of prayer adapted for each, and a peculiar regulation for each ceremonial. It is eaſy to account for all theſe particularities, from the diſpoſition

* This notion is adopted among ſome Chriſtians, as in Ruſſia; and is alſo a doctrine of the Calviniſts.

† Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus ſay, that religious feſtivals and ceremonies were invented by the Egyptians.—Herodot. book ii.—Diodori, l. ii.

of the people, and the circumſtances of the climate. The idleneſs incident to heat, is much favoured by this mode of ſpending time, which provides an excuſe for indolence, under the idea of duty. Hot climates are likewiſe better ſuited to an idle religion, as the neceſſaries of life are procured with leſs labour. Hence, in ſuch countries ‡, feſtivals, or days of reſt, are very numerous.

The magnificence alſo, and parade of religious worſhip, not only afford an idle employment for the people, but are ſuited to the genius of the inhabitants, which is always ſtruck with viſible objects, as I have before remarked.

Such ceremonies, moreover, flatter the pride and vanity of the people; paſſions extremely prevalent in theſe climates.

Liturgies and ſet forms of prayer alſo, as I have before obſerved, are more conformable to the genius of hot climates, than extemporaneous effuſions of the mind in our addreſſes to the Deity. This is owing in ſome degree to the form and ceremony with which they are attended, and partly to the form of government, which being abſolute or monarchical, is more ſuited to fixed rules and cuſtoms, than to the indulgence of the freedom of thought and choice in ſuch addreſſes; which would probably, if left at liberty, be apt to produce ſentiments and opinions contrary to the nature of the government. Set forms of prayer are alſo more adapted to the indolent turn of hot climates, which is as ſtrong with reſpect to the action of the mind, as to that of the body. Conſequently, a form of prayer, which ſupplies the neceſſity of thought and recollection, and thereby ſaves trouble, muſt, to a people of this diſpoſition, be extremely acceptable.

The great degree of ignorance, likewiſe, in which ſuch people live, has, indeed, rendered ſomething of this kind abſolutely neceſſary. — But although ceremonies and religious rites are, in

‡ Feſtivals are very numerous among the barbarous nations on the coaſt of Africa.

general,

general, adapted to the diſpoſition of hot countries, there are ſome that are more particularly and obviouſly connected with the nature of the climate. Of this kind are the frequent bathings * and ablutions directed in the Jewiſh, Mahommedan, and Indian religions. In the laſt of theſe, prayers to the Almighty, offered in a running ſtream, were accounted highly acceptable; a thing which could not be performed in a cold climate, eſpecially as prayers were frequently repeated.

Several other ceremonials in the Jewiſh law, particularly thoſe which reſpect the leproſy, may be conſidered as of a local nature, and dictated by the climate. The effect of climate upon religious inſtitutions is alſo very obſervable: of theſe the moſt remarkable is Monachiſm, or the eſtabliſhment of ſocieties of people ſequeſtered from the company and concerns of mankind, like the monks in the Romiſh ſect of Chriſtianity, and the devotees of a ſimilar kind that are found in the Eaſt.

This inſtitution had its riſe in the laſt-mentioned country. In Aſia, the number of derviſes ſeems to increaſe with the heat of the climate. The Indies, where the heat is exceſſive, are full of them: and the ſame difference is found in Europe. The cauſe of this diſpoſition is not difficult to be traced; and indeed, in ſeveral reſpects †, ſprings from ſome of the beſt principles in our nature. In a climate where the heat is great, the active virtues, at leaſt ſuch as are accompanied with any conſiderable exertion of either mind or body, can have but little place, for the reaſons be-

* The Greeks, as well as the Jews, imagined that water, particularly that of freſh or living ſprings, could cleanſe the mind, as well as body, from pollution. Sophocles expreſſes this ſentiment in the Oedipus Tyrannus.

——— "Not the wide Danube's waves,
Nor Phaſis' ſtream, can waſh away the ſtains
Of this polluted palace." Act v. Scene 1.

† Vide Mrs. Barbauld's elegant Eſſay on this ſubject.

fore given. But thoſe of the ‡ paſſive kind, and what are chiefly held in eſtimation by ſuch religious orders, are in the power of every one, and afford a field for the diſplay of virtue in ſelf-denial and forbearance, or, as Milton ‖ calls it, "the better fortitude of patience," not leſs meritorious, or worthy admiration, than the more active ones of exertion and induſtry. A life of this kind, therefore, may be looked upon as a ſcene of improvement, and as a ſtage for the exhibition of thoſe qualities in which the climate permitted them to excel.

This kind of life is extremely well adapted to flatter the ſenſibility which heat ſo naturally inſpires. This diſpoſition is, I believe, always addicted to * retirement and leiſure, from its natural tendency to reflection and contemplation.

A ſituation, therefore, of the monaſtic kind, is highly ſuitable to ſuch an indulgence.

But the chief cauſe of theſe inſtitutions is derived from the indolence to which the climate ſo greatly leads; and they, in their turn, promote the diſpoſition that produced them. Theſe people being poſſeſſed of revenues they know not how to enjoy, give them to the poor, and thus maintain a great number in idleneſs, and even make them to grow fond of their miſery, by ſuch indulgence.

Another circumſtance favourable to theſe inſtitutions, in hot climates, is derived from the nature of the government. They have ſerved to temper the violence and rigour of arbitrary power, both by affording a kind of aſylum againſt perſonal injuſtice, and by giving

‡ "The ancient philoſophers of Greece, had their abſurd and oſtentatious auſterities and mortifications, as well as the monks and Indian philoſophers ſince."—Note on Epictetus, book iii. ch. 12. by Miſs Carter.

‖ Paradiſe Loſt, book ix. line 28.

* Moſt of our greateſt poets have deſcribed a retired life as the object of their wiſhes and deſires. This is inſtanced in Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Milton, Pope, Hammond, Gray, Cowley, and many others. It ſeems, therefore, a natural object to a perſon of a great degree of ſenſibility.

Vide Rambler on this ſubject, vol. i. p. 33.

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an opportunity for the laying out of property, not ſubject to the tyrannical diſpoſition of the ſovereign.

Under this head I ſhall ſpeak a few words concerning eccleſiaſtical government, which, in hot climates, as well as the civil, is moſtly of the * monarchical kind. This is owing, in a great meaſure, to the ſame cauſes which produced a ſimilar form of government in the ſtate; and alſo, I imagine, to the attachment of the people of thoſe climates to ſenſible || objects, which, among Chriſtians, induced them to wiſh to ſee a viſible head of the church here preſent upon earth, rather than the allegorical and inviſible kingdom of Chriſt, or the mixed government of a republican eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The diſpoſition of cold climates does not appear to favour pomp and ceremony in religion. Cæſar ‡ ſays of the ancient Germans, that, contrary to the practice of their ſouthern neighbours, the Gauls, they paid little regard to religious ceremonies, or even to ſacrifices; and the account given by † Tacitus ſeems to intimate a great ſimplicity of worſhip.

The ſame effects may be obſerved in Chriſtianity. Whilſt the

* The emperor of China, the ſophi of Perſia, and the grand ſignior, are all of them at the head of the eccleſiaſtical, as well as of the civil, ſtate.

|| This attachment of the people of hot climates, to ſenſible objects, is ſtrongly exemplified in their ideas concerning the materiality of the ſoul. No opinion, ſays La Loubiere, has been ſo univerſally received, as that of the immortality of the ſoul; but its immateriality is a truth, the knowledge of which, has not ſpread ſo far. And, indeed, it is extremely difficult to let into the mind of a Siamite, the idea of a pure ſpirit. This the miſſionaries, who have been longeſt among them, are poſitive in. All the Pagans of the Eaſt do truly believe that there remains ſomething of a man after his death, which ſubſiſts independently and ſeparately from his body. But they give extenſion and figure to that which remains, and attribute to it all the ſame members, all the ſame ſubſtance, both ſolid and liquid, of which our bodies are compoſed.

‡ Cæſar Comment, lib. vi.

† Taciti Germania.

ſouthern

ſouthern inhabitants of Europe conſtituted ceremonies calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes by their magnificence, and to attach their followers, by continually reminding them of their duty; and had erected a viſible head of the church in the perſon of the Pope, and even a viſible object of adoration in the maſs; the devotion of the northern nations took a turn directly oppoſite, rejecting all religious ceremonies and forms of prayer as uſeleſs burthens, retarding the imagination in its rapturous extaſies, and cramping the operations of the divine Spirit, by which they believed themſelves animated. For theſe reaſons they eſtabliſhed, in place of the former, a new mode of worſhip, which borrowed nothing from the ſenſes, but repoſed itſelf entirely on the contemplation of the divine eſſence, which diſcovers itſelf to the underſtanding ‡ only.

The cauſe of this variation is deducible from the difference of diſpoſition. In cold climates, people are not ſo immediately affected as in hot ones, but liable to dwell longer upon the objects, and to make them a ſubject of reflection. Conſequently the nature and reaſons of all proceedings are liable to be thoroughly conſidered, and the reaſons for, and the objections againſt them examined. This gives riſe to a great variety of opinions, which are, indeed, natural to a free country, and generally terminate in the rejection, or at leaſt the not inſiſting on, that, againſt which moſt exceptions are advanced. In order, therefore, to ſatisfy as many as poſſible, ſeveral ſects of Chriſtianity have aboliſhed all ceremonies and rites whatſoever, and left to every individual the free choice of worſhipping the Deity in any manner he chuſes. This was the caſe in Holland, and in a great meaſure in Germany, and in ſome degree, and for a ſhort time, in England.

Some exceptions, however, are to be found. Thus Sweden embraced Lutheraniſm at the Reformation, which contains a form of worſhip attended with many ceremonies; and the Ruſſians, who

‡ Hume's Hiſt. of England, reign of James I.

inhabit a climate ſtill more ſevere, profeſs a mode of religion encumbered with numerous and fatiguing rites and ceremonials. But in the former of theſe inſtances, the revolution in religion was not made altogether according to the diſpoſition of the people, but modified purſuant to the plan of political government. Sweden being at that time a monarchical ſtate, it was natural for the ruling powers to chuſe ſuch a mode of religion as favoured that form of the conſtitution.

With reſpect to the eſtabliſhment of the Greek religion in Ruſſia, we may obſerve, firſt, that this form was not invented in that country, but derived from a warm climate, and conſequently their uſe of it may be conſidered rather as an article of compliance than choice, at leaſt originally.

Next, that whilſt this mode of worſhip was moſt prevalent, the people were in a ſtate little removed from barbariſm, in which ſuperſtition is generally very powerful; but ſince the introduction of learning into that country, many of the abſurdities of the Greek religion have been reformed, and the whole brought nearer to the ſtandard of their northern neighbours.

Laſtly, a form of religion of ſuch a kind was very conſonant to the form of government then eſtabliſhed in the ſtate.

Feſtivals alſo, and ſuch ceremonies as promote idleneſs, are leſs || common in cold climates, on account of the neceſſity of labour, not only as a preſervative from cold, but alſo for the procuring of ſubſiſtence. This is a powerful reaſon againſt the introduction of any religion fraught with ſuch tenets. For the ſame reaſon, religious inſtitutions of the monaſtic kind do not appear to be ſuited to the genius of cold climates. There are, indeed, ſome of this kind in Ruſſia; but they were imported along with the Greek religion, and are at preſent rather on the decline.

Church-government, in countries where the cold is intenſe, as

|| This, perhaps, is no inconſiderable cauſe why Proteſtant countries are better cultivated, and more improved, than thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion.

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in Ruſſia, appears to be of the abſolute kind, and moſtly veſted in the prince, nearly in the ſame manner with the civil; but where the cold is leſs violent, a republican diſpoſition takes place in the eccleſiaſtical, as well as in the civil, power. Thus the church-government of Sweden and Denmark was formerly by deputies choſen by themſelves, from their own body, who alſo formed a branch of the civil conſtitution; and the like is the caſe in Germany, and in ſome meaſure in Scotland. Something of the ſame diſpoſition may be obſerved in the account given by * Cæſar of our German anceſtors, who deſcribes the Gauls * as living under a kind of druidical hierarchy; but the † Germans, ſays he, differ greatly, having no Druids to preſide in their religious ceremonies. Moderate climates, of which our own may be reckoned as an inſtance, have taken a middle courſe as to the articles above-mentioned. Though averſe to that profuſion of pomp and ceremony that encumbers religion in warm climates, they have not altogether diſcarded it, but have admitted ſuch a proportion as might ſerve to preſerve order and decency, and to keep up a proper reſpect and attachment to religion. Probably it was on account of a diſpoſition of this kind, that the Reformation was conducted with a greater degree of moderation in England, than in Scotland, many parts of Germany, and the North. The former aimed at a reformation and amendment of what was exceptionable; the latter ſtruck at the root of all eſtabliſhed form whatever. The views of the latter, therefore, being more extenſive, the violence with which they acted was greater, as their oppoſition was more direct.

It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the fooleries of ſuperſtition have prevailed to a great degree, at times, both in cold and in moderate climates; but the prevalence of ignorance and darkneſs at ſuch periods, (circumſtances always favourable to ſuch impoſitions) have, in theſe inſtances, counteracted the natural diſpoſition, and

* Lib. vi. cap. 8.

† Lib. vi. cap. 10.

 produced

produced an effect totally different from that to which the climate would naturally lead. It is likewiſe obſervable, that revolutions and changes in religious forms and ceremonies, have been much more frequent in moderate climates, than in either hot or cold. This is owing to the ſame cauſes that have been already mentioned, as influencing the manners, cuſtoms, and form of government.

Religious foundations or ſocieties, particularly of the nature of thoſe above deſcribed, are in little uſe in moderate climates, whoſe genius is averſe to ſuch indolent and uſeleſs inſtitutions.

Church-government appears, I think, to be rather on the model of monarchy in general, though this varies greatly in different countries. In thoſe, however, of the Reformed kind, it is now acknowledged to be no more than a civil inſtitution, and ſubject to ſuch alterations as may be deemed proper, by the authority of the ſtate.

This union of the civil with the eccleſiaſtical power, has contributed more, perhaps, to promote the peace of government, and to advance the true intereſts of religion, than any other circumſtance; notwithſtanding which, it was the conſtant endeavour of the Romiſh church, for many centuries, and indeed is ſtill, to ſeparate them as much as poſſible. In ſpite, however, of theſe efforts, many of the countries which ſtill profeſs that religion, have ſo far broken their chains, as to diſallow any authority in their dominions, excluſive or independent of that of the ſtate.

SECT. V. *Rewards and Puniſhments.*

The effects of climate are very diſcernible in the rewards and puniſhments propoſed by religion for obedience or diſobedience to its precepts. Thus the promiſe of a land abounding with milk and honey, was a reward properly adapted to a hot climate, and eſpecially to the Iſraelites, who had been accuſtomed to live in a country where the former of theſe was particularly eſteemed, as in Egypt.

‡ Egypt. The Mahommedan paradiſe alſo, where indolence, and luxurious indulgence in || amorous enjoyment, are promiſed as the rewards of the faithful in a future life, is ſuited to the ideas of pleaſure in that country, and dictated from them. The doctrine of Foe, the Indian legiſlator, went ſtill farther, as he placed his rewards in a future life, in the enjoyment of indolence alone. Their opinions of future puniſhments are alſo full of ſimilar ideas. They think that the unbelievers ſhall ſerve the faithful in another world in a laborious capacity, as carrying burdens, &c. that being one of the greateſt puniſhments in hot climates, where indolence is eſteemed the ſupreme pleaſure.

Far different were the opinions of the religious founders of the North. Zamolxis * the Scythian, and our Saxon Odin, laid their chief ſcene of pleaſure, in a future life, in active † military em-

‡ The Egyptians worſhipped cows, which was, probably, a political precept, in order to preſerve them, on account of the uſe of milk in that climate.

|| Tibullus, when his ſubject led him to deſcribe the pleaſures of love, paints an elyſium ſo nearly reſembling the Mahommedan Paradiſe, that ſome have thought the idea of the latter was borrowed from thence.

Sed me quod facilis tenero ſum ſemper amori,
Ipſa Venus campos ducet in Elyſios.
Hic choreæ cantuſque vigent; paſſimque vagantes
Dulce ſonant tenui gutture carmen aves.
Fert caſiam non culta ſeges, totoſque per agros
Floret odoratis terra benigna roſis.
Ad juvenum ſeries teneris immiſta puellis
Ludit; et aſſiduè prælia miſcet amor.
Lib. ii. Eleg. 33.

* Herodot. lib. iv.—Strabon. lib. vii.

† "Tell me," ſays Ganglar in the Edda, "how do the heroes divert themſelves when they are not drinking? Every day," replies Har, "as ſoon as they have dreſſed themſelves, they take their arms, and entering the liſts, fight till they cut one another in pieces. This is their diverſion. But no ſooner does the hour of repaſt approach, than they remount their ſteeds, all ſafe and ſound, and return to drink in the palace of Odin."—Northern Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 108.—and Keyſler, Antiq. Select. Septentrional. et Celt. p. 127.

ployments,

ployments, and the joys of wine and company. Muſeus brought nearly the ſame doctrines from Thrace into Greece.

The ſame notions attended their idea of a place of puniſhment. In climates where they are expoſed to inconvenience from exceſs of heat, the increaſe of it has been ſuggeſted as the mode of future puniſhment. Thus Homer ſpeaks of the Titans being chained on burning rocks; which was alſo the general opinion of future puniſhment in hot climates. But in cold ones, the contrary ideas prevailed. The hell or Tartarus there, was a place dark and cloudy, deſtitute of food, and, above all, ‡ extremely *cold*, which was eſteemed the moſt terrible circumſtance of any, and from which the place derived its name and character. They gave it the name of *Iſurin*, that is, the Iſle of the Cold Land or Climate; and in the Gallic language, this is ſtill the name for || hell. The Scythians had the ſame idea.

‡ Smith's Gallic Antiquit. p. 22.

|| Milton and Shakeſpear have each of them united both theſe ideas, in deſcribing the torments of the wicked in another life.

" Ay, but to die, and go we know not whither:
" To lie in cold obſtruction, and to rot;
" This ſenſible warm motion to become
" A kneaded clod; and the delighted ſpirit
" To bathe in fiery floods, or to reſide
" In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice."

Meaſure for Meaſure, Act III.

Milton has, however, improved upon this thought, by ſuppoſing the extremes to be alternate.

" Thither, by harpy-footed furies hal'd,
" At certain revolutions all the damn'd
" Are brought, and feel by turns the bitter change
" Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
" From beds of raging fire to ſtarve in ice
" Their ſoft aerial warmth, and there to pine
" Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
" Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire,"

Parad. Loſt, book ii.

Moderate climates have attributed more rational and manly enjoyments, as the rewards of good actions, conſiſting of ſuch pleaſures as form the moſt approved purſuits here upon earth, and of a mixed kind, conſiſting partly in * military exerciſes, partly in mental

* Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris;
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur arena:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
Nec non Threicius longâ cum veſte ſacerdos
Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum,
Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulſat eburno.
Virgil, lib. vi. l. 642, et deinceps.

At Pater Anchiſes penitus convalle virenti
Incluſas animas, ſuperumque ad lumen ituras,
Luſtrabat ſtudio recolens, omnemque ſuorum
Forte recenſebat numerum, caroſque nepotes,
Fataque, fortunaſque virum, moreſque, manuſque.
Ibidem, lin. 679, et deinceps.

Milton has given a ſimilar deſcription of the employment of the fallen ſpirits in hell.

Part on the plain, or in the air ſublime
Upon the wing, or in ſwift race contend,
As at the Olympian games or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery ſteeds, or ſhun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.
——————— Others, more mild,
Retreated in a ſilent valley, ſing
With notes angelical to many a harp,
Their own heroic deeds, and hapleſs fall
By doom of battle, and complain that fate
Free virtue ſhould enthrall to force or chance.
Their ſong was partial, but the harmony,
(What could it leſs when ſpirits immortal ſing?)
Suſpended hell, and took with raviſhment
The thronging audience. In diſcourſe more ſweet
(For eloquence the ſoul, ſong charms the ſenſe),
Others apart ſat on a hill retir'd,

In

mental reſearches, and partly in the pleaſures of muſic; employments far ſuperior in dignity to thoſe aſſigned in either of the other extremes of temperature.

We may obſerve, in general, that the rewards promiſed by religion, in both hot and cold climates, have been of the ſenſual kind, according to the different kinds of pleaſure that prevailed in each; and in moderate ones, more of an intellectual nature.

SECT. VI. *Means of propagation of religion.*

The means by which religion has been propagated, have varied much in different climates.

In general, I think it may be obſerved, that a perſecuting ſpirit in religious matters has prevailed in warm climates ‖.

Nebuchadnezzar *, the king of Babylon, ſet up a golden image in the plain of Dura, to which he required all *people*, *nations*, and *languages*, to pay divine worſhip, under the penalty of being caſt into a fiery furnace. The prophet † Daniel was thrown into the den of lions for *privately* offering his devotions to the Almighty in his own houſe, contrary to the royal order, which enacted, that no prayer ſhould be offered to any but the king, for a certain period.

Cambyſes ‡ ſlew the god Apis with his own hands, and ordered the prieſts to be whipt, and all the people to be put to death, whom

> In thoughts more elevate, and reaſon'd high
> Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fix'd fate, free-will, foreknowledge abſolute,
> And found no end, in wandering mazes loſt."
>
> Parad. Loſt, book ii.

An inhabitant of the Eaſt would think theſe employments penances rather than pleaſures.—See alſo Mr. Monteſquieu's Perſian Letters, Letter cxxv.

‖ Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Roman Empire, p. 208.

* Daniel, chap. iii.

† Ibidem, ch. vi.

‡ Herodoti, lib. iii.

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he found rejoicing on the occaſion. The Egyptians, in their turn, were no leſs intolerant; any * perſon who voluntarily killed an ichneumon, a dog, a hawk, a wolf, or a crocodile, was condemned to death without mercy; and even the involuntary or accidental killing a cat or an ibis, was attended with the ſame puniſhment, and inflicted in the moſt cruel manner: to which laſt, Diodorus Siculus ſays, he himſelf was an eye-witneſs.

The † Ombi and the Tentyritæ, Egyptian nations, were irreconcileable enemies to each other, on account of the regard had by the former, and the averſion of the latter, to crocodiles; on which occaſion many bloody battles were fought. Xerxes ‡, invading Greece, deſtroyed the altars and the temples in Greece and Ionia, that of Epheſus alone excepted.

Even the Greeks and Romans, whoſe climate was more moderate, betrayed ſeveral marks of an intolerant ſpirit.

The Athenians prohibited the introduction of foreign deities, or of innovations in religion; and in conſequence of this law Socrates was impeached, and put to death. Theodorus || Cyrenaicus ſuffered the ſame fate. Ariſtotle quitted his country on an accuſation

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.

† Inter finitimos vetus, atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium, et nunquam ſanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrique
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum *ſolos* credat habendos
Eſſe Deos quos ipſe colit. Juvenal. Satyr. xv.

‡ Pauſanias, lib. viii. et x. Strabon. lib. xiv.—Patrum delubra eſſe in urbibus cenſeo, nec ſequor Magos Perſarum, quibus authoribus Xerxes inflammaſſe templa Greciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerent Deos, quibus omnia deberent eſſe patentia et libera.—Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii. § 42.

|| Athenæi, lib. xiii.—et Diogenes Laert.
Theotimus was alſo put to death for writing againſt Epicurus.—Ibidem Athenæi.

of a ſimilar nature; Stilpo was baniſhed; and * Diagoras proſcribed.

St. Paul alſo appears to have been accuſed on the ſame ground, at † Athens, as being a ſetter forth of ſtrange or foreign deities, and at ‡ Corinth, of perſuading men to worſhip God in a manner different from that preſcribed by the law.

The Roman laws were not leſs rigid in theſe reſpects; one of the moſt ancient of them prohibited the worſhip of any foreign ‖ deity except Faunus, and ſome others forbad even ** *private* devotions to any deities not publicly acknowledged by the ſtate.

Diſobedience to the †† augurs, in reſpect to their directions about religious tenets, was alſo by the ſame laws a capital crime.

This attention of the Romans to prevent the inroad of new ſuperſtitions, was conſpicuous in almoſt every period of their hiſtory. At an early age, the principal people of the ſtate affected to be ſcandalized at the introduction of new ‡‡ ſuperſtitions; in conſequence of which, a ſtrict law was made to prevent any other gods than the Roman ones being worſhipped, or any other form of worſhip being uſed.

* Ibidem Athenæi—et Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. p. 343, edit. Rhodomann.

† Acts of Apoſtles, ch. xvii.

‡ Ibidem, ch. xviii.

‖ Deos peregrinos præter Faunum ne colunto.—Ex veteri tabula a Balduino deſcripta.

** Separatim nemo habeſſit deos.

Neve novos, ſed ne advenas niſi publice adſcitos *privatim* colunto.

Divos, et eos qui cœleſtes ſemper habiti, colunto.—Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii.

†† Quique non paruerit capitale eſto.—Ibidem.

‡‡ Nec corpora modo affecta tabo, ſed animos quoque multiplex religio, et pleraque externa invaſit; novos ritus ſacrificando, vaticinando inferentibus in domos, quibus quæſtui ſunt capti ſuperſtitione animi: donec publicus jam pudor ad primores civitatis pervenit; cernentes in omnibus vicis ſacelliſque peregrina atque inſolita piacula pacis Deorum expoſcendæ. Datum inde negotium ædilibus ut animadverterent, ne qui, niſi Romani Dii, neu quo alio more quam patrio, colerentur.—Livii lib. iv. § 30.

At a ſubſequent period, the like ſentiments are repeated in terms ſtill more * cogent and expreſſive; and at one ſtill † later, the ſame advice is delivered in words that admit of no doubt as to their meaning. The emperors preſerved the ſame ideas with reſpect to uniformity in religion ‡. Tiberius || aboliſhed the worſhip of the

* Ne quis etiam errore labatur veſtrum quoque non ſum ſecurus, nihil enim in ſpeciem ſallacius eſt quam prava religio. Ubi Deorum numen prætenditur ſceleribus ſubit animum timor ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis divini juris aliquid immiſtum violemus. Hac vos religione innumerabilia decreta pontificum, ſenatus conſulta, aruſpicum denique reſponſa, liberant. Quoties hoc patrum avorumque ætate, negotium eſt magiſtratibus datum ut ſacra externa fieri vetarent; ſacrificulos vateſque foro, circo, urbe prohiberent; vaticinos libros conquirerent comburerentque; omnem diſciplinam ſacrificandi præterquam more Romano abolerent? Judicabant enim prudentiſſimi viri omnis divini humanique juris nihil æque diſſolvendæ religionis eſſe, quam ubi non patrio ſed externo ritu ſacrificaretur. Hæc vobis prædicenda ratus ſum, ne qua ſuperſtitio agitaret animos veſtros, quum demolientes nos Bacchanalia diſcutienteſque nefarios cætus cerneretis. Omnia Diis propitiis volentibuſque ea faciemus; qui, quia ſuum numen ſceleribus libidinibuſque contaminari indigne ferebant ex occultis ea tenebris in lucem extraxerunt; nec patefieri ut impunita eſſent, ſed ut vindicarentur et opprimerentur voluerunt. Senatus quæſtionem extra ordinem de ea re mihi collegæque meo mandavit: nos quæ ipſis nobis agenda ſunt impigre exſequemur.—Livii lib. xxxix. § 16.

† Worſhip the Gods, ſays Mecænas to Auguſtus, at all times, and in all places, according to the cuſtoms of your country, and compel others to honour them. Hate and puniſh thoſe who make innovations in this article, not only on account of the Gods—as he who deſpiſes them can have no regard for any thing—but becauſe they who introduce new deities intice many to the following of new laws, &c.—Dion Caſſius, lib. lii.

‡ Actum et de ſacris Ægyptiis Judaiciſque pellendis: factumque patrum conſultum ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea ſuperſtitione infecta quibus idonea ætas in inſulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniis; et ſi ob gravitatem cœli interiiſſent *vile damnum*. Cæteri cederent Italiâ niſi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuiſſent.—Taciti Annal. l. ii. § 85.

Externas ceremonias, Ægyptios Judaicoſque ritus compeſcuit: coactis qui ſuperſtitione ea tenebantur religioſas veſtes cum inſtrumento omni comburere. Judæorum juventutem per ſpeciem ſacramenti in provincias gravioris cœli diſtribuit; reliquos gentis ejuſdem vel ſimilia ſectantes, urbe ſubmovit, ſub pœnâ perpetuæ ſervitutis niſi obtemperaſſent.—Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. xxxvi.

|| Plinii Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxx. cap. 1.—Sueton. l. v.

Druids in Gaul, and forbad all foreign rites and ceremonies, eſpecially the Egyptian and Jewiſh, and puniſhed very ſeverely thoſe who practiſed them. Nero put many perſons * to death, who were guilty of no other crime than confeſſing their being of the Chriſtian perſuaſion; and † Domitian not only laid heavy impoſitions on the Jews, but compelled thoſe to pay them, who, although they did not profeſs that religion, lived in that manner. The ſame ‡ emperor put to death his couſin, Fabius Clemens, and baniſhed his wife, Flavia Domitilla, a relation of Domitian's, for their adherence to the Jewiſh, or perhaps the Chriſtian, religion; on which account many others were condemned, and a part deprived of their lives, and the remainder of them of their eſtates. Even the younger Pliny put many to || death and torture, merely, as he ſays, for perſiſting in an erroneous and immoderate ſuperſtition; which indeed conſiſted in no more than meeting before light, on a certain day, to ſing a hymn to Chriſt as a Deity, and to bind themſelves by an ** oath to be guilty of no crime; to commit neither theft, robbery, nor adultery; to keep their faith; and to acknowledge the receipt of whatever had been entruſted to their care: this, with their meeting at meal-times—which meetings, however, were perfectly innocent—was the ſum of the crimes laid

* Tacit. lib. xv. cap. 44.

† Sueton. lib. vii. cap. 12.—Suetonius ſays, he himſelf was preſent when a man of ninety years old was very rudely treated on this account.

‡ Dion. Caſſ. Epitome, lib. lxvii.

|| Quo magis neceſſarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quæ miniſtræ dicebantur, quid eſſet veri *et per tormenta* quærere; ſed nihil aliud inveni quam ſuperſtitionem pravam et immodicam, ideoque dilata cognitione ad conſulendum te decurri.

** Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto quaſi Deo dicere ſecum invicem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellati abnegarent; quibus peractis morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum; promiſcuum tamen et *innoxium*.—Plinii Ep. lib. x. ep. 97.

to

to their charge; yet for theſe they were expoſed to torture and to death. Numberleſs other inſtances of their intolerant ſpirit might be adduced; but they are, I truſt, unneceſſary.

In later times, Mahommedaniſm was propagated, not by reaſon, but by arms; nor did Mahommed, or his followers, employ any argument to overthrow the religions which they oppoſed. This religion ſtill ſpeaks to mankind with the ſame deſtructive ſpirit with which it was founded.

Chriſtianity, alſo, has been grievouſly diſgraced by a ſtill more exceptionable conduct in ſome of its profeſſors, who have converted the mild and benign invitation of the Almighty to truth and happineſs, into a pretence for the exerciſe of the moſt odious cruelty that ever diſhonoured human nature.

The northern nations, on the other hand, ſhewed but little diſpoſition to religious perſecution. Neither the Scythians, deſcribed by Herodotus, the Germans by Tacitus, nor the Hunns and Alans by Ammianus Marcellinus, ſeem to have laid any great ſtreſs on the conformity of others to their religious opinion; nor are any marks of a perſecuting diſpoſition to be found in the Edda, or religious code of the Runic mythology. No force or violence was, I believe, ever offered in Ruſſia on account of religion. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that practical perſecution has been ſometimes exerciſed in cold climates; but it was, I apprehend, always contrary to the ſpirit of the people, and only ſupported by force and ſuperſtition in the prince.

This difference of conduct between the northern and ſouthern parts of Europe, will be found conſonant to their diſpoſitions, and other circumſtances belonging to them, before deſcribed.

The ſenſibility being leſs in cold climates than in hot, the paſſions are not ſo warm, nor their reſentment at oppoſition ſo violent.

Next, religion, in the latter, is more a matter of reaſon than of ſentiment;

ſentiment; and therefore all ideas of * revenging the cauſe of the Deity are laid aſide, and offences againſt religion conſidered only as they affect the peace of ſociety; conſequently, they are but few in number, and thoſe lightly cenſured.

Next, this religion, being more of the intellectual kind, is leſs connected with objects of ſenſe †; which laſt circumſtance has a great effect in engaging the mind and paſſions in ſupport of what is united with it, and is one great cauſe of the religious zeal of hot climates.

Another reaſon, I apprehend, is the active ſpirit of enquiry which is natural to ſuch climates and ſituations. This is notably inſtanced in Chriſtianity. When the Chriſtian religion came to be made a ſubject of ratiocination, as among the Proteſtants, various opinions preſently aroſe concerning the meaning of ſeveral paſſages in the ſcriptures. As no one pretended to an infallible guide, like the members of the church of Rome, no one could pretend to any certainty, farther than as reaſon or argument ſupported him; conſequently, theſe were then introduced, as the proper and only juſtifiable means of conviction. Moreover, as the ſeveral ſects of Reformers claimed each of them a degree of general divine inſpiration, which operated in a different manner upon each individual, they were, by a natural train of thinking, induced to permit in others the ſame variations in which they indulged themſelves. This turn for enquiry, although it be in ſome reſpects favourable to religion, is in others injurious. Beſides introducing a great variety of ſects and opinions—which are of themſelves perhaps rather favourable than prejudicial to the inveſtigation of truth, by the arguments ſuggeſted by each—it has been the ſource of much

* Vide Spirit of Laws, Book xii. ch. 4.—and Voltaire's Comm. on Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhments, Ch. iv. & v.

† Spirit of Laws, Book xxv. ch. 2.

infidelity,

infidelity, and illiberal, as well as impious, abuſe of religion in general. This very abuſe has, however, been productive of ſome good effects, in exciting the friends of Chriſtianity to exert themſelves in its defence; and accordingly it has been remarked, that England—where the Chriſtian religion is attacked, probably, in a more public manner than in any other country in Europe—has produced the || beſt works in its defence that have appeared, eſpecially in proving the conſonancy of that ſyſtem to reaſon.

Something of this kind appears to be now and then neceſſary, in order to excite the attention of thoſe whoſe particular province and duty it is to watch over the concerns of religion, and prevent their abating their vigilance under the pretence of ſafety. It has been remarked of ſtates, that they are never in greater hazard than when they are moſt confident of ſecurity; and the like is not leſs true of religion. Chriſtianity was never ſo corrupt, both in theory and practice, as when one ſect of it only prevailed, and none durſt impugn any of its doctrines.

The free diſpoſition of the people of the North, has alſo been favourable to this mode of propagating religion by argument and enquiry; and the turn for theſe, ſuggeſted by religion, has been no ſmall cauſe of the eſtabliſhment and ſecurity of civil freedom. England, Holland, great part of Germany, and Swiſſerland, were rouſed to aſſert their civil rights, by having before aſſerted a freedom of choice and ſentiment in religion; ſo that, in this caſe, the Reformation was a double bleſſing to mankind, not only in breaking the bonds of ignorance and ſuperſtition, but thoſe alſo of tyranny and arbitrary power.

|| The clergy of England not being able to protect religion, nor to be protected by it, only ſeek to perſuade. Their pens, therefore, furniſh us with excellent works in proof of revelation, and of the providence of the Supreme Being.—Spirit of Laws.——Angli profundæ ſpeculationis ſunt in Theologia morali.—Hoffman.

CHAP. XXIII.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROPERTIES AND QUALITIES OF THE AIR.

HITHERTO I have ſpoken of the air, conſidered with reſpect to its temperature. But the air may affect us by other means.

SECT. I. *Effects of the weight of the air.*

The degree of preſſure of the atmoſphere upon the human body has not been exactly eſtimated, it having been computed from 31,000 and upwards, to upwards of 42,000 pounds weight. In the different ſtates of the atmoſphere this varies, from the ſmalleſt proportion poſſible, to upwards of one tenth of the whole quantity; ſuch being the difference between its greateſt and leaſt preſſure.

The effects of theſe variations are not aſcertained. Some writers ſay, that a denſe or heavy atmoſphere encreaſes * the powers and ſtrength of the body, and *e contra*. But theſe accounts are, I believe, more from theory than from obſervation; and the differences really found, under ſuch circumſtances, in any ſtates of the atmoſphere to which any nation or body of men are ſubject, are not productive of any very evident effects; and in the preſent enquiry may be ſafely neglected.

* Halleri Phyſiol. Lib. viii. § 3.—Gaub. Patholog. § 434.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Peculiar Impregnations.*

The air may alſo affect the human body by its own ſpecific or peculiar qualities. The air, it is well known, is capable of uniting with a great variety of ſubſtances. Indeed it never appears in a perfectly pure ſtate, but always with conſiderable admixture of other bodies. As, however, its degrees of purity are very different, I ſhall conſider it firſt in the pureſt ſtate in which it is uſually found, and afterwards ſpeak of the alterations produced in it, relative to its effects in the circumſtances belonging to the preſent ſubject, by ſuch impregnations as uſually occur.

The purity of the air has always been thought to be favourable to health. An impure air, Galen remarks, is unfavourable to every age and ſituation in life. A pure air, therefore, was eſteemed favourable to the functions of the mind, which are ſo intimately connected with thoſe of the † body. But, independent of this conſideration, every one muſt be ſatisfied from experience of the effect of a freſh and pure air upon the mental powers, and how much they are elevated and improved by it.

Our great poet, ‡ Milton, ſeems to have paid a particular regard to this circumſtance, which he deſcribes with great feeling and energy.

It

† Experientia magiſtra quotidie docet aerem purum ſerenum & temperatum ſanitati ac vitæ quam maxime eſſe accommodatum. — Hoffman de Aeris ad ſanitatem uſu.

‡ As one who long in populous city pent,
Where houſes thick and ſewers annoy the air,
Forth iſſuing on a ſummer's morn to *breathe*
Among the pleaſant villages and farms
Adjoin'd, from each thing met conceives delight.
Paradiſe Loſt, Book ix.

It may therefore be concluded, that a pure air is favourable to the efforts of the intellectual powers, as well as to the health in general.

The peculiar impregnations which are liable to affect the air, are next to be mentioned.

One of these, the most simple, and indeed the most common of any, is *water*.

This may be contained in the air in two states; one in that of *solution*, and again in that of *diffusion*: and it is the latter of these that we denominate a moist atmosphere.

A moist air is less suited than a dry one to absorb the effluvia of bodies, particularly of the human body, as the perspiratory and pulmonary discharges. It also promotes the putrefaction of ani-

> Where I, a prisoner chain'd, scarce freely draw
> The air imprison'd also, close and damp,
> Unwholesome draught: but here I feel amends,
> The breath of Heaven fresh blowing, pure and sweet
> With day-spring born; here leave me to respire.
>
> Sampson Agonistes, ad Initium.

The same great poet makes it one of the punishments attendant on the expulsion from Paradise, "to breathe in other air less pure."

Milton, indeed, appears to have been particularly sensible of this effect of pure air upon the spirits.

> ——And of pure, now purer, air
> Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
> Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
> All sadness but despair.
>
> Parad. Lost Book iv.

Dr. Priestley mentions, that he himself was sensible of a peculiar lightness and ease, after breathing artificial air of a high degree of purity. Diodorus Siculus, also, delivers it as his opinion, that pure air and pure water were circumstances favourable to arts and science.—Diodor. Descr. Indiæ.

Virgil makes a pure and fresh air one of the pleasures of Elysium.

Largior hic Campos Æther & lumine vestit Purpureo.—Æneid, Lib. vi.

mal

mal and vegetable ſubſtances. Hence may be derived, in ſome meaſure, the effects of a moiſt air on the mind and intellects.

The * ſound ſtate of the mind, as well as the health of the body, is nearly connected with the freedom and regularity of perſpiration; and the obſtruction of this diſcharge is generally attended with low ſpirits. The obſtruction, therefore, which a moiſt air gives to perſpiration, is a preſumption that it is unfavourable to the powers of the mind and underſtanding.

The ill effects, however, of a moiſt air, are much aggravated when the moiſture is combined with † marſh effluvia. Theſe are thought, by the moſt experienced philoſophers, to poſſeſs certain ſedative powers, which act upon the nervous ſyſtem, diminiſh the energy of the brain, and debilitate the whole of the functions. When theſe accumulate to a certain degree, a fever, generally of the ‡ intermittent kind, is produced; which probably is no more, originally, than an effort of nature to counteract the debility, and,

* Poſidonius thought, that a dry air was favourable to the underſtanding. — Strabo, Lib. ii.

† Cullen's Practice of Phyſic, § 46 and 82.

‡ The following paſſage from Shakeſpeare, is a true copy from nature, and ſhews how an ague may produce cowardice, even in Cæſar himſelf.

> He had a fever when he was in Spain,
> And when the fit was on him, I did mark
> How he did ſhake: 'tis true, this god did ſhake;
> His coward lips did from their colour fly;
> And that ſame eye, whoſe bend doth awe the world,
> Did loſe its luſtre: I did hear him groan;
> Aye, and that tongue of his, that bade the Romans
> Mark him, and write his ſpeeches in their books,
> Alas! it cried—" Give me ſome drink, Titinius,"
> As a ſick girl. Julius Cæſar, Act. I.

That a marſh effluvia has a tendency to produce intermittent fevers, vide Sir J. Pringle's Works—Cullen's Practice of Phyſic—Van Swieten's Commentaries, &c.

perhaps, to throw off that which would deſtroy her powers. This effort of nature, however, is exerted only when the contagious effluvia have been encreaſed in force to a certain degree. But at the times when it may not be ſufficiently active, or accumulated in quantity ſufficient to excite ſuch an exertion, its effect is ſtill not loſt, but ſhews itſelf in its action upon the diſpoſition and habit. Thus ‖ Hippocrates ſays of the people, who live upon the banks of the river Phaſis, which is a very marſhy country, that they differ much from the reſt of mankind, being of a large ſize and bulk, of a bloated habit and a pale ſallow complexion, of a jaundiced caſt, and with a hoarſe voice. As to their mental qualities, they have a diſlike for all labour and exertion of the faculties. The country of * Bœotia, in Greece, was formerly remarkable for the ſtupidity of the people, which was generally aſcribed, and probably with reaſon, to the thickneſs and moiſture of the air; and is, on that account, oppoſed by † Cicero to the clear dry air, and acute and lively genius, that prevailed at Athens. Perhaps this may be one cauſe of the apathy and inſenſibility of the North American Indians, who live in a country which, from

‖ De Aeribus, Aquis, & Locis, § 38.

* Bœotum in craſſo jurares aëre natum.—Horatii Epiſtol. Lib. ii. l. 244.

The city of Haliartus in Greece, which was obſerved by Plutarch and Strabo to ſtand in a marſhy ſituation, was remarkable for the dullneſs and ſtupidity of the inhabitants.—Vide a Fragment of Dicæarchus in Hudſon's Geograph. Script. Minor.

Ariſtotle alſo obſerves, that marſhy ſituations render the people heavy and ſtupid.—Problem. § xiii. queſt. 11.

It was the opinion of Plato, in his Timæus, which ſentiment is adopted and quoted by Galen, that moiſture produced folly, and dryneſs underſtanding. — Galen de Animæ morum & corporei temperamenti mutua conſecutione.

† Athenis tenue cælum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici; craſſum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani.—Cicero de Fato.

Athenæus obſerves, that a thick air tends to make the manners rude and uncivilized. Lib. xiv.

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its uncultivated ſtate, is over-run with ‡ woods and marſhes; and conſequently the air muſt be replete with effluvia of this kind. If this ſuppoſition be true, it will in ſome meaſure account for the improvement of the genius of the people, from that of the country itſelf, by clearing and draining it of its ſuperfluous ‖ moiſture.

Another kind of effluvia, which is diſperſed through the air, and in ſome parts forms a conſiderable impregnation of it, is the odour of plants. Theſe, in this part of the world, are ſeldom very diſcernible in the country at large; but are in ſome places very powerful. Thus, in the Molucca iſlands, and in that of * Ceylon, the odour of the ſpice-trees is ſo ſtrong, as to be diſtinctly perceived at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from the ſhore: and the ſame is ſaid to be true of ſome iſlands on the coaſt of Africa. What effect theſe may have upon the human mind or diſpoſition, I cannot determine; but it ſeems not improbable, that the offering of incenſe, and of ſweet odours, in ſacrifice—eſpecially where a deprecation of the † anger of the Deity, or puniſhment,

‡ Countries which lie uncultivated, naturally become marſhy and full of woods. The rivers being obſtructed in their courſe, overflow the low lands, and ſtagnating there, produce marſhes and bogs. This was the ſtate of Germany in the time of Tacitus and Pomponius Mela.

Terra etſi aliquando ſpecie differt, eſt in univerſum aut ſylvis horrida aut paludibus fæda.—Taciti Germania.

Terra etſi multis impedita fluminibus multis montibus aſpera & magna ex parte ſilvis & paludibus invia.—Pompon. Mela Deſcr. Germaniæ.

‖ Perhaps this may be one cauſe of the improvement of the Germans.

* Porro per aerem odori plantarum ſpiritus oberrant paſſim adeo conferti ut qui Ceyloniam inſulam præternavigant ad aliquot milliarium ambroſiacos beatæ regionis odores percipiant.—Haller. Phyſiolog. Lib. viii. § 3.

† As in the caſe of Noah at coming out from the ark.

And the Lord ſmelled a ſweet ſavour; and the Lord ſaid in his heart, I will not again curſe the ground any more for man's ſake.—Geneſis, chap. viii.——The heathen mythology reſembled the Jewiſh in this reſpect.

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ment, was intended—was derived from ſome obſervation of the calming ‡ and chearing effects of theſe odours upon the human ſyſtem; and indeed, this opinion is not entirely deſtitute of foundation in medical experience; ſince we find that aromatic ſubſtances of that kind have a ſingular effect in calming the perturbations of the ſpirits and agitations of the nerves; and are, indeed, uſed commonly in medicine with that intention.

Animal effluvia, as well as vegetable, are capable of being mixed with the air, and ſuſpended in it. Theſe are now generally eſteemed to be the cauſe or ſource of fevers of the || malignant or contagious kind; and generally of a nature highly putrid. This

——— cur quamvis aliorum numina placem
Jane tibi primum *thura* merumque fero?
Ovid. Faſt. l. i.

‡ The ancients had a great opinion of the comforting and cordial effects of ſweet odours.

"Know you not," ſays Maſurius in Athenæus, "that the ſenſes are comforted and refreſhed by ſweet odours; which is expreſſed by Alexis, in his piece of the Wicked Woman.

It is, ſays he, the moſt neceſſary conſideration relative to health, to apply good odours to the brain." Anacreon and Alcæus have alſo expreſſed ſimilar opinions. —Athenæi, lib. xv.

Milton deſcribes the ſea as appeaſed and calmed by the odour of aromatic plants.

——————— and many a league,
Chear'd with the grateful ſmell, old ocean ſmiles.
Paradiſe Loſt, book iv. l. 164, 165.

Arioſto, alſo, deſcribes the delight which vegetable ſweet odours give to the mind.

E quella a i fiori a i pomi e a la verzura
Gli odor' diverſi depredando giva
E di tutti facera una miſtura
Che di ſoavita a l'alma notriva.
Orlando Furioſ. canto xxxiv. ſtanza 51.

|| To this purpoſe, it is now well known, that the effluvia conſtantly ariſing from the living human body, if long retained in the ſame place, without being diſ-

This diſpoſition of the body is found to have a remarkable effect in diminiſhing the * energy of the brain and nerves, as a great degree of dejection of ſpirits and ſtrength is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing ſymptoms.

It is not, indeed, except when the contagion is either accumulated in large quantity, or very virulent in its nature, that it cauſes a malignant fever; but this infection is ſaid to have the power, contrary to moſt other ſpecific contagions, of affecting the body in an ‡ inferior degree, in proportion to its quantity or nature. If this be the caſe, as it ſeems to be, then it may affect the diſpoſition and habit, without riſing to what may be called an actual diſorder. Mankind, indeed, are not, in general, expoſed to ſuch influence; but in ſome caſes it may happen even to large bodies of people, particularly thoſe who are ſhut up in large towns and cloſe ſtreets; and eſpecially to ſeamen, whoſe cloſe confinement in ſhips, and the number accumulated together, render contagions of this kind very frequent.

From theſe effects we may preſume, that an air thus depraved, is not more favourable to the genius and diſpoſition,

fuſed in the atmoſphere, acquire a ſingular virulence; and in that ſtate, applied to the bodies of men, become the ſource of a fever, which is very contagious.—Cullen's Practice of Phyſic, p. 71, 72.

* Labor & confuſio in cerebro.—Sauvage.

A conſtant pain and confuſion in the head.—Pringle.

The head-ach and giddineſs are much more conſiderable than in common fevers, even from the beginning.—Huxham on the Putrid Malignant Fever.

‡ Malignitas ſæpe diu lateat & non niſi ubi vires ſumpſit ſeſe prodat.—Sennert. Epitome de Febrib. lib. iv. cap. 10.

When there is no great quantity of infectious matter, or where a perſon has not breathed long in ſuch dangerous ſteams, or where it is not particularly virulent, he will either eſcape, or have the ſymptoms come on ſo ſlowly, as to leave room for prevention before the fever be formed. Much alſo will depend on the conſtitution. Some will have the diſorder hanging about them ſeveral days or weeks before it confines them to their bed; others will complain for weeks of the ſame ſymptoms, without any regular fever.—Pringle on the Jail Fever.

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than to the health of mankind.—Perhaps it may be refining too far, to aſcribe the timid character generally attributed to the inhabitants of great cities to this cauſe; yet a diſpoſition of the body to putrefaction, produces this effect in a remarkable manner. This is ‖ inſtanced in the ſcurvy:—which, by the way, may be aſcribed with at leaſt equal probability to foul air, as to any other cauſe—wherein the courage † and reſolution are found to fail very greatly.

Mineral effluvia, as well as vegetable or animal, may ariſe into, and remain ſuſpended in the air. Theſe are of various kinds, as of metals, volatile ſalts, ſulphur, &c. By many of theſe the health is liable to be affected; but how far they influence mankind in the reſpects here intimated, I cannot determine. One obſervation, however, it may be proper to mention, which is related by Mr. Brydone to have been made by an ingenious philoſopher on the ſpot, the celebrated Padre del Torre, the hiſtoriographer of Mount Veſuvius—that in the places where the air is moſt ſtrongly impregnated with ſulphur and hot exhalations, the people were always the moſt wicked and vicious. The truth of this obſervation, Mr. Brydone informs us, ſeemed to be confirmed by ſimilar remarks on the people in the neighbourhood of Mount Etna.

Another impregnation of the air which occurs very frequently, and in ſome countries in a greater degree than in others, is that of electric matter. By ſome this is imagined to affect the ſpirits very conſiderably: which ſeems probable by the ſenſation of lowneſs which many feel on the approach of a thunder-ſtorm.

But how far theſe may influence any of the particular articles here mentioned, our knowledge of the ſubject is not yet ſufficient to determine.

‖ Dejection and low ſpirits is the firſt ſyptom of the Sea-Scurvy.—Vide Doctors Lind and Rouppe.

† Vide Rouppe's Diſeaſes of Seamen, p. 155, 159.—and Lord Anſon's Voyage, p. 146.

BOOK II.

Of the Influence of Situation and Extent of a Country.

THE ſituation, and comparative ſize and extent of a country, as well as its climate, have ſome effect in ſeveral of the reſpects above-mentioned.

CHAP. I.

OF THE EFFECTS OF A SITUATION TO THE EAST OR WEST OF EUROPE.

SOME writers have made a diſtinction between thoſe people who live towards the * Eaſt or Weſt. But this is of no conſequence; and the differences they remark, may be aſcribed to other cauſes. The diſtinctions of this kind, found in the ancient writers, which are in ſome meaſure ſtill kept up in modern expreſſion, evidently refer to a difference of climate. The ancients

* Tandem etiam diſcrimen obſervatur inter populos qui ad orientem & ad occidentem habitant.—Hoffman.

looked upon the Eaſt, as well as the South, as the region of heat, from the countries in that quarter, with which they were acquainted, lying in a hot climate.

CHAP. II.

EFFECTS OF AN INSULAR OR CONTINENTAL SITUATION.

ANOTHER diſtinction, of more importance, is into iſland and continent.

As the influence of a ſituation of this kind is principally exerted on the form of * government, I ſhall conſider it chiefly with that view.

The inhabitants of iſlands, † Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, have a higher reliſh for liberty than thoſe of the continent; and therefore are, in general, free.—Thus the inhabitants of Great Britain ‡ were a free people, according to the firſt accounts we have of them. Sicily was, I believe, at the earlieſt period of which we have any hiſtory, divided into a number of ſmall independent republics. Sardinia ||, alſo, was a free country, and preſerved its liberty againſt all the attacks of the Carthaginians; and it appears alſo to have been but imperfectly ſubdued even by the Romans. Strabo ** mentions the obſtinate defence made by the Corſicans — who, in his time, ſtill maintained a degree of independence—againſt

* Moſt of the other conſequences, derived from an inſular or continental ſituation, appear to be derived from their effects on the form of government.

† Spirit of Laws, book xviii. ch. 5.

‡ Taciti Agricola, cap. xii, xiii. — Diodori, lib. iv. — Dion Caſſii, lib. lxii. Oratio Bunduicæ.—Vide etiam lib. lxvi.

|| Diodor. Siculi, lib. v.—Strabon. lib. v.

** Strabon. lib. v.

the Romans. Crete was the model of ſeveral of the moſt celebrated republics; and even the ſmall iſlands in the Egean ſea were each of them free and independent ſtates.

The Balearic iſlands were not reduced without a * vigorous reſiſtance; and the conqueſt of theſe, however inconſiderable in ſize, added another title to the triumphs of Metellus.

Even in the preſent age, a degree of independent ſpirit is found in the people of Sicily and Sardinia, each of which preſerve the appearance, at leaſt, of a free conſtitution. And the ſame diſpoſition was found in a great degree in the Eaſt Indian iſlands; which ſtill remain moſtly under the dominion of the original inhabitants, whilſt the continent has always been, and ſtill is, a prey to every invader.

This love of liberty and conſequent freedom is owing to ſeveral cauſes. Iſlands are commonly but of moderate extent: one part of the people cannot be ſo eaſily employed to oppreſs the other, the intereſts of all being nearly alike: the ſea ſeparates them from great empires, ſo that they cannot be countenanced by tyranny: conquerors are ſtopped by the ſea: the iſlanders themſelves are not involved in conqueſts, and more eaſily preſerve their † laws.

Another reaſon why iſlands are more free than continents, particularly in hot climates, is, that in them the heat is not ſo extreme as on the continent; and conſequently the people are leſs timid, indolent, and ſervile, and of courſe leſs ſuited to that form of government.

Another cauſe why, in civilized countries at leaſt, an inſular ſituation is more favourable to freedom, is, that in them the people have a natural diſpoſition to naval ‡ affairs; and of conſequence

* Strabon. lib. iii.—Lucii Flori, lib. iii. cap. 8.

† Spirit of Laws, book xviii. ch. 5.

‡ Themiſtocles ordered, that the pulpit for public orations ſhould be turned towards the ſea, which the thirty tyrants afterwards turned towards the land, ſuppoſing

quence the chief ſtrength of the country is employed on fleets and a maritime force.

Now, in ſuch circumſtances, a ſtanding army, which is always neceſſary to the ſupport of deſpotiſm, could ſcarcely be maintained; and would alſo be conſiderably checked by the naval power, which is itſelf no ways hazardous to liberty, but difficult to be made an engine of tyranny.

This is the cauſe why Holland and Venice, the latter eſpecially, have ſhewn ſo much jealouſy of their land forces, whilſt they put ſuch unbounded confidence in their fleets.

What has been ſaid of iſlands, may in a great meaſure be applied to countries that approach to iſlands in their ſituation. It has been obſerved, generally, that the moſt reſpectable nations have had one part of their frontier waſhed by the ſea. Thus * Ariſtotle adviſes to chuſe a ſituation for a city, if poſſible, adjacent to the ſea. This barrier is, perhaps, the ſtrongeſt of any in the times of barbariſm; and in the advanced ſtate of arts, gives ſcope and facility to commerce. Thriving and independent nations were accordingly ſcattered on the banks of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans; they ſurrounded the Red-ſea, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic; whilſt (a few tribes excepted, who retire among the mountains bordering on India and Perſia, or who have found ſome rude eſtabliſhment among the creeks and ſhores of the Caſpian and † Euxine ſeas) there is ſcarcely a people in the vaſt continent of Aſia that deſerves the name of nation.

A naval power is alſo cultivated in inſular ſituations, not only

poſing that great power by ſea would give life and encouragement to a popular government; but that labourers and huſbandmen would be leſs offended at the greatneſs of the nobility.—Plutarch's Life of Themiſtocles.

* De Republica, lib. vii. cap. 5.

† All the free nations in Aſia, mentioned by Xenophon, in his Expedition of Cyrus, (the Carduchi of the mountains, and the Greek colonies, excepted) were ſituated on the Euxine Sea.—Spelman's Xenophon, p. 298.

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on account of trade, but alſo becauſe of the influence it beſtows among the neighbouring nations. The Athenians, by means of a naval power, gave laws to the greateſt ‡ monarch of his time, and humbled the maritime powers of Syria, the iſle of Cyprus, and Phœnicia. But the Athenians, although they poſſeſſed a great maritime force, yet not being placed in an iſland, and alſo exerting the chief of their force in the naval ſervice, were liable to ſome inconveniences from their ſituation, which are well pointed out by Xenophon in his account of that republic. "Athens," ſays he, "rules the ſea; but as that country is joined to the continent, it is ravaged by enemies, whilſt the Athenians are engaged in diſtant expeditions. Their leaders ſuffer their lands to be deſtroyed, and ſecure their wealth by ſending it to ſome iſland. The populace, who have no land, have no uneaſineſs. But if the Athenians inhabited an iſland, and beſides that enjoyed the empire of the ſea, they would, as long as they were poſſeſſed of theſe advantages, be able to annoy others, and at the ſame time be out of all danger of being annoyed themſelves." One would imagine, ſays Mr. ‖ Monteſquieu, that Xenophon was ſpeaking of England.

‡ The king of Perſia, in his treaty with Cimon, agreed to keep as far from the ſea as a horſe could gallop.—Plutarch's Life of Cimon.

‖ Spirit of Laws, book xxi. ch. 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

SIZE AND STRENGTH OF A COUNTRY.

THE ſize and ſtrength of a country, comparatively with that of its neighbours, is alſo a circumſtance of the utmoſt importance. This is a ſubject upon which no determinate rule can be given, as the meaſure of enlargement of any particular ſtate muſt be taken from the condition of thoſe adjoining. Where a number of ſtates are contiguous, they ſhould be nearly on an * equality, that they may be objects of reſpect and conſideration to one another; and that they may poſſeſs that independency in which the political life of nations conſiſts. Thus, when the kingdoms of Spain were united; when the great fiefs of France were annexed to the crown †, it was no longer expedient for the nations of Great Britain to remain disjoined.

In general, however, the union of many ſtates under one head proves ſubverſive of the genius and virtue of the whole. The emulation which formerly ſubſiſted between them, and which is,

* All grandeur, force, and power, are relative; care therefore muſt be taken, that in endeavouring to increaſe the real grandeur, the relative be not diminiſhed. Sp. of Laws.

† Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, that France was at its higheſt pitch of relative grandeur in the time of Louis XIV.—Germany had not then ſuch powerful monarchs as it has ſince produced; Italy was in the ſame caſe; England and Scotland were not formed into one united kingdom; Arragon was not joined to Caſtile; and Muſcovy was as little known in Europe as Crim Tartary.—Sp. of Laws, book ix. ch. 9.——I ſuſpect that Louis XII. is meant in the above quotation. It is, however, printed Louis XIV. in two editions.

indeed,

indeed, the parent of theſe qualities, is extinguiſhed. The ſcene of political intrigue and buſineſs, which fed the fire of liberty, and incited the citizens to endeavour to qualify themſelves for the ſervice of the public, is removed from the ſeparate ſtates, and concentered in one capital; conſequently, the political genius of nations falls to decay for want of employment, and that fire dies away in obſcurity, which in another ſituation would have conducted the fortune of the ſtate to greatneſs and to glory. This we ſee notoriouſly exemplified in the Grecian republics. Thraſibulus, Ageſilaus, and Epaminondas, were all formed by the contention of the reſpective ſtates to which they belonged. Had the cities of Greece been united under one head, it is more than probable, theſe eminent characters would never have appeared. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be owned, that this muſt be underſtood with ſome limitations. The ſize of the Grecian republics, however well adapted to their ſituation, and the ſtate of mankind at that period, would be too ſmall, in the preſent diviſion of empire, to acquire ſufficient ſtrength to preſerve a political independency, and, inſtead of maintaining their liberty, would only become contemptible. The ſmallneſs of force and power fruſtrates, in a great meaſure, the advantage of ſeparation. Their ſituation would ſomewhat reſemble that of the allodial tenants in England, and the other parts of Europe, on the firſt introduction of feuds. They were liable to attacks from all, without a claim of ſupport from any. This cauſed them all, in a few years, to be converted into feudal tenures, under which they had a claim of protection, in recompence for the ſervice or rent which they yielded.

It is, however, true, that the uſual pretext for enlarging the territory of a nation (which is, to encreaſe its force and power) though it may be ſometimes really meant with that intention, is in general only a ſpecious cover for the rapacity or ambition of the leaders of the ſtate. Thoſe who are diſpoſed to plunder, either the property

property or rights of mankind, are not to learn * that the increaſe of dominion beyond a certain limit has a natural tendency that way; and that nations who were free at the commencement of their victories, often come, in the courſe of them, to be yoked with the ſlaves whom they had conquered. The enlargement of territory is apt to debaſe the manners both of the victors and the vanquiſhed, and to render them alike ſervile, timid, and corrupt. The extent of the ſtate prevents the concurrence of the different parts in the vindication of their reſpective privileges: one part is employed to oppreſs the other: jealouſies are mutually fomented between them, by thoſe who are to be the gainers by their ſubjection; which hinders their co-operation in time, and with force ſufficient to prevent the chains of deſpotiſm being rivetted upon them. Hence, the union of the fiefs in France and Spain produced an abſolute government in both. Their rulers, by tampering ſeparately with the different provinces, prevented their uniting together to ſupport one another, and indeed, made each of them reſpectively the cauſes of the other's ſubjection. England, on the † contrary, which was but one government, and whoſe extent was more moderate, had ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt theſe encroachments, as the ſame attempts to divide their force could not be practiſed.

But, independent of theſe conſiderations, the defenſive force of a ſtate is really diminiſhed when it arrives to an enormous ſize. ‡ Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, as || Xenophon had before done, that in

* The more the dominion of any ſtate is enlarged beyond a certain limit, the more it tends to produce an abſolute government.—Sp. of Laws, book viii. ch. 19. and book x. ch. 16.

Tacitus paints, in very ſtrong terms, the effect which the enlargement of the Roman empire had in exciting ambition and love of power among private perſons. Hiſtor. l. ii. cap. 33.

† See M. De Lolme on the Conſtitution of Great Britain.

‡ Sp. of Laws, book ix. ch. 6.

|| It was obvious, ſays Xenophon, to any perſon of attention, that the Perſian empire, though ſtrong with reſpect to the extent of country and numbers of men, was, however,

in order to preſerve a ſtate in its due force, it muſt have ſuch an extent as to admit of a proportion between the celerity with which it may be invaded, and that with which it may defeat the invaſion. As an invader may appear on every ſide, it is requiſite that the ſtate ſhould be able, on every ſide, to make a defence; conſequently it ſhould be of a moderate extent, proportioned to the degree of velocity that nature has given to man, to enable him to move from one place to another.

We have a remarkable inſtance, in our own hiſtory, of the annexation of provinces and kingdoms conferring no additional power on their poſſeſſor, but rather the contrary. Henry the Second, of England, a prince confeſſedly of great abilities, was at one time in poſſeſſion of, beſides the crown of England, the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Guienne, Poictou, Xaintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, the Limoſin, and Britanny; all which he held by a peaceable and indiſputable right. Theſe provinces compoſed above a third part of the French monarchy, and were much ſuperior, in extent and opulence, to thoſe territories which were ſubjected to the immediate juriſdiction and government of the King; yet the kings of France found it eaſier to conquer thoſe numerous provinces from England, than to ſubdue a duke of Normandy or Guienne, a count of Anjou, Maine, or Poictou. The cauſe of this is excellently explained by a * celebrated hiſtorian of our own country.

however, weak, by reaſon of the great diſtance of places, and the diviſion of its forces, when ſurpriſed by any ſudden invaſion.—Expedition of Cyrus, book i.

* Hume's Hiſt. of England, reign of Henry II.

CHAP. IV.

SITUATION OF A COUNTRY WITH RESPECT TO ITS INTERCOURSE WITH OTHERS.

A Country that has none, or ſcarce any intercourſe with others, is generally in a ſavage ſtate. The ferocity and ſavageneſs of ſeveral of the Spaniſh nations, is aſcribed by † Strabo to their living ſo remote from any other people, by which their intercourſe with ſtrangers was cut off. Quintus Curtius ‡ makes the ſame remark, with reſpect to the people who inhabit the maritime parts of India; and Mr. Monteſquieu ‖ imputes the ſavageneſs of the people on the coaſt of Africa to the ſame cauſe.

The reaſons of this are ſufficiently obvious. Civilization of manners is only attained by an intercourſe with mankind, and by being acquainted with the various wants and neceſſities of one another; but a people who are remote from the reſt of the world are almoſt always few in number, have no idea of commerce, and are unacquainted with the various improvements ſuggeſted by ſociety. Hence their knowledge muſt be very confined, their capacity of improvement very moderate, and their manners and behaviour conſonant, that is, rude and unpoliſhed. We ſee daily, in common obſervation, how much, not only a connection, but a conſtant perſonal intercourſe and converſation, with a variety of people, whoſe wants, tempers, and manners are ſo different, tends to civilize mankind; which muſt ariſe from the neceſſity there is, in ſo varied a ſociety, of a mutual accommodation to the diſpoſition of each other reſpectively. This is, no doubt, the reaſon why the inhabitants of cities are more poliſhed than thoſe of the country;

† Lib. iii.
‡ Lib. ix. cap. 10.
‖ Sp. of Laws, book xxi. ch. 2.

and why agriculture, which is rather a ſilent and ſolitary employment, ſhould render thoſe who practiſe it more auſtere and rugged in their manners and behaviour, than many other mechanic employments, in which a number of perſons are concerned, in company with one another. The effect above deſcribed of a town and country life upon the manners, was ſo well known to the Greeks and Romans, that they uſed, in common ſpeech, the words which ſignified theſe reſpectively, to denote * politeneſs and elegance, or † ſavageneſs and brutality of behaviour and conduct. It is well obſerved by a ‡ modern elegant writer, that this confined intercourſe of the ſpecies tends ultimately to the formation of a peculiar genius and temper throughout the people ſo ſeparated. This was probably the cauſe of the ſimilarity of diſpoſition among the Jews; whoſe ſecluſion from intercourſe with other nations, though founded on religious or political principles, had nearly the ſame effects with thoſe uſually produced by remoteneſs of ſituation from the reſt of the world. The ſame obſervation holds good, in a great meaſure, with reſpect to China. The ſame genius, the ſame diſpoſition, as well as the ſame laws, manners, and cuſtoms, pervade every part of this vaſt empire ‖. Their ſeparation from the reſt of mankind in ſome meaſure accounts for this uniformity. This ſimilarity is ſtill more ſtriking with regard to the figure and countenance. Tacitus †† ſays, that the Germans had a

* Ασεισμος—urbanitas, civilitas.

† Αγροικια—ruſticitas.

‡ Dunbar's Eſſays on the Hiſtory of Mankind, Eſſay xiii.

‖ Vide Le Compte's Account of China.

†† Ipſe eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos propriam, et ſinceram, et tantum ſui ſimilem gentem extitiſſe, arbitrantur; unde habitus quoque corporum quanquam in tanto hominum numero, *idem omnibus*, truces et cœrulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora, et tantum ad impetum valida. Laboris atque operum non eadem patientia. Minimeque ſitim æſtumque tolerare; frigora * atque inediam. Cœlo ſolove aſſueverunt.—Germ. cap. iv.

* Probably this paſſage ſhould be read thus:—Frigori atque inediæ, cœlo ſoloque, aſſueverunt.

certain uniformity of appearance, that went through the whole, and became a national characteriſtic; and, indeed, the marks he deſcribes, are frequently mentioned, as belonging to that people, by other † authors.

The Jews have at preſent a certain ſimilarity to one another, that diſtinguiſhes them in every part of the world; which can be aſcribed to nothing elſe but their being altogether diveſted of any connection with ſtrangers.

The Chineſe, likewiſe, have a ſimilar reſemblance. The figures drawn upon the porcelain, and upon the papers for hanging rooms, brought from that country—which are ſaid to be very faithful copies of the people—bear a ſurpriſing likeneſs to one another, both in figure, attitude, and countenance.

The new hemiſphere preſented appearances exactly ſimilar. In America there is much leſs variety in the human form, than in the ancient continent. The moſt accurate obſervers, who have had an opportunity of ſeeing the Americans in very different climates, have been ſtruck with the amazing ſimilarity of their figure ‡ and aſpect. The ſame reaſons that produced this appearance in China, have alſo operated on the other ſide of the Pacific Ocean.

† Strabo gives an account nearly ſimilar, both of the Gauls and Germans, lib. vii. —Diodorus alſo deſcribes them in the ſame manner, lib. v.

‡ Robertſon's Hiſt. of America, book iv. and note xlv.

BOOK III.

On the Influence of the Nature of the Country itſelf.

UNDER this head ſeveral variations are comprehended. The firſt of theſe, of which I ſhall treat, is of *plain and hilly*.

CHAP. I.

INFLUENCE OF A MOUNTAINOUS OR PLAIN COUNTRY.

HERE it is proper to remark, that the inhabitants of mountainous countries may be conſidered as living in a different climate from thoſe who dwell in plains; a lofty ſituation being always conſiderably colder. Mountainous countries, therefore, muſt have a certain allowance made to them on this account, in proportion to their elevation or expoſure. This may poſſibly be one reaſon why, in hot climates, we ſometimes, as in Chili in South America, find among the hills ſome free nations. But mountainous countries are thought by ſome to produce ſpecific effects upon thoſe who inhabit them.

Hippocrates

Hippocrates tells us, that mountaineers are active in their bodies, with their joints well fitted to each other, their skins hairy, and their bodies * patient of labour and of watching; their tempers passionate, obstinate, and impatient of restraint; with their manners inclining rather to fierceness than mildness. They are, also, acute in their understandings, and in learning the arts, and diligent in their dispositions, with a turn for war, and military employments. † The above description of people in such a situation is in a great measure just in all the instances he mentions, and is confirmed by other observations. Aristotle takes notice, that ‡ hilly countries breed animals fiercer and stronger than those who live in plains; and that people do not feel the effects of age || so soon in hilly as in flat countries. Mr. Swinburn **, in his Travels through Spain, observes, that in Catalonia the nature of the country appears to have a great influence on the inhabitants, who are a hardy, active, industrious race, of a middle size, brown complexion, and strong features, their limbs well knit together, and by education and practice inured to the greatest fatigues; and that there are few lame or distorted persons among them. They likewise possess a bold independent spirit, which breaks out upon every stretch of arbitrary power, and which no tyranny or oppression can stifle or suppress.

In consequence of this disposition of the people, and of the nature of the country, hilly countries are with difficulty conquered by a foreign force, and in general preserve a free government

* Zimmerman ascribes this quality to the coldness of their situation. Frigoris igitur perennitas, et artus, et integra corpora, comprimendo corroborat, efficitque ut naturam longé firmiorem valentioremque induant.—Zimmerman Zoolog. Geograph. speaking of the inhabitants of mountainous countries.

† De Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, § lv. & lviii.

‡ Hist. Natural. lib. viii. cap. 29.

|| Problem. § xiii. 7.

** Travels through Spain, Letter ix. p. 61.

among

among themſelves. Thus the Scots and Welſh * long reſiſted the arms of the Romans and Saxons; and the mountains of Aſturias, in Spain, ſerved as a barrier againſt the Mooriſh conqueſts, and at laſt produced a people who reconquered the remainder of Spain from thoſe invaders. The Swiſs, too, owe both their political independency †, and their civil liberty, in a great meaſure, to the ſtrength of their ſituation; which equally affords an aſylum againſt foreign force and domeſtic tyranny.

The ſtrength of the country was alſo, in all probability, a great cauſe of the liberty of the ancient Germans.

Plains, or flat countries, on the other hand, are favourable to deſpotiſm; they form no barrier againſt foreign invaſion, no refuge againſt internal tyranny. This difference of the nature of the country is aſſigned, by Mr. ‡ Monteſquieu, as a natural cauſe, though by no means the only one, of the ſlavery of Aſia, and of the liberty of Europe.

It is obſerved, that the diviſion of territory in Aſia has always been into large empires; whilſt Europe has been parted into governments of a more moderate extent. The cauſe of this probably ariſes from the vaſt plains with which Aſia abounds, and its being divided into much larger portions, by ſeas and mountains; which laſt, on account of their ſoutherly ſituation, are not ſo liable to be covered with ſnow, and are, of courſe, croſſed with greater facility. The ſame circumſtance cauſes the rivers themſelves to be more inconſiderable, and to form leſs ſecure barriers.

On the other hand, the country in Europe is in general ſtrong, and defended with greater eaſe. The great ridges of mountains,

* The preſervation of the Scotch freedom and independence, as a nation, was owing to their mountains and faſtneſſes, in the time of Edward I. of England.

† Milton was of opinion that mountainous countries were moſt favourable to freedom, as appears from his calling liberty the *mountain nymph*, in his poem of L'Allegro.

‡ Sp. of Laws, book xvii. ch. 6.

and

and rivers which are never dried up, divide it into countries of a moderate ſize, and proportioned in extent, force, and national advantages, to one another; ſo that conqueſts are ſeldom made, and ſoon checked by a confederacy of the other ſtates in favour of the oppreſſed, as no one of them poſſeſſes ſufficient force to reſiſt a general combination of the remainder. The ſtrength, likewiſe, of the country, prevents its being ſuddenly overrun; and its moderate ſize renders it eaſy for the neighbouring ſtates to march to its aſſiſtance.

Theſe circumſtances have, no doubt, contributed greatly to form a genius for liberty, and to render every ſeparate nation difficult to be ſubdued, and ſubjected to a foreign power. Aſia, on the contrary, has been always remarkable for a ſervile ſpirit; which, no doubt, ariſes in a great meaſure from their habituation to ſlavery, which the above natural cauſes have contributed to induce; and although ſome inſtances reſembling heroiſm, and greatneſs of mind, have appeared among them, it no more reſembles the ſteady and regular exertion of a free people, than the ſtrength acquired by labour and exerciſe does the tranſient and irregular violence of a convulſive paroxyſm.

CHAP. II.

FERTILITY AND BARRENNESS OF THE SOIL.

ANOTHER diſtinction, ſtill more important, is, into *barren and fertile.*

Fertile and pleaſant countries, although they may at firſt ſight appear highly deſireable, have not been found by experience to favour the perfection of human nature. The inhabitants of ſuch are * ſaid to be diſpoſed to be indolent and effeminate in their diſ-

* Hippocrates de Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, § lvii.

poſitions

poſitions, miſchievous and cruel in their tempers, debauched and profligate in their manners, little diſpoſed to make improvements in arts and literature, and ſlaves to a deſpotic * government.

Barren countries, on the other hand—at leaſt where the barrenneſs is only ſuch as tends to excite, and not to diſcourage, induſtry—produce people of a moral and regular courſe of life, of an induſtrious diſpoſition †, and brave temper of mind, and an aptitude to improve in arts or learning, particularly in military affairs, and generally living under a form of government partaking of freedom. The cauſes of theſe differences remain to be ſpoken of more at large.

Fertile countries generally produce a large ſuperabundance of the neceſſaries of life, without much labour; conſequently a large portion of the time of great part of the inhabitants muſt be unemployed. This was the caſe, as we are told by Strabo, and by Diodorus Siculus, of the ‡ Eaſt Indies; whoſe inhabitants, on that account, were extremely || lazy. This habit of idleneſs, and the plenty of gratifications of the appetite and paſſions, which ſuch countries naturally produce, renders them delicate and ** luxurious, and is the natural parent of debauchery and profligacy.

But in countries where the produce of the earth is not acquired without toil and labour, the time of the inhabitants is moſtly occupied, conſequently little leiſure is left for the indulgence of the vicious paſſions: and the gratifications of appetite are in general beyond the reach of thoſe who can afford little more than the neceſſaries of life. Property alſo, acquired by induſtry, impreſſes an idea of regularity and exactneſs in our dealings, and of the value of

* The goodneſs of the land in any country naturally eſtabliſhes ſubjection and dependence.—Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 1.

† Hippocrates de Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, § lviii.

‡ Strabon. lib. xv.—Diodor. Siculi, lib. ii.—and the modern accounts.

|| "The people here, on account of the great plenty of proviſions, live in a ſluggiſh and idle manner."—Ibidem Strabon.

** Poſidonius attributed the luxury of the Aſiatics, in a good meaſure, to the richneſs of the ſoil.—Athenæi, lib. v. and lib. xii.

time, labour, and money; all which circumſtances are highly conducive to the promotion of honeſty and juſtneſs in our conduct and tranſactions.

Fertile countries are alſo obſerved to produce people leſs courageous than what are found in barren ones.

* Strabo obſerves, that people who inhabit a rich and fertile country are deſirous of a peaceable life; thoſe, on the other hand, who live in a barren and inconvenient ſituation, are of a brave diſpoſition, and addicted to warfare. This is owing to ſeveral cauſes.—Idleneſs has, as is well obſerved by † Hippocrates, a natural tendency to promote timidity and cowardice.

Plenty likewiſe, and its attendant luxury, have a ſimilar effect. Thus we find ‡ Livy remarking, that the Gauls who had conquered a part of Aſia, and were ſettled there, were no longer the ſame hardy and active people with their forefathers, who made the conqueſt; and introduces the Conſul Manlius cautioning the ſoldiers in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt indulging in the pleaſures which that fertile and delightful country afforded, as ſuch were the greateſt deſtroyers of bravery and vigour of mind.

* Lib. ii.—Hippocrates expreſſes nearly the ſame ſentiments, De Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, § lv. and lvi.

Nature, ſays Herodotus, has ſo ordered things, that delicious countries produce an effeminate race, and men excellent in war are not bred in thoſe regions that yield the moſt admirable fruits.—Lib. ix.

† Hippocrates, ſpeaking of the Aſiatics, obſerves, that "timidity is increaſed by idleneſs and ſloth, but that courage proceeds from exerciſe and labour; hence," ſays he, "the Europeans are more courageous than the Aſiatics."—Ibidem, § liv.

‡ Eoſdem hos creditis eſſe, qui patres eorum avique fuerunt? Extorres inopia agrorum profecti domo per aſperrimam Illyrici oram Poconiam, inde et Thraciam, pugnando cum ferociſſimis gentibus, emenſi has terras ceperunt. Duratos eos tot malis exaſperatoſque accepit terra, quæ copia omnium rerum ſaginaret: uberrimo agro, mitiſſimo cœlo, clementibus accolarum ingeniis omnis illa cum qua venerant manſuefacta eſt feritas. Vobis mehercule Martis viris cavenda et fugienda quamprimum amœnitas eſt Aſiæ: tantum hæ peregrinæ voluptates ad extinguendum vigorem animorum poſſunt.—Livii, lib. xxxviii.

Salluſt

Salluſt mentions, in like manner, the effect of the richneſs and beauty of the country, in * corrupting the army which Sylla had led into Aſia.

For theſe reaſons the Swiſs—who are, perhaps, in proportion to their extent of country, the moſt reſpectable people in Europe, and yet preſerve their manners, laws, liberty, and independency, notwithſtanding their country affords very few of the luxuries of life, and their trade is but ſmall—have nevertheleſs thought proper to enact ſumptuary laws, in order to prevent the introduction of foreign luxuries; to which wiſe conduct, amongſt other precautions, their preſent happy ſituation is owing.

We might perhaps, at firſt ſight, imagine, that ſince, in proportion as a country is more fertile, it is ſo much more valuable to its poſſeſſors, that the inhabitants would exert themſelves more ſtrenuouſly in its defence; but this by no means follows: and we ſee by experience, that the richeſt people † are far from being the braveſt; and beſides, the more valuable any poſſeſſion is, it preſents an object the more tempting to him who deſires to ‡ ſeize it, and conſequently the attack will be more ‖ violent.

Nor are countries of great fertility, and even of apparent ſuperiority to others, in point of national advantages, found by experience to be moſt favourable to either arts or commerce. Some intermediate degrees of inconvenience in the ſituation, at once excite the ſpirit, and with the hopes of ſucceſs encourage its efforts. It is in the leaſt favourable ſituations, ſays Mr. Rouſſeau, that the

* Loca amœna voluptaria facile in otio feroces militum animos molliverant.—Salluſt Bell. Catil.——Lucius Florus has alſo made a ſimilar remark, lib ii. cap. 11.

† Nam Aſia et amœnitate urbium et copia terreſtrium maritimarumque rerum, et mollitiâ hoſtium regiiſque opibus, ditiores quam fortiores exercitus faciebat.—Livii, l. xxxix. cap. 1.

‡ The vineyards, olive-yards, and corn-fields of Gaul and Italy firſt induced the northern nations to invade the Roman empire. Domitian, a prince of great timidity, on that account ordered all the vines in Gaul to be rooted up.

‖ Strabo mentions, in Spain, that the barrenneſs of the ſoil in one part of the country excited the people to ſeize the poſſeſſions of their richer neighbours.—Book iii.

arts have flouriſhed the moſt. I could ſhew them in Egypt, as they ſpread with the overflowing of the Nile; and in Africa, as they mounted up to the clouds from a rocky ſoil, and from barren ſands; while on the fertile banks of the Eurotas they were not able to faſten their roots *.

The ſame obſervations hold good of literature, and mental accompliſhments; which require a ſituation in moſt reſpects reſembling that moſt ſuited to arts and commerce. The cauſes of this are not inobvious: idleneſs and luxury, the produce of fertile regions, are, when the latter is carried to any great length, highly unfavourable to any active employment of either mind or body,

* It ſeems an odd poſition, ſays Mr. Hume, in his Eſſay on Commerce, that the poverty of the common people in France, Italy, and Spain, is in ſome meaſure owing to the ſuperior riches of the ſoil, and happineſs of the climate; yet there want not reaſons to juſtify this paradox. In ſuch a fine mould or ſoil as that of thoſe more ſouthern regions, agriculture is an eaſy art, and one man, with a couple of ſorry horſes, will be able, in a ſeaſon, to cultivate as much land as will pay a pretty conſiderable rent to the proprietor. All the art which the farmer knows, is to leave his ground fallow for a year, as ſoon as it is exhauſted; and the warmth of the ſun alone, and temperature of the climate, enrich it, and reſtore its fertility. Such poor peaſants, therefore, require only a ſimple maintenance for their labour; they have no ſtock or riches which claim more: and at the ſame time they are for ever dependent on their landlord; who gives no leaſes, nor fears that his land will be ſpoiled by the ill methods of cultivation. In England the land is rich, but coarſe, muſt be cultivated at great expence, and produces ſlender crops when not carefully managed, and by a method which gives not the full profit but in a courſe of ſeveral years. A farmer, therefore, in England, muſt have a conſiderable ſtock, and a long leaſe, which produce proportionable profits. The fine vineyards of Burgundy and Champagne, that often yield to the landlord above five pounds per acre, are cultivated by peaſants who have hardly bread. The reaſon is, that ſuch peaſants need no ſtock but their own limbs, with inſtruments of huſbandry, which they may buy for twenty ſhillings. The farmers are commonly in ſome better circumſtances in thoſe countries; but the graziers are moſt at their eaſe of all thoſe who cultivate the land. The reaſon is ſtill the ſame: men muſt have profits proportional to their expence and hazard. Where ſo conſiderable a number of the labouring poor, as the peaſants and farmers, are in very low circumſtances, all the reſt muſt partake of their poverty, whether the government of that nation be monarchical or republican.

and

and conſequently ill adapted to advance or further the genius of mankind in any capacity.

The form of government, in countries that are naturally very fertile, is, in general, approaching to deſpotiſm; and in barren ones, to liberty. This may be obſerved in the great empires of Aſia, Africa, America, and even in Europe. Many cauſes concur to produce this effect. Firſt, a rich country is very apt to produce inequality of property among the * members of the ſtate; a circumſtance highly adverſe to freedom. This naturally produces a high reſpect for riches, a thing very hazardous to liberty. The Suiones, ſays Tacitus, hold riches in high eſtimation, and are accordingly diſarmed and reduced to ſlavery. The Spartan government, indeed—which, although the country was very fertile, was, notwithſtanding, undoubtedly free—may, perhaps, be urged as an inſtance to the contrary. But in my opinion it confirms it very ſtrongly. That rigid diſcipline of manners, and ſevere way of life; their equality of property, and the baniſhing even money itſelf; were probably intended by Lycurgus to counteract, amongſt other things, the fertility of the country. Poſſibly, had he given laws to Athens, whoſe territory was barren, he might have been leſs ſevere.

Next, the corrupt and idle manners, and cowardly and effeminate diſpoſition of the people, tend, as has been before obſerved, to produce this form of government. Moreover, a highly fertile country is moſt commonly plain and even, and eaſily over-run by a foreign enemy, or ſubdued by a ſtanding force.

The plains of Tartary are a notable inſtance of the effect of a

* The natural richneſs of the ſoil, ſays Thucydides, (ſpeaking of ſome of the Greek ſtates) increaſing the power of ſome among them, that power raiſed civil diſſenſions, which ended in their ruin; and at the ſame time expoſed them more to foreign attacks. It was only the barrenneſs of the ſoil that preſerved Attica, through the longeſt ſpace of time, quiet and undiſturbed in one uninterrupted ſeries of poſſeſſors.—Smith's Thucydides, book i.

level

level and fertile country in producing this form of goverment. That people, although of a military diſpoſition, and not enervated by luxury, are nevertheleſs reduced into a ſtate of political ſlavery. Their country is flat, their rivers form but imperfect barriers, and are often frozen; conſequently they can have no faſtneſſes or ſtrong holds to which they might retire, or be enabled to ſtop the progreſs of an enemy, or to form a retreat from arbitrary violence and power. Every part of the country affords ſubſiſtence for cavalry †, (which is the kind of military force moſt uſed) and conſequently for men, who there draw their ſubſiſtence from thoſe animals. Hence the whole country is expoſed to their inroads every way: conſequently every nation muſt, in its turn, have been ſubdued; and, as they are very cruel conquerors, reduced to ſlavery. As this muſt have frequently taken place, ſervitude muſt have become familiar amongſt them. Arabia, on the contrary, though a flat country, and ſituated in a hot climate, has maintained its political independence merely by the nature of the country which incloſes it, which at firſt ſight ſeemed to promiſe no advantages, it being a dry and ſandy deſert. This affords neither meat ‡ nor drink for cavalry, nor ſhelter

† The plains of Tartary are rich in ſoil, and abounding in every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of man.—Du Halde.

‡ "In that dry country," ſays Diodorus Siculus, "they have wells ſunk in convenient ſituations, which are unknown to ſtrangers, but which afford relief and aſſiſtance to the natives in their flight: for, ſince they are acquainted with the ſituation of theſe wells, they can eaſily make the proper uſe of them. But the ſtrangers who are in purſuit of them, are ignorant where theſe wells are to be found; and partly from want of water, and partly from the other hardſhips, either periſh in the deſerts, or with difficulty retreat to their own country. On this account, neither the Aſſyrians in early times, nor the Medes nor Macedonians, could ever ſubdue the princes of the Arabs; but, although they made their attacks with great armies, could never bring their enterpriſes to a proſperous concluſion.—Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

Aelius Largus, ſays Dion Caſſius, led an army into Arabia Felix, of which country Sabos was then king. But although at firſt they met with no enemy, yet they

ſhelter from the burning rays of the ſun; and in ſo hot a country it is next to impoſſible to carry ſuch a quantity of proviſions, and conveniences for ſhelter, as would be neceſſary for any length of time. Hence every expedition againſt this people has failed of ſucceſs; and the country, although plain, may well be called ſtrong by ſituation.

This circumſtance, which has proved the preſervation of their political liberty, has cauſed them to retain their civil ‖ alſo. As they have never been conquered, they have never been habituated to ſlavery, but always to the reſiſtance of it; conſequently its idea is odious. Civil tyranny, for this reaſon, cannot be countenanced by foreign powers. Their mode of life alſo, which is of the military kind, throughout the whole people, prevents tyrannical exerciſes of power, as they are all * armed, and one part cannot well be employed to oppreſs the reſt, as is practiſed in many of the eaſtern countries, wherein the prince makes himſelf a ſlave to the army, in order to uſe them as inſtruments of tyranny over the remainder of the people.

Rich countries, moreover, are enabled to endure a great degree of oppreſſion, without depriving the people of the neceſſaries † of

they found their expedition diſappointed by the great trouble and fatigue attending it; for the deſert ſtate of the country, the heat of the ſun, and the want of water, ſo diſtreſſed them, that the greater part of the army periſhed. Theſe were the firſt, and, as I ſuppoſe, will be the laſt of the Romans who ever penetrated into this country in a hoſtile manner.—Dion Caſſii, lib. iii.

‖ The Arabs, therefore, the inhabitants of this country, as they could not be conquered in war, ſo have never ſubmitted to be made ſlaves at home. They never admit of a foreign yoke, but always preſerve their liberty intire. — Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

Dr. Shaw ſays, that the chief of the Arabs never determines any diſpute, without the advice of one or two perſons from each tent.—Shaw's Travels, ch. iv. § 1.

* The Arabs always go armed.—Voyage up the Red-ſea by Eyles Irwin, Eſq.

† Beſides bread corn, ſays Diodorus, millet is produced in great plenty in India, which proceeds from its being ſo well watered by ſtreams and rivers. There is

of life; conſequently, they are not driven to reſiſtance through abſolute neceſſity. But the contrary would happen in barren countries; in which, if any extraordinary oppreſſion was to be practiſed, it would put a ſtop to induſtry and to cultivation, and conſequently inſtantly deprive many perſons of their ſubſiſtence, and thereby produce inſurrections and oppoſition.

This was the caſe of the Swiſs, when under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria.

At preſent, the Swiſs pay no taxes, even to their own government; but, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, in thoſe barren mountains, proviſions are ſo dear, and the country ſo populous, that a Swiſs pays four times more to nature, than a Turk does to the Sultan.

How could ſuch a country ſupport itſelf under the exactions of arbitrary power?

Fertile countries, alſo, are more expoſed to deſpotic attempts than barren ones, in proportion, in ſome meaſure, as the landed property of the inhabitants of the former is more valuable.

Riches have been before obſerved to be a temptation to the

is alſo a great variety and plenty of pot-herbs. Add to theſe, rice, and what is called boſporus, and many other articles adapted to the ſupport of life. Beſides theſe, many eſculent fruits, which are alſo ſuited to the nutriment of animals. On this account, we never hear of India being oppreſſed by famine, or by any want of this mild kind of diet. For in India the crops ripen twice in a year, once in the winter, at the time when corn is ſown amongſt other nations; and again about the ſummer ſolſtice, when the ſowing of rice, boſporus, ſeſamum, and millet, falls out; from both of which harveſts they have generally a large produce of fruits of the earth of all kinds. And if one harveſt ſhould fail, it is next to a certainty the other will ſucceed.—Moreover, the fruits that grow ſpontaneouſly there, and the roots that are found in the marſhy places, which are remarkably ſweet and pleaſant, afford a large quantity of nutriment to mankind.—Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

Several parts of Africa, and of South America, are in a ſimilar ſtate, the ſuſtenance of man being of inconſiderable value, and yielded almoſt ſpontaneouſly by nature.—Vide Shaw's Travels into the Levant—and Ulloa's Voyage to South America.

foreign

foreign invader; and they are no leſs ſo to the domeſtic uſurper. But in a barren country, the poſſeſſions of each individual are little more than ſufficient for bare ſubſiſtence, and of ſmall eſtimation in themſelves, and only rendered valuable by induſtry; conſequently, there cannot be much accumulation ‡ of property.

Scarce any temptation, therefore, is offered to the pretender to deſpotiſm.

Riches, on the contrary, ſuch eſpecially as are in their own nature either immoveable, or at leaſt not eaſily transferrable from one place to another, are apt to give encouragement to attempts of this kind, by the hold they afford, and the attachments they create. Forfeitures and confiſcations, the uſual attendants upon tyranny, affect the rich very powerfully, and theſe only; ſince, where the property of each perſon is inconſiderable, they are little motives of reſtraint. Every thing that can deter, in the latter caſe, muſt be of a perſonal kind, either to a man's ſelf, or his family, or connections. But dangers of this kind may be often eluded by flight—as there are few motives of local ‖ attachment, at leaſt from intereſted views—

‡ National poverty, as an elegant writer obſerves, is the means by which deſpotiſm, even when eſtabliſhed, accompliſhes its own deſtruction. When there are no longer any profits to corrupt, or fears to deter, the charm of dominion is broken, and the naked ſlave, as awakened from a dream, is aſtoniſhed to find that he is free. The paſture of the cultivated field is no longer preferred to that of the foreſt. The ſufferer willingly flies where the extortions of government cannot overtake him; where even the timid and ſervile may recollect that they are men; where the tyrant may threaten, but where he is known to be no more than a fellow-creature; where he can take nothing but life, and not even that, but at the hazard of his own. —Ferguſon's Civil Society.

‖ It is certain, ſays Thucydides, that the region, now known by the name of Greece, was not formerly poſſeſſed by any fixed inhabitants, but was ſubject to frequent tranſmigrations, as conſtantly every diſtinct people eaſily yielded up their ſeats to the violence of a larger ſupervening number. For, as commerce there was none, and mutual fear prevented intercourſe both by ſea and land; as then the only view of culture was to *earn a penurious ſubſiſtence*, and ſuperfluous wealth was a thing unknown;

views—or elſe oppoſed by force. But with reſpect to the rich, their property and eſtates, which they cannot remove with their perſons, fix them to a place, and are indeed the greateſt ſecurity for their * ſubmiſſion and obedience. The rich, therefore, are induced by a greater number of reaſons, to acquieſce under any form † of government, than thoſe whoſe motives are merely perſonal.

The German and Gallic republics, deſcribed by Tacitus and Cæſar, were admirably calculated for preventing that debaſement of ſpirit that ariſes from the accumulation of private property. The land there all belonged to the ſtate, and a new portion was frequently cultivated in the place of the other; conſequently, here was no room for accumulation, nor any opportunity for a prince, tyrannically diſpoſed, to intimidate his ſubjects by ‡ fears of this kind.

Perhaps the ſame inſtitution in the Spartan republic, was founded on the ſame grounds, eſpecially as ‖ Laconia is ſaid to have been a very fertile country.

known; as planting was not their employment, it being uncertain how ſoon an invader might come and diſlodge them from their unfortified habitations; and as they thought they might every *where find their daily neceſſary ſupport, they heſitated but little about ſhifting their ſeats.*—Book i. Smith's Thucydides.

* Fertile provinces, when once they have ſubmitted, the ſpirit of liberty cannot return. The wealth of the country is as a pledge of fidelity.—Spirit of Laws, book xviii. ch. 2.

† Strabo ſays, that the Scythians were unconquerable, and even unattackable, becauſe they were poſſeſſed of nothing that could induce them to endure ſlavery.—Lib. viii.

‡ When they came to accumulate riches, and to account them matters of diſtinction, they loſt their liberty. This was the caſe with the Sueones before deſcribed. The reaſon given by Cæſar for the diviſion of the land among the Gauls is, that they may learn to avoid covetouſneſs, the root of all factions and diſcord, and preſerve that equality of riches in the commonwealth, that produces peace and content.—Cæſar, Comm. b. vi. c. 10.

‖ Herodoti Clio.

Another

Another circumſtance, highly favourable to incroachments upon liberty, is, that the rich are, in general, extremely averſe to every thing that bears the appearance of what they call *diſturbance*. With them, every emotion of a free people is eſteemed a certain prelude to anarchy and confuſion; and they immediately apprehend, that their own poſſeſſions will be the firſt prey ſeized by the riotous inſurgent. But the advances to tyranny and arbitrary power cannot be checked but by reſiſtance; and every reſiſtance, accompanied by force, produces at leaſt a * temporary diſturbance. This the rich are in general diſpoſed to diſcourage, not only from apprehenſion of danger to their poſſeſſions, but alſo from motives of pride, which the poſſeſſion of large property, eſpecially if ſuddenly acquired, is apt to inſpire. Popular commotions, when ſucceſsful, in the vindication of liberty, always produce (for a time at leaſt) a degree of equality among the members of the ſtate, and point out other means of acquiring influence and reſpect, than merely what is beſtowed by riches. The cultivation of the mind then becomes a ſubject of attention, when it beſtows diſtinction and power; and conſequently, under ſuch circumſtances, the rich muſt ſee many equal or ſuperior to them in theſe reſpects, who are far their inferiors in point of property; a thing extremely mortifying to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to conſider riches as the great ſource of reſpect and conſequence. This often leads them to be favourable to the claim of an abſolute power, rather than the privileges and rights of a free people: as they think themſelves leſs degraded by ſubmitting to one confeſſedly their ſuperior in point of rank, than in admitting others, whom they eſteem of an inferior degree, to a participation of the ſame privileges with themſelves.

* A country that overflows with wealth, is afraid of pillage, afraid of an army. Who is there that forms this goodly party? ſays Cicero to Atticus, are they the men of commerce and huſbandry? Let us not imagine that theſe are averſe to monarchy—theſe, to whom all governments are equal, as ſoon as they beſtow *tranquillity*. —Spirit of Laws, book xviii. ch. 1.

excellent

This was the caſe in a great meaſure in Spain, in the year 1520, with the nobility, who at firſt joined the commons in demanding the reſtoration of freedom, and of the ancient conſtitution; but as ſoon as their own ſeparate demands were ſatisfied, not only abandoned the people, but took up arms to ſuppreſs their attempts in favour of liberty—in which they were but too ſucceſsful. In a ſhort period after, Charles and his ſucceſſors were enabled to trample upon the privileges of the nobility, now deſtitute of ſupport from the people, and to impoſe on them alſo the ſame yoke which they had been inſtrumental in impoſing on the commons.

The barrenneſs or fertility of a country, in ſome reſpects influence the religion of it, at leaſt the external forms and ceremonies. Thus a religion incumbered with numerous ceremonies, is almoſt neceſſary in a country of extreme fertility, in order to occupy the time, and to obviate that enormous corruption of morals, to which idleneſs, accompanied with great plenty of gratifications of the appetite, ſo naturally leads to. This is probably one great ſource of the morality of the Turks, and of the people of the Eaſt Indies. Every man, according to thoſe religions, however cautious, daily commits ſome crime, or incurs ſome defilement, that needs repentance and expiation; conſequently, their life is a ſeries of ablutions, penitences, and purifications.

In countries, alſo, where the neceſſaries of life are eaſily procured, and almoſt ſpontaneouſly produced, a religion may be tolerated that is full of feſtivals, or days of ceſſation from labour; but in a barren country this would be inſupportable, and ſtarve the inhabitants. This is inſtanced in Mahommedaniſm, and in the ſects of Chriſtianity that live to the South of Europe, whoſe feſtivals are much more numerous than thoſe of even the ſame ſect in the North.

The influence of this circumſtance is likewiſe diſcernible in the ſacrifices or offerings to the gods. Whilſt an hecatomb, or an hundred

dred head of cattle, were in ſome countries, and on great occaſions, when any ſuperlative honour was intended, ſacrificed to the gods, it was a maxim at Athens, that thoſe who offered ſome ſmall preſent, as an egg, or ſuch like, to the gods, honoured them more than thoſe who ſacrificed an * ox.

The ſame maxim was alſo in force at Sparta, where, though the territory was rich, agriculture was neglected. "We offer ſmall things to the gods," ſay the Spartans, "that we may always have ſomething to offer."

CHAP. III.

ON COUNTRIES RENDERED HABITABLE BY THE INDUSTRY OF MAN.

ANOTHER circumſtance, relative to the nature of the country, is to be conſidered, as whether it be ſuch as has been rendered habitable by the induſtry of man; and eſpecially if it has been recovered from the water.

There are, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, principally three of this kind; the provinces of Kiangnan and ‡ Tchikiang in China, Egypt, and Holland.

* There was a law at Athens againſt killing oxen.—Ælian Variæ Hiſt. lib. v. —and Varro de re ruſticâ, lib. ii. ch. 5.

Valens made a law, that no calves ſhould be killed in the Eaſt.—Hieron. c. Jovinian, lib. ii.

Oil was the ſtaple commodity of Attica. Minerva, to whom the olive-tree was dedicated, was the patroneſs of Attica. A jar of oil was the prize at the Panathenean games. Athenæus tells us, that the tributes of Attica were collected from the duties on figs, wine, and oil.—Lib. iii.

‡ *Tchi* ſignifies to govern; *Kiang* a river, in the Chineſe language; Kiangnan, and Tchikiang, are the two moſt fertile provinces in the Chineſe empire; and from their fertility, many of our ideas of the riches and fertility of the Chineſe are derived.—Du Halde.

The

The diſpoſition of the people, in ſuch countries, is turned to induſtry and frugality. The people of † Egypt have been celebrated from antiquity for theſe qualities. A ſimilar account is given of the ‡ Chineſe: and the ſame is well known to be the character of the Hollanders.

The conſtant neceſſity people in ſuch a ſituation are under of attending to labour, for their preſervation and ſafety, begets in them a habit of diligence || and exertion, to which alſo they are encouraged by ſeveral other inducements.

The ſoil of ſuch countries is almoſt always very deep * and rich, and adapted to the production of ſeveral articles of great value in † commerce. Next, as ſuch countries are, for the moſt part, interſected with canals, made originally for the purpoſe of draining the land, theſe are ſubſervient alſo to trade and manufactures, by furniſhing a water carriage into the internal parts of the country. Again, a country thus circumſtanced, is thereby rendered more ſecure, both againſt foreign invaders and domeſtic uſurpers, as the Dutch have ſeveral times experienced; a thing highly favourable to induſtry, and perhaps the only inſtance wherein the improvement of a country in point of value adds to its natural ſtrength.

The internal government of ſuch a country, however it may vary in form, is always moderate in its adminiſtration, and a

† Strabon. lib. xvii. — Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. Fragment. — Epiſt. Imperator. Adriani in Vopiſco.

‡ For the frugality of the Chineſe, ſee Du Halde, v. ii. p. 60, 100.—For their induſtry, v. ii. p. 86.

|| This habit of induſtry appears to be owing to the neceſſity of their ſituation, the nature of the country itſelf rather tending to inſpire a contrary diſpoſition. See what has been ſaid on this ſubject, book i. ch. 23. § 2.

* Egypt and China are both extremely fertile.—Strabon. lib. xvii.—Plinii Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxi. cap. 15.—Athenæi, lib. v.—Du Halde.

† The Dutch raiſe madder, and ſeveral other commodities of great value, in higher perfection than can be afforded by any other country in Europe.

great

great regard paid to private property. The proſperity of all nations depends on their poſſeſſing a degree at leaſt of liberty, and on the ſecurity of property: but in theſe it is neceſſary to their very exiſtence as a people.

The ſituation in which they are placed, demands the moſt unremitting attention and induſtry, to preſerve the land, gained from the water, from being again overflowed. But a deſpotic government naturally tends to diſpirit the people, and to render them indolent and timid; and the inſecurity of property, under ſuch circumſtances, is a farther bar to induſtry.

Thus, in the Low Countries, under the tyrannical adminiſtration of the duke of † Alva, the dykes became neglected, and were, in many places, broken down, and large incurſions made by the ſea. In China, alſo, where the ſize of the empire and the climate naturally lead to deſpotiſm, the firſt legiſlators were, in the provinces above-mentioned, obliged to make the moſt excellent laws, and the government is compelled to obſerve them.

The ancient government of Egypt was extremely moderate, as appears from Diodorus ‡ Siculus. In ſeveral reſpects, the kings were

† Watſon's Hiſt. of the Reign of Philip II.

‡ The firſt kings of the Egyptians, ſays Diodorus, did not lead their lives in the uſual way that monarchs do, by directing every thing according to their own will and caprice, and without regard to any cenſure or controul. For not only his public, but his private conduct alſo, were ſubject to fixt regulations; even his regimen of life, and his very food and diet.—Lib. i.

It is extraordinary, ſays the ſame writer, that the daily diet of the prince ſhould not be altogether in his own direction, but ſtill more ſo, that he can neither determine, nor do any thing, nor puniſh any, from caprice, reſentment, or any other unjuſt cauſe, contrary to what the eſtabliſhed laws have decreed.—Ibidem.

See alſo Note to book i. ch. 17. § 3.

It appears probable, alſo, from Strabo, that the Roman government of Egypt was more mild and equitable than that of the provinces in general. The judicial power there appears to have been ſeparated from the legiſlative and executive; a circumſtance of the higheſt conſequence to liberty.—Strabon. lib. xvii.

were under greater reſtraints than their ſubjects; and private property was ſtrictly guarded againſt the incurſions of arbitrary power. Even at preſent, although under the Turkiſh government, the power is neceſſarily moderated: as it was formerly in the Inſula || Batavorum, and is at preſent in the ſame place, now called Holland; which nature has created to attend to herſelf, and not to be abandoned to negligence or to caprice.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE EFFECTS OF THE GREATER OR LESS PROBABILITY OF THE SUCCESS OF THE CROPS WHEREWITH THE LAND IS SOWN.

IN this article I allude principally to rice, which is ſubject to great uncertainty in reſpect to its produce. This is undoubtedly a calamity, as it produces frequent famines. But, on the other hand, it has ſome influence in moderating the ſeverity of the government. This is inſtanced particularly in China *, which, like all countries that feed upon rice, is ſubject to frequent diſtreſſes of this kind.

The Egyptians are called a free people, in a letter of Adrian, preſerved by Vopiſcus.—Life of Saturninus.

It ſeems that the Egyptians were very obſtinate in refuſing to pay tribute. "Erubeſcet apud eos, ſi quis non inſitiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices oſtendat."—Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 16.

|| "Manet honos & antiquæ ſocietatis inſigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit: exempti oneribus & collationibus & tantum in uſum prælii-orum ſepoſiti, velut tela atque arma bellis reſervantur."—Taciti Germania, cap. xxix. de inſulâ Batavorum loquens.

* Spirit of Laws, book viii. ch. 21.

When

When the people are preſſed with want, they diſperſe, in order the better to procure ſuſtenance; in conſequence of which, gangs of robbers are formed over the country. Many of theſe are diſperſed on their firſt appearance; and others after having been for ſome time aſſembled. But in a diſturbance ſo general, it is not improbable, that ſome of theſe bodies may meet with ſucceſs. If this happens, they march to the capital, and place their leader on the throne. From the nature of things, a bad adminiſtration is here immediately corrected. The want of ſubſiſtence *, in ſo populous a country, admits of neither excuſe nor palliation, ſuch as is uſually held out to allay the ferments of the people on other occaſions. Abuſes here are inſtantly redreſſed, as the prince is informed of them in a ſudden and ſenſible manner, which applies directly to the ſafety of his crown and perſon. He knows that if his government be not good, he will be deprived both of empire and † life.

* In China, there are not only public granaries, but every family is required by law to provide a ſtock againſt a ſcarcity. Was this proviſion to be diſcouraged, by tyranny or arbitrary power, or by checking induſtry in any manner whatſoever, a rebellion muſt enſue.

A bad crop in Egypt, a country which reſembles China in ſeveral reſpects, was formerly apt to produce revolutions in the government. "Veteri ritu poteſtate depoſita removetur (rex) ſi ſub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel *ſegetum copiam negaverit terra*, ut ſolent Ægyptii caſus ejuſmodi ſuis adſignare rectoribus."—Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxviii. cap. 5.

† The mobs, ſays Du Halde, are very dangerous in China, eſpecially when provoked by famine. They once compelled the emperor to hang himſelf.—Vol. i. p. 89.—and p. 401.

CHAP. V.

EFFECT OF THE NATURE OF THE COUNTRY ON SOME LOCAL LAWS OF RELIGION.

THE nature of the country has likewiſe ſome effect in producing ſome local laws of religion, which are not, I think, ſtrictly reducible under any of the foregoing heads.

Thus the deification of cattle in Egypt, and the Eaſt Indies, was well adapted to the nature of the country, as well as climate, where they were ſo ſerviceable, and which yet admitted of but a ſlow multiplication of them.

The ſame reſpect paid to the Ibis *, in Egypt, was imputable to obvious cauſes of a ſimilar nature, it being of ſuch ſervice in clearing the country of the water reptiles, left by the inundations of the Nile. A law, therefore, for their preſervation was very natural, and could not be ſo univerſally enforced, as by making it a precept of religion. The people of Holland have, at preſent, a degree of religious veneration for ſtorks, on a ſimilar account.

The reſpect paid by the Egyptians to the cat, the ichneumon, the † hawk, and the eagle, was for reaſons of a like nature.

* The Ibis, ſays Herodotus, is highly reverenced both by the Arabians and the Egyptians, on account of its deſtroying venomous animals.—Herodotus, book ii.

The Ibis, ſays Diodorus Siculus, is of the greateſt ſervice in freeing the country of ſnakes, locuſts, and palmer-worms.—Lib. i.

The Egyptians not only paid a ſuperſtitious veneration to the Ibis, when alive, but alſo embalmed this, and other birds, as the hawk, when dead. — Diod. Sic. lib. i.

Many mummies of birds are found to this day in Egypt.

† The Hawk, ſays Diodorus Siculus, deſtroyed ſcorpions, the horned ſerpents, called Ceraſtes, and venomous animals, whoſe bite is mortal to the human race.—Lib. i.

The

The want of ſufficient and wholeſome food for the hog, in Arabia and Paleſtine, was probably amongſt the reaſons why this food was proſcribed by the legiſlators of thoſe countries.

An ancient law of the Gaurs in Perſia, prohibited the ſailing upon rivers. The cauſe of this would not eaſily be comprehended, but was really derived from the nature of the country. Polybius † tells us, that it was cuſtomary in Perſia to divide the ſtreams of rivers as much as poſſible, in order to water the ſoil in that dry country; and as a number of rivulets flowed from Mount Caucaſus, they ſpared no expence in diverting the courſe of their ſtreams. The intent of a law, then, which tended to diſcourage the uſe of a river, as a collected body of water, is too obvious to need explanation. Many more religious precepts, of a ſimilar kind, might, without doubt, be produced.

† In theſe parts, ſays Polybius, no water is ever ſeen above the ſurface of the ground. But through the whole of the deſert, there are many ſubterraneous wells and ſtreams, which are known only to thoſe who are acquainted with the country. The account which the inhabitants give of theſe, is true: that the Perſians, when they were maſters of this part of Aſia, gave to thoſe, who brought a ſtream of water into places in which there was none before, the free inheritance of the ground for five generations; and that the natives, encouraged by this advantage, ſpared no labour or expence to bring the water, which flows from Mount Caucaſus, in many large ſtreams, through ſubterraneous channels, to a very great diſtance; ſo that in the preſent times, thoſe who uſe the waters, know not the beginning nor the courſe of the channels through which they flow.—Book x. ext. 4.

The ſaint, in the Magian religion, is obliged to beget children, to plant uſeful trees, to deſtroy noxious animals, *to convey water to the dry lands in Perſia*, and to work out his ſalvation, by purſuing all the labours of agriculture.—Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire, p. 206. quoted from the Zendaveſta.

BOOK IV.

On the Influence of Population.

THE greater or ſmaller number of inhabitants in a country, in proportion to its extent, is an active cauſe in influencing the people.

CHAP. I.

GREAT POPULATION.

WHERE the numbers are very great, and fully adequate to the conſumption of the product of the country, even when fully cultivated, as was probably the caſe formerly in * Egypt, and is at preſent in China, it contributes very powerfully to form the diſpoſition and manners.

* Egypt, ſays Diodorus Siculus, was formerly the moſt populous country in the known world; and is, at this day, inferior to none.—Lib. i.

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The ancient Egyptians were * active, induſtrious, frugal, intriguing, greedy of money, addicted to † commerce, ‡ thieviſh, and fraudulent. They were alſo || timid, mean, and cowardly. All theſe qualities are inherent, to a great degree, in the ** Chineſe. Even the extenſive commerce which they carry on, which with us is known to require ſo great a regard to honour and juſtice, is not able to make them honeſt. This ſeeming paradox is well explained by Mr. Monteſquieu, with reſpect to China, which is equally applicable to †† Egypt.

The political objects which the Chineſe legiſlators had in view, were, that the people ſhould be peaceable, and ſubmiſſive, and induſtrious, and laborious, eſpecially in what relates to agriculture. The ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants is, from the nature of the ſoil and climate, very precarious; and the conſequence of its failure, from the great numbers who are to ſuffer by it, extremely dangerous; it is therefore neceſſary to ſecure a maintenance for the people by all poſſible means; which indeed are principally labour and induſtry. No check, therefore, upon theſe, muſt at any rate be admitted. This maxim, which is here a fundamental one from neceſſity, cauſes the morality of China to differ in its principles from ours. It is an eſtabliſhed rule in that country, that every one ſhould, at any rate, be attentive to his own intereſt, and promote it by any means in his power, violence excepted. Fraud, therefore,

* Genus hominum ſeditioſiſſimum, vaniſſimum, injurioſiſſimum; civitas opulenta, dives fæcunda, in qua nemo vivat otioſus. Alii vitrum conflant; ab aliis charta conficitur; alii lyniphiones ſunt; omnes certe cujuſcunque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagroſi quod agant habent; habent cæci quod faciant; ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otioſi vivunt.—Vopiſci Saturninus.

† Diodori, lib. i.

‡ Ibidem, Diod. Sicul.

|| Maximi Tyrii Diſſ. xiii.

** Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 63, 86, 90, 100.

†† Egypt is ſimilar in many reſpects to China, as being recovered from the water, and as being extremely populous.

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is not regarded as a crime, and only looked on as an inſtance of a man's * genius and attention; and indeed, as there is no confidence on either ſide, is not, in a moral view, ſo criminal as it would be with us, where a breach of truſt uſually accompanies the injury. If the cheat has been watchful over his own † intereſt, the dupe ought to have been no leſs attentive on the other ſide. This permiſſion to practiſe fraud in China, nearly reſembles the permiſſion to ſteal in Sparta and in † Egypt: and was allowed, in both countries, on a ſimilar ground, that of rendering the people alert, vigilant, and induſtrious.

The ſame reaſons that have rendered the Chineſe tricking and knaviſh, have alſo cauſed them to be timid, mean, and cowardly; to which indeed the rigid police and abſolute form of government greatly contributes.

In conſequence of this diſpoſition of the people, the ſtate of China, though highly populous, and provided with riches, and all the implements of war, is in reality weak and inſignificant: and although its ſize, diſtance, climate, and ſituation, together with ſome prudential maxims in policy—ſuch as the not permitting Europeans to have any ‡ ſettlements in their country—have hitherto, and probably always will, prevent its being a conqueſt to any European power, it is by no means an object of dread or apprehenſion to any, even for thoſe ſettlements that lie at the greateſt diſtance from Europe, and in the neighbourhood of China.

Indeed, the diſtance of China from Europe, by ſea, and its being ſurrounded with almoſt impenetrable deſerts by land, has been its

* It is an eſtabliſhed rule among the Chineſe, that the buyer is to give as ſmall a price as poſſible for what he buys, and nothing if he could help it; and e contra. It is not, ſay they, the merchant who deceives; it is the buyer who deceives himſelf. —Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 91.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

‡ Macao is an exception; but this is only a ſmall place, ſituated in an iſland, and entirely in the power of the Chineſe: and, moreover, belongs to one of the European ſtates, perhaps, at preſent, the leaſt likely of any to make foreign conqueſts.

greateſt ſecurity; ſince foreign invaſions have given repeated examples, that in caſe of danger to the ſtate, among all their doctors of war and of policy, among the millions ſet apart for the military profeſſion, none of its members can be found, who are fit to ſtand forth in the dangers of their country, or to form a defence againſt the inroads of an † enemy reputed to be artleſs and mean: ſo great is the influence of a ſervile principle in debaſing the minds and courage of mankind. Some ſpecies of corruption, however, luxury ‡ particularly, can have no place in a country of this kind, for very obvious reaſons. The lands, although cultivated to their utmoſt extent, are ſcarcely ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants, conſequently no part of the country can be ſuffered to be in a ſtate which does not furniſh ſubſiſtence to man; no animals can be admitted, that are not either of domeſtic uſe, or contribute to the cultivation of the land; and beſides, the great waſte and idleneſs, always incident to luxury, would be totally incompatible with the œconomy and induſtry which is abſolutely neceſſary to the daily ſupport of the people.

Civility of manners and behaviour are much cultivated in ſuch countries, owing to the great population, which makes it neceſſary to encourage, by every method, peace and tranquillity. The Chineſe || would have people filled with a veneration for one another, that each ſhould be every moment ſenſible of his dependence on

† Le Compte's Hiſtory of China, on the policy and government of the Chineſe.

‡ Even the king of Egypt was obliged to uſe a very ſimple diet, and to drink a certain quantity only of wine.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. ſect. 2.

The Chineſe, ſays Du Halde, never prefer the agreeable to the uſeful, or to fill the ground with uſeleſs things, as to make parterres, cultivate flowers, and plant walks; they think every ſpot ſhould be planted with uſeful plants.—Father Le Compte gives the ſame account.

It is obſerved in China, that whenever the Court has become luxurious and indolent, a revolution has certainly followed.—Du Halde.

|| Du Halde, vol. iii. p. 157.—Le Compte on the policy and government of the Chineſe.

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ſociety, and of the obligations he owes to his fellow-creatures; they therefore gave rules of the moſt extenſive civility. What the late Lord Cheſterfield applied to courts only, they extend to all mankind, that ceremony in behaviour is requiſite as the *outwork* and defence of manners.

Literature and ſcience, though not entirely excluded, appear to have made but moderate progreſs amongſt a people in ſuch a ſituation, nor is it likely they ever ſhould.

The Egyptians, ſays Diodorus Siculus, teach literature very ſparingly, and not all kinds of it, but principally ſuch as refer to the * mechanic arts. On this account they cultivated the ſtudies of † arithmetic, geometry, aſtronomy, and the prophylactic part of medicine; but made little account of the ornamental accompliſhments, as muſic, &c.

The Chineſe have followed a ſimilar courſe. Much has, indeed, been ſaid about their learning and knowledge; but moſt of this boaſted ſuperiority terminates, on enquiry, in being able to read and write.

Conſonant hereto are moſt of the productions which are acknowledged to be of that country. Some moral precepts for the conduct of life, a few books on agriculture, government, induſtry, and the rules of behaviour, conſtitute the greateſt part of thoſe works of their's with which we are acquainted.

The practical parts of agriculture, ſomewhat of aſtronomy, and ſome branches of the mathematics, are, however, much cultivated amongſt them.

The attention of a people thus circumſtanced was ſo much engaged with the government and peace of the country, and the means of providing for the ſubſiſtence of the people, that it had little to beſtow on ſubjects which were not immediately directed to theſe

* Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. § 2.

† Ibidem.

ends. The inſtitutions of Sparta gave a profeſſed contempt for whatever was not connected with the practical virtues of a bold and reſolute ſpirit; the Chineſe cultivate no knowledge that does not contribute to the quiet of government, or the ſupport of the inhabitants. The rigid police, alſo, under which they live, has a great effect in cramping genius, and diſcouraging freedom of thought, without which literature can never make any great progreſs.

A great degree of population in ſome meaſure influences the laws.

The object of the law, in a country highly populous, is nearly connected with the policy of the ſtate. Their bent, therefore, is directed to the providing for the maintenance and peaceable behaviour of the people under that government. It is requiſite, for this purpoſe, to encourage induſtry by all means, and to render the people active, and diſpoſed to take advantage of every occurrence. Hence ſome frauds either eſcape under connivance, or very mildly cenſured, which are in other countries ſeverely puniſhed. Thus theft in ‡ Egypt, under certain circumſtances, was not only ſlightly regarded, but even encouraged, and regulated by the law, which alſo pointed out a method by which the goods ſo ſtolen might, on paying a certain proportion of their value, be recovered by the owners; a tranſaction which, in our country, is made felony, and puniſhed with death.

‡ The Egyptians, ſays Diodorus Siculus, have a certain law concerning thieves, which is very extraordinary. He who is deſirous to practiſe this method of life, regiſters his name with the head or chief of the thieves, and engages to bring every thing that is ſtolen directly to him. Thoſe who have loſt any thing, ſend an account of it to theſe people, ſpecifying each article, with place, the day, and the hour when the loſs was ſuffered. In this way the goods are recovered again, the owners paying one fourth of the value to the thieves. As it was impoſſible, adds the hiſtorian, to prevent them from thieving, the legiſlator invented this method of recovering the property again, with a deduction of ſuch a part only of its value, as was paid for its redemption.—Diod. Sic. lib. i.

Fraud

Fraud and cheating, in China, provided it be not accompanied with force, is little regarded by the law, from a principle mentioned before, of rendering the people watchful, provident, and attentive to their own intereſt by all means; which they might fear would be checked by too nice a ſcrutiny into the juſtice of every tranſaction. But whether, conſidering China as a commercial country, this be not a miſtaken opinion in point of policy, I ſhall not determine.

But in ſome inſtances, a great degree of population has not only ſuperſeded the laws of morality, but even of nature herſelf. When mankind multiply beyond a certain degree, their comparative value is diminiſhed || with reſpect to the ſtate. If this multiplication proceeds, each individual becomes of no value, and even an incumbrance. Hence, in China, a father is allowed to ſell his daughters, and to expoſe his children. In Tonquin, the ſame cauſes produce the ſame effects. In all probability, a ſimilar cuſtom prevailed, in the earlieſt times, in * Egypt, and for the ſame reaſons. Even Ariſtotle was of opinion, that where the expoſing of children was not allowed, the number of thoſe actually produced ought to be † limited: if they have beyond the number preſcribed

|| Sir William Petty, in his calculations, computes, that a man in England is worth what he would ſell for at Algiers. This can be only true, as Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, with reſpect to England. There are countries where a man is worth nothing; there are others where he is worth leſs than nothing.—Sp. of Laws.

* The ſtory of Moſes being expoſed on the banks of the Nile, renders it probable that this cuſtom was in uſe in Egypt very early. Children are now expoſed, on the river of Canton, exactly in the ſame manner that is related of Moſes.

Joſephus ſays, that the Ægyptians call water by the name of *Mo*, and ſuch as are ſaved out of it by the name of *Uſes*. This ſeems to intimate that this method of expoſing children was not then uncommon.—See Joſephus's Jewiſh Antiquities, book ii. ch. 9. § 6.

† All population muſt be underſtood as proportioned, not to the extent of country

preſcribed by the law, he adviſes to make the women miſcarry before the fœtus be ‡ formed.

But the above unnatural permiſſion has been thought, with great reaſon, like moſt ſuch, to have had an effect directly oppoſite to what was intended, and to have rather increaſed than diminiſhed the population of the country. This it has done by encouraging marriage. The parents are induced to marry, from having theſe means of relief in view; and when the offspring is produced, parental tenderneſs interpoſes, and the children are preſerved.

It appears, however, from || Diodorus, that Egypt, in the times he deſcribes, though at that period exceſſively full of people, was not eſteemed to be over populous. That * writer tells us, that the Egyptian prieſts married one wife, and the other people as many as they pleaſed; and that they educate or rear all the children, from the notion of the numbers of people contributing to the well-being and proſperity of the ſtate. It is alſo mentioned, that pregnant women, in Egypt, were not allowed to be executed; as is the caſe with us alſo.

Spurious children alſo, in Egypt, were equally regarded with thoſe born in matrimony; which ſeems to have been inſtituted with the intent of increaſing the population of the country.

I am inclined to believe, that a great population is apt to make the laws more ſevere in ſome inſtances. Thus in China idleneſs is a crime; and in India, we are told by Strabo, that it was capital to lame an artificer in the hand, or to put out or blind him of an eye; which was not ſo penal if done to any other perſon. Theſe laws originated from the neceſſity of univerſal induſtry in

only, but alſo to the capacity of the ground to maintain them: Attica, therefore, being barren, might be very populous in this view, though its numbers were not great.

‡ Ariſtot. De Republica, lib. vii. cap. 16.

|| Lib. i.

* Ibidem.

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ſuch countries. A great degree of population naturally produces a rigid and exact police. The danger of ſudden diſturbances and inſurrections, in a populous country, both to individuals and to the ſtate, point out the neceſſity of repreſſing them as quickly as poſſible. Thus we are informed by † Strabo, that in India the regulation of the police conſtituted a principal part of the attention of government, and was extremely rigid and exact.

Diodorus ‡ Siculus mentions, that in Egypt this was carried to a great length, inſomuch as to aſſign even a capital puniſhment for the ſuffering, or not preventing, an offence againſt the peace.

The regulations at preſent in force in China are of a ſimilar nature; every man there is a kind of ſecurity for the good behaviour of his neighbours, and thus made to partake, in ſome meaſure, of their guilt, as a puniſhment on his neglect in not preventing its taking place.

There are, beſides, in China, ſome perſons, who, being eſpecially intruſted with the care of the conduct of others, are particularly anſwerable for it: thus fathers ‖, in China, are reſponſible for the conduct of their children, and liable to be puniſhed for their miſbehaviour, even with death. This circumſtance, I ſuppoſe, is one great cauſe of the high reſpect and obedience paid to parents in China, ſince it would be abſurd to make the parents anſwerable for the conduct of thoſe over whom they had not the power of controul. Parental authority alſo, by the ſubordination it inculcates, is extremely well fitted for maintaining a regular police.

† Lib. xv.

‡ If any one ſhall ſee another murdered in the highway, or violently attacked, and ſhall not go to his aſſiſtance, if it be poſſible for him to give it, he ſhall undergo a capital puniſhment; if, however, the perſon preſent cannot, through infirmity, give any help, he ought ſtill to diſcover and proſecute the robbers; if he neglects this, he is puniſhed with a certain number of ſtripes, and with being kept from food for three days.—Lib. i.

‖ Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 44.

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In countries of this kind, the adminiſtration of juſtice is always by ſtated laws, or at leaſt rules. Where the people are exceſſively numerous, frequent diſputes muſt neceſſarily ariſe, which require for their deciſion tribunals of juſtice; which are obliged to decide in an uniform manner, both to prevent the increaſe of litigation—which, in ſo populous a country, would be infinite, if a new law was to be made upon every occaſion—and alſo to preſerve the regularity of the police, by giving to every individual a fixed and known rule for his conduct and behaviour in ſociety.

Another reaſon for the ſtability and uniformity of laws in ſuch ſtates, is deduced from the neceſſity there is of encouraging induſtry in every rank of life, and indeed in every individual, in order to maintain ſuch a multitude of people. If the property of every man was not eſteemed tolerably ſecure, he would ſcarcely be diſpoſed to pay that attention to labour which is there neceſſary for * the ſubſiſtence of the people. Thus we are told by Diodorus, that in Ægypt †, the greateſt regard was paid, both to the formalities of juſtice, the beſt means for the diſcovery of truth, and the uniformity of deciſion.

I am inclined to believe, nevertheleſs, that the formalities of law amongſt ſuch a people are both few and ſhort. Diodorus, indeed, mentions ſeveral ſtages of proceeding in the litigation between the

* As China grows every day more populous, notwithſtanding the expoſing of children, the inhabitants are inceſſantly employed in tilling the lands for their ſupport. This requires a very extraordinary attention in the government. It is their perpetual concern, that every man ſhould have it in his power to work, without the apprehenſion of being deprived of the fruits of his labour.—Sp. of Laws, book viii. ch. 21.

† In the middle of the images in the ſepulchre of Oſymandua, ſays Diodorus, is that of the preſident of the court of juſtice, with many books lying by him, and the figure of Truth, with her eyes ſhut, hanging from his neck. By this is implied, that it is the duty of judges to accept no preſents, but to regard truth only.—Diodor. book i. p. 31.

See note to book i. ch. 17. § 3. of this work.

parties in Egypt; but it is likely that all of theſe ſeldom took place, and probably they were but ſhort in themſelves, as we are expreſsly told that all rhetorical ornament, and application to the * paſſions was excluded, and nothing but the naked fact, and, perhaps, the law ariſing from thence, allowed to be diſcuſſed. The mode of trial, likewiſe, by the † oath of the defendant, which was allowed in all matters that were by ſimple contract, and without any written teſtimony, was very ſhort, and took up but little time. The formalities of law in ‡ China are, likewiſe, very few in number, as well as the laws themſelves, and it ſeems to be the intention of the government, probably for this reaſon amongſt others, to diſcourage || litigation as much as poſſible.

The mode of trial moſt conſonant to ſuch a ſtate, I apprehend to be by judges, who determine on the law and fact, and, indeed, upon the whole merits of the cauſe at once. This is the moſt expeditious mode of deciſion, and on that account moſt likely to be adopted. This was the form of trial in ** Egypt formerly, and is ſo at preſent in China.

I am inclined to believe, alſo, that a great degree of population tends to multiply capital puniſhments. As the importance of each individual to the ſtate is diminiſhed—which is the caſe in a numerous ſociety—the legiſlators have become more careleſs of their preſervation, and leſs ſcrupulous in inflicting the puniſhment of death. Thus, in Japan, where the population is immenſe, ſeveral crimes are capital, which in other countries are ſcarcely animadverted by the laws. The increaſe of population alſo, in our own country, has probably been the principal cauſe of the increaſed ſeverity of our penal laws, which was remarked ſo many

* Book i. p. 48.

† Book i. p. 50.

‡ Du Halde, vol. i. p. 269.

|| Strabo ſeems to hint as if this was the intent of the Indian legiſlators, lib. xv.

** See book i. ch. 17. ſect. 3. note.

years

* years ago.——China and the Eaſt Indies are, however, exceptions to this obſervation; but this I take to be owing to particular circumſtances. The neceſſity that there is in China for regularity of police, and for the inſuring to every man the fruits of his labour, prevent very † rigorous executions of juſtice; and in India, the nature of the food, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, inſpires a diſpoſition that is adverſe to ſanguinary puniſhments. A great degree of population has alſo a conſiderable effect upon the cuſtoms, ſeveral of which are connected with what has been before mentioned as the object of government.

Thus it was formerly a cuſtom in India, as we are told by Strabo ‡, that at the beginning of the new year, the kings and philoſophers of the country met together, and thoſe who had made any pertinent remarks, either relative to the fruits of the earth or to animals, were rewarded with an exemption from tribute. At preſent, in || China, the Emperor performs an annual ceremony of opening the grounds. Several of the kings ** of India do the

* Nec vita hominis interea charior ſed abjectior.—Spelman Gloſſ. p. 350.

† For the reaſon before given, of the neceſſity of encouraging induſtry in China, few of their puniſhments affect property; but corporal puniſhments are very common. Mr. Helvetius remarks, "that the deſpotiſm of China is, according to ſome authors, very moderate, of which the abundance of their harveſts is a proof. In China, as well as every where elſe, we know, that, to make the earth fertile, it is not enough to compoſe good books of agriculture, but that there be no law which oppoſes cultivation; therefore the taxes in China, ſays M. Poivre, do not amount, on indifferent lands, to more than one-thirtieth of the produce. The Chineſe, therefore, enjoy their property almoſt entire: their government, conſequently, in this reſpect, is good; but is it ſo with regard to the property of their perſons? The habitual and enormous diſtribution they make of the ſtrokes of the bamboo proves the contrary. It is their arbitrary puniſhments that, doubtleſs, debaſes their ſouls, and makes of almoſt all the Chineſe, a knaviſh merchant, a cowardly ſoldier, and a citizen without honour."—Helvetius's Treatiſe on Man, tranſlated by W. Hooper, M. D. 1777.

‡ Lib. xv.

|| Du Halde, tom. i. p. 72.

** La Loubiere Deſcr. of Siam, p. 69.

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ſame, and a ſimilar cuſtom prevailed in * Peru; which function in that country was very politically dignified, by denominating it the triumph of the Prince or Inca, who boaſted to be deſcended from the ſun, over the earth.

From what has been before obſerved of the effect of a great degree of population upon the laws, it appears, that the form of government muſt neceſſarily have a conſiderable admixture of † liberty, or at leaſt of moderation in the exerciſe of power. The ancient government of Europe, as has been before obſerved, was extremely moderate; and the reſtraints, even of a perſonal kind, upon the prince, were in ſome reſpects more rigid than upon any of his ſubjects. In China, indeed, the power of the emperor is ‡ unlimited;

* Robertſon's America, book vii.

† Cato the Cenſor ſeemed to think, that a kingly government was inconſiſtent with great population, from his calling kings, men-eaters, or deſtroyers of men. —Life of Cato the Cenſor by Plutarch.

‡ "This power, however, attached to the imperial dignity, abſolute as it is, finds a reſtraint which moderates it in the very laws which eſtabliſh it. It is an innate principle with them, that the whole ſtate is one great family, and that the prince ought to have the ſame regard for his ſubjects that a father of a family has for his children; and that he ought to rule over them with the ſame tenderneſs and affection. This idea is impreſſed naturally on the minds of all the Chineſe. They judge of the merits of the prince, and of his talents, from his paternal affection to his people, and by the care he takes in letting them feel its good effects in the promotion of their happineſs. He is called by them the parent of his people. He is only feared in proportion as he is reſpected for his goodneſs and virtues. Theſe are the lines in which they deſcribe their great emperors, and their books are all full of the ſame maxims. Thus, according to the general idea of the nation, the emperor is obliged to enter into the moſt minute detail of every thing that regards the people. It is not for his pleaſure that he is raiſed to the ſupreme rank. He ought to make it his amuſement to fulfil the duties of an emperor, and by his tenderneſs, application, and vigilance for the good of his ſubjects, merit the name of parent of his people. If his conduct is not conformable to theſe ideas, he falls into the moſt ſovereign contempt. Why, ſay the Chineſe, has Heaven ſet him upon the throne, but to ſerve as the parent of his people? Another reſtraint which the laws have put upon

mited; that is, there are no fixed bounds annexed to it: but then he is neceſſitated to exerciſe this power in a certain manner. Should his edicts tend to deſtroy or weaken any part of the ſyſtem of government, or police, the inconvenience would be immediately felt, and he would be compelled to alter his meaſures, in order to preſerve his own authority. The regular adminiſtration of juſtice, the exact police, and, above all, the abſolute neceſſity there is for encouraging induſtry—which can never be done but by rendering property ſecure—are all bars to deſpotiſm and tyranny.

An exceſſive population, in ſome reſpects influences the religion of a country, and ſuperſedes the diſpoſition naturally inſpired by the climate. When the numbers are increaſed to ſuch a degree as in China, it becomes neceſſary, in order to their maintenance, to promote induſtry by religious, as well as political or moral precepts. There were formerly in China, as well as in the other eaſtern kingdoms, great numbers of monaſteries of Bonzes, an idle kind of religious devotees, who contributed nothing to the public by their induſtry. But when the population of the country increaſed, it became neceſſary to change the genius of the religion, from one that favoured * indolence, to one that encouraged activity. It was then adopted as a religious, as well as a political

the ſovereign authority, in order to reſtrain any prince who may be tempted to abuſe this power, is the liberty which is given to the Mandarines to repreſent, in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner, the faults which he has committed in the adminiſtration of the ſtate, and which are contrary to good order and a wiſe government. If he diſregards theſe, or ſhews any reſentment againſt thoſe who offer them, he would loſe all reputation with his ſubjects; who would extol that Mandarine who had ſacrificed himſelf for his country; and his memory would be regarded highly by poſterity. Many of theſe martyrs for the public good, are to be found in the Chineſe hiſtories."—Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 15.

See alſo Le Compte's account of the Policy and Government of the Chineſe.

* The ſects of Fo and Lao, which hold a void, and nothing, as the principle and termination of all things, and encourage idleneſs and inactivity, are deteſted among the Chineſe.—Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 336.

maxim,

maxim, that if there was a man who did not work, or a woman that was idle, ſomebody muſt ſuffer cold and hunger in the empire. And upon this principle, a vaſt number of monaſteries of Bonzes were deſtroyed.

From an attention to the maintenance of the inhabitants of a highly-populous country, religion has been even made to publiſh dictates inconſiſtent with nature and humanity. Thus the religion of the Iſle of Formoſa † does not ſuffer the women to bring children into the world before they are thirty-five years old. If they are pregnant before that time, the prieſteſs, by bruiſing the belly, procures abortion.

CHAP. II.

SMALL POPULATION.

A Very ſmall ‡ degree of population produces an oppoſite effect in moſt reſpects. I am apt to believe, that a people under ſuch circumſtances would be inclined to an indolent diſpoſition. Labour and induſtry are originally produced by neceſſity, and improved by habit; but in a country thinly inhabited, the ‖ ſpontaneous produce ſuffices for the maintenance of the people; and conſequently, neceſſity has but little power in exciting induſtry. This was probably one cauſe of the idleneſs of the ancient Ger-

† Collection of voyages that contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt India company, Vol. i. part. 1. page 182 and 188.

‡ As a country very thinly inhabited, at leaſt in the degree here ſuppoſed, is, for the moſt part, in a ſavage ſtate, it is difficult to diſtinguiſh, in many inſtances, to which of theſe cauſes, the effects I have mentioned are more particularly to be referred. In all probability, they both concur in the ſame general effect, in many inſtances.

‖ Cibi ſimplices, agreſtia poma, recens fera, & lac concretum.—Taciti Germania.

mans, and of the North American Indians at preſent. But of theſe qualities, more in another place.

The temper of ſuch a people is generally undeſigning and generous. As ſubſiſtence is eaſily procured by every one, and luxury is unknown, the wants of each individual are few, and eaſily ſatisfied. Hence, there is little art and cunning, as there is no temptation to employ them. Property is but little known, and leſs eſteemed; conſequently, the corruption ariſing from venality can have no place. As they can have no inducement to diſſimulation, they are open and * communicative in their tempers; though this circumſtance varies in different nations.

Affection and perſonal regard are carried to a great length among a people of this deſcription. The mind, unembarraſſed by motives of vanity, † property, and intereſt, has its force concentered on the proper object of its attachment, the human ſpecies. The mutual dangers and ſucceſſes, the wants and diſtreſſes, which they undergo in company with one another, together with the inſtances of generoſity and aſſiſtance, which in ſuch critical ſituations muſt often be reciprocally afforded, among a people few in number, and all united in one courſe of life, cannot fail to excite the ardour ‡ of friendſhip, and create a degree of attachment unknown to any, but thoſe who have experienced ſimilar ſituations

* Gens non aſtuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc ſecreta pectoris licentia loci.—Tacitus.

The Gauls, alſo, were very communicative and inquiſitive.—Cæſar.

This character, however, is moſt ſuited to the European nations; the North Americans being very reſerved, and great maſters of diſſimulation.

† Private property is unknown among the American Indians.—Carver's Travels, p. 247.

‡ Friendſhip appears to have been much cultivated among the ancient Germans. Tacitus tells us, that it was neceſſary to adopt the enmities, as well as the attachments, of thoſe with whom we were connected; and deſcribes, in a ſhort but pathetic manner, the concern expreſſed for their loſs.

"Lamenta & lacrymas cito; dolorem & triſtitiam tardè ponunt."—Taciti Germania.

in life. Hence, probably, the devoted friendſhip of Theſeus and Pirithous, of Pylades and Oreſtes, and perhaps of Achilles and Patroclus, in ancient hiſtory; and the exceſs of this ſpecies of regard, which prevails at preſent among the American Indians. What tended, likewiſe, I apprehend, to enhance the value of theſe mutual ſervices, was, that they were done freely, and without any expectation of a return; and alſo, that they proceeded from perſonal interpoſition, often attended with great hazard to thoſe by whom the ſervice was conferred. This naturally created eſteem, gratitude, and affection, on the one hand, and a high degree of the laſt of theſe paſſions on the other. Protection as naturally creates a love to the object on which it is beſtowed, as it does gratitude and attachment in the perſon who has received the obligation; and theſe regards are greatly heightened, if this happens by perſonal interference. We all know how naturally we grow fond of animals that apply to us, and court our protection, or which we have, by accident, preſerved from danger and diſtreſs: and it is a great mark of Fielding's diſcernment in human nature, to repreſent Mr. Allworthy taking ſuch an affection to a foundling child, from the circumſtance that he himſelf was perſonally concerned in its preſervation ||.

The members of a community that are but few in number, are, for ſimilar reaſons, more * attached to their ſociety or ſtate, than

|| Homer was extremely fond of painting ſcenes wherein the heroes were concerned in doing ſome perſonal ſervice to one another. Thus Neſtor is reſcued by Diomede, Teucer by Ajax, Ulyſſes by Ajax and Menelaus. Neſtor adminiſters the remedies with his own hands to Machaon, when wounded; and Patroclus dreſſes the wounds of Eurypylus. A ſimilar diſpoſition reigns among the American Indians. Mr. Carver tells us, that in dangers, they readily give aſſiſtance to any of their band who ſtand in need of it, without any expectation of return, except of thoſe juſt rewards always conferred by the Indians on merit. The very diſintereſtedneſs of theſe actions muſt be very powerful in kindling the fire of friendſhip.

* In their public characters, as forming part of a community, they poſſeſs an attachment for that band to which they belong, unknown to the inhabitants of any

than when they are more numerous. In large ſocieties, the views and intereſts of one part or body of them are often inconſiſtent with or oppoſite to thoſe of another; which cauſes a degree of relaxation of that attachment, which is the bond of union amongſt them.

But in a ſtate conſiſting of but few members, the whole of the people form but one body; conſequently, their views are the ſame, and therefore likely to be purſued with greater unanimity and perſeverance, and, inſtead of dividing, tend to draw the tie of mutual attachment ſtill cloſer. Another cauſe why in ſuch ſituations the love of their country or ſociety is more predominant, is, that they are not intereſted for their community merely as a body, but alſo for the particular perſons that compoſe it.

In a large and numerous body, the individual is loſt in the croud; but in a ſmall number, his connections are comparatively more extenſive, and he becomes of importance in his private character, and thinks himſelf a † perſonal ſharer both in the glory and misfortunes of his country; and is, of conſequence, more anxious for its welfare and proſperity. This was, no doubt, one great cauſe of the devoted patriotiſm of the Grecian ſtates, and indeed

any other country. They combine, as if they were actuated by one ſoul, againſt the enemies of their nation; and baniſh from their minds every conſideration oppoſed to this. They conſult, without unneceſſary oppoſition, or without giving way to the excitements of envy or ambition, on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for the deſtruction of thoſe who have incurred their diſpleaſure. No ſelfiſh views ever obſtruct their conſultations, or influence their advice. Nor is it in the power of bribes, or of threats, to diminiſh the love they bear to their country. The honour of their tribe, and the welfare of their nation, is the firſt and moſt predominant emotion of their hearts; and from hence proceed, in a good meaſure, all their vices and virtues. Actuated by this, they brave every danger, endure the moſt exquiſite torments; and expire triumphing in their fortitude, not as a perſonal qualification, but as a national characteriſtic.—Carver's Travels, p. 412.

† It is very properly obſerved by Dr. Gregory, that love of a country, and of a public, cannot ſubſiſt among men who neither know nor love the individuals that compoſe that public.—Gregory's Comparat. View.

of

of the Roman, during the firſt ages of the republic; and has no ſmall efficacy, at preſent, in exciting the ſame paſſions among the North American Indians.

Bravery and fortitude are likewiſe, in general, qualities which mankind poſſeſs under ſuch circumſtances. Theſe are, indeed, always eſteemed, and held as the principal point of honour, wherever mankind have not been greatly corrupted. But the peculiarity of ſuch a ſituation has cauſed many of the maxims and tenets, relative to this point, to be very different from thoſe of other countries, wherein the numbers are more abundant. This is inſtanced, in a high degree, among the North American Indians before ſpoken of. The ſmallneſs of the number of this people, has cauſed them to ſet a particular value on the life of each member of their ſociety. Thus it is with them a principle of honour, in war, to preſerve life as much as poſſible, and to do the greateſt miſchief to the adverſary, with the leaſt * hazard to themſelves. They deem it folly to expoſe their own perſons, in aſſaulting the enemy; nor do they rejoice in victories that are ſtained with the blood of their countrymen. They do not value themſelves, as in Europe, upon defying their enemy upon equal terms. They even boaſt, that they approach like foxes, or that they fly ‡ like birds,

* The Indians think that there is little glory to be got by attacking their enemies in the open field. Their greateſt pride is to ſurpriſe and deſtroy. They ſeldom engage, without a manifeſt appearance of advantage. And they eſteem it the greateſt qualification of a chief warrior, to be able to manage an attack ſo as to deſtroy as many of the enemy as poſſible, at the expence of a few men. — Carver's Travels, p. 311.

‡ Among the ancient Germans, who were, like the North American Indians, a nation of warriors, and few in number, to give way in battle, was no diſgrace, but rather a mark of military ſkill, provided the attack was renewed.

" Cedere loco, dummodò rurſus inſtes, conſilii quam formidinis arbitrantur."— Taciti Germania.

Some tribes of the ancient Germans, the Arii particularly, made uſe of ſimilar arts in war with thoſe practiſed by the North American Indians, in order to do the

birds, not leſs than that they devour like lions. In Europe, to fall in battle is honourable; in America, it is diſgraceful; it indicates that a man had not been ſufficiently careful of his life, which was not only of importance to himſelf, but to the ſtate. But the torments theſe people willingly endure, and even ſolicit, when fallen into the enemy's hands, prove, that their courage and reſolution are, in a high degree, eminent.

The ſame reaſons which make nations, in ſuch circumſtances, ſo careful of the lives of their own people, occaſion their wars to be carried on apparently with a great degree of cruelty. Their object in war is to diſtreſs a ſtate, by deſtroying or captivating the people who compoſe it; and by this they judge of their ſucceſs. They do not, therefore, releaſe their priſoners, as we do in Europe, to return and ſtrengthen their party or ſociety, but either put them to death, or adopt them into their own nation; which laſt circumſtance proves, that the deſtruction of them was not ſo much from motives of cruelty, as with a view of diſtreſſing the adverſe ſtate. But what ſhall we ſay to the horrid cruelties with which priſoners of war are treated in theſe countries, when an eaſier death would have anſwered the ſame purpoſe? This is difficult to explain. It appears as if it was the opportunity they deſire, to try their fortitude; as the maxims they purſue in war, and their point of honour, are ſo different from ours, as has been before mentioned, and afford no room for the diſplay of that courage and magnanimity which they poſſeſs in ſo eminent a degree. It is certain, that no hatred or perſonal reſentment is intended by it. They obſerve the point of honour in the applica-

the greateſt damage to the enemy, with the leaſt poſſible injury to themſelves. Cæterum Arii ſuper vires, quibus enumeratos paulo antè populos antecedunt, truces, inſitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra ſcuta, tincta corpora, atras ad prœlia noctes legunt: ipſaque formidine atque umbrâ feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hoſtium ſuſtinente novum ac velut infernum adſpectum.—Taciti Germania, cap. xliii.

tion,

tion, as well as in the bearing of their torments; and, by a ſtrange kind of regard, were directed to be moſt cruel, where they intended the higheſt reſpect. The coward was put to immediate death by the hands of the women; the valiant was ſuppoſed to be entitled to all the trials of fortitude that man could invent or employ.

It is obſervable, that it is the warriors only—who are diſtinguiſhed by the marks on their breaſts and arms—that ſuffer in the moſt cruel manner, that of being put to death by fire. This is eſteemed a mark of reſpect due to their proweſs, which it would be highly cruel to deny them; and even the ſufferer himſelf, by no means wiſhes to decline the trial; and even excites his tormentors to make his tortures as ſevere as poſſible, in order that he may have a greater opportunity of diſplaying his fortitude in enduring them. One of theſe, Mr. Carver ‖ tells us, when in the laſt ſtruggles of life, and no longer able to vent in words the indignant provocation his tongue would have uttered, even then a ſmile of mingled ſcorn and triumph ſat on his countenance.

Literature * and ſcience, it may be well expected, could have no place among a people of this deſcription, as they are, for the moſt part, in a ſavage ſtate. But with reſpect to ſome of the arts of life, as thoſe of hunting and fiſhing, and alſo in the art of war, they are far from being defective. But of this more in another † place.

As to laws, a people under circumſtances wherein property was nearly unknown, could have need of but few. In ſuch a ſtate, the vindication of a right, or the redreſs of an injury, is conſidered more as a private affair, than as a public concern. Some crimes, however, which affect the public intereſt, or tran-

‖ Carver's Travels.

* Literarum ſecreta viri pariter ac fœminæ ignorant.—Taciti Germania, cap. xix.——The ſame is true of the American Indians.

† Vide book vi.—on the Way of Life.

quillity, are, even in nations of this deſcription, thought worthy of a public animadverſion. Thus Tacitus tells us, that the ancient ‡ Germans puniſhed ſome crimes with death; but it ſhould be remarked, that theſe were very few in number, and only ſuch as denoted, that thoſe who committed them were either enemies to the ſtate in general, or uſeleſs or diſgraceful to it. The ſame maxim which governed their mode of making war, was reſpected in the law, which was derived from the value of a man in a ſmall ſociety. They thought that the life of an individual was too precious to be ſacrificed for petty infractions of the duties of ſociety, and juſtifiable by neceſſity only.

Hence the laws are much leſs ſanguinary in countries of ſmall, than in thoſe of || great population. A ſmall degree of population, if I miſtake not, has ſome effect in influencing the forms of juſtice and mode of trial.

Thus the trial, in a ſmall ſociety, appears to be naturally before the people at large: as it is of conſequence, that each individual, where he is of ſo much weight, ſhould be ſatisfied with the juſtice of the ſentence; and alſo, in order to collect ſufficient force to put it into execution. This is the more neceſſary, in proportion as the crime is the more heinous, and the puniſhment more ſevere. Thus, among the ancient Germans, it is probable that capital accuſations could only be proſecuted before the great council of the * nation, whilſt ſmaller crimes were adjudged by perſons

‡ Our Saxon anceſtors, probably for this reaſon among others, were extremely cautious of inflicting the puniſhment of death.—Wilkins Leg. Saxon. paſſim.

|| Probably, for this reaſon, among others, the Scotch have been, and ſtill are, more averſe to capital executions than the Engliſh.

* Licet apud concilium accuſare quemque & diſcrimen capitis intendere. Diſtinctio pœnarum ex delicto: proditores & transfugas arboribus ſuſpendunt; ignavos & imbelles & corpore infames cæno & palude, injectâ ſupercrate, mergunt. Diverſitas ſupplicii illud reſpicit, tanquam ſcelera oſtendi oporteat dum puniuntur flagitia abſcondi. Sed & levioribus delictis pro modo pœnarum equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur;

perſons of rank choſen and deputed by that aſſembly. Theſe deputies were, however, attended by a large number of perſons, ſelected by the people, who aſſiſted them with their advice and authority.

The cuſtoms alſo, as well as the laws, of a nation, are capable of being influenced by the ſmallneſs of the population. This is inſtanced in the practice of hoſpitality, a cuſtom always moſt prevalent in countries thinly peopled. This has ariſen partly from neceſſity, in order to facilitate the paſſage of ſtrangers, who, without it, muſt of courſe periſh; and alſo from the natural love of ſociety incident to our nature, which affection is always * ſtrongeſt where it meets with the leaſt gratification. In confirmation of this, Tacitus informs us, that, among the ancient Germans, † hoſpitality was held in the higheſt eſteem: every one received the ſtranger with ſuch entertainment as was ſuitable to his circumſtances in life; and to deny entrance to any one was held to be ſacrilege. The entertainer, when exhauſted, carried his gueſt to the houſe of his next neighbour. They never waited for invitation; nor was it of conſequence to be invited, as they were received either way with equal welcome. No one made any diſtinction, with regard to hoſpitality, between an acquaintance and a ſtranger. The ‡ North American

mulctantur; pars mulctæ regi vel civitati, pars ipſi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exſolvitur. Eliguntur in iiſdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicoſque reddunt. Centeni ſingulis ex plebe comites conſilium ſimul et auctoritas adſunt.—Taciti Germania, cap. xii.

* The hiſtory of Robinſon Cruſoe is a fine and pathetic picture of the force of theſe ſenſations.

† Convictibus et hoſpitiis non alia gens effuſius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur, pro fortunâ quiſque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecerit, qui modo hoſpes fuerat monſtrator hoſpitii et comes. Proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec intereſt, pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque quantum ad jus hoſpitii nemo diſcernit.—Taciti Germania, cap xvi.

‡ No people are more hoſpitable, kind, and free than the Indians; they will readily ſhare, with any of their own tribe, the laſt part of their proviſions, and even

American Indians practiſe hoſpitality in a manner equally liberal, and with little more diſtinction of the perſons who ſhare in the entertainment.

The form of government, in ſtates thinly inhabited, is moſtly republican, and frequently accompanied with a high degree of || liberty. This reſults from the circumſtances before mentioned. Property being little eſteemed, corruption can have no place. The intereſt of the whole body of people being nearly alike, and the number few, one part of them cannot be employed to oppreſs the other. They are alſo, in general, all of them armed; and, conſequently, in a condition to reſiſt force with force. Theſe, probably, were the principal cauſes, though not unconnected with others, of the free condition of the ancient Germans, and of the North American Indians at preſent. It is difficult to ſay what power the kings of the former poſſeſſed. Tacitus tells us, that it was limited conſiderably: the king having no power to confine, to inflict corporal puniſhment, or even cenſure, upon any one, at his will or diſcretion; or indeed in any caſe whatever. In reſpect to the making of laws, every freeman was conſidered as ſharing in the legiſlative power. The people preſcribed the limitations theirſelves were to obey. They marched armed to the national aſſembly, to judge, to reform, and to puniſh; and the magiſtrate and the ſovereign, inſtead of controuling their power, were to reſpect, and to ſubmit to it. What then was left for the office of the prince? Probably little more than a precedence in point of rank; and the convenience of having ſome perſon to give authenticity to public tranſactions, as treaties, &c.

Even in their armies, the command of which is generally

with thoſe of a different nation, if they chance to come in when they are eating.—Carver's Travels, p. 265.

The Icelanders too are extremely hoſpitable.—Letters on Iceland, p. 89.

|| This is to be underſtood of independent ſtates, and not of ſuch as are held in ſubjection to, and as provinces of, a large empire.

thought

thought to require an uncontrouled direction in the general, the Germans preſerved a great degree of republican government, the military leaders being diveſted of all power to enforce their orders; which were regarded more from a reſpect to their example or * character, than their authority.

The reſemblance of the modern North American Indians is in theſe reſpects very great. The † ſachem, among them, is at the head of the civil ſtate: and his aſſent is neceſſary in all conveyances and treaties; to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation. This dignity, which ſeems to correſpond with that of the king ‡ among the ancient Germans, is alſo, like that, hereditary. But beſides this, every band or nation has a chief, who is called the great chief, or the chief warrior: who is || *elected*, in conſideration of his experience in war, and his approved valour, to direct their military operations, and regulate all concerns belonging to that department. This dignity anſwers to that of the ** generals (duces) of the ancient Germans, who, Tacitus tells us, were *elected* by the people.

* Duces exemplo potius quam imperio, ſi prompti, ſi conſpicui, ſi ante aciem agant, admiratione præſunt.—Taciti Germania, cap. vii.

† Carver's Travels.

‡ Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute, ſumunt.—Taciti Germania, cap. vi.

This is underſtood to mean, that the kingly office was hereditary, and that of the generals elective.

|| Carver's Travels.

** Cæſar ſays the ſame of the military leaders in Gaul, book vi. ch. 22.

The Saxon *dukes* or *heretochs* were likewiſe elective.

Iſti vero viri *eligebantur* per commune concilium, pro communi utilitate, regni per provincias et patrias univerſas, et per ſingulos comitatus in pleno *folcmote*, ſicut et vicecomites provinciarum et comitatuum *eligi* debent. Ita quod in quolibet comitatu ſemper fuit unus heretochius *per electionem electus* ad conducendum exercitum comitatus ſui, &c.—Leg. Edouardi Confeſſ. cap. 35. ſub titulo De Heretochiis.—Vide etiam Gloſſ. Du Cange, et Spelmanni Gloſſ.—The election of the heretochs or generals, by the people at large, was not peculiar to the Saxons, but in common with the other German nations.—Boior. LL. tit. 2. cap. 1. § 1.—Spelm. Gloſſar. vox Heretochius.

But

But, as a late ingenious † writer obſerves, though the above two are conſidered as the heads of the band, and the latter is frequently denominated their king, yet the Indians are ſenſible of neither military nor civil ſubordination. Every expreſſion that carries with it the appearance of an injunction, or abſolute command, is ſure to be rejected with ſcorn. Among them, no viſible form of government is eſtabliſhed; they allow no ſuch diſtinctions as magiſtrate and ſubject, every one appearing to enjoy an independence that cannot be controuled. The higheſt titles, ſays Mr. Adair, among the Indians, either in military or civil life, ſignify only a chieftain. They have no words to expreſs deſpotic power, or arbitrary kings. The power of their chiefs is an empty ſound. They can only perſuade, or diſſuade, the people. It is reputed merit alone that gives them any titles of diſtinction.

I do not recollect any peculiar effects that a ſmall population has upon religion.

I have thus ſpoken of the influence of population, when in either extreme; as for the intermediate degrees, they have no particular or ſpecific effects, in the reſpects above mentioned, ſo far as I am acquainted.

† Mr. Carver.

BOOK V.

On the Influence of the Nature of Food and Diet.

THE various kinds of food and diet uſed by different nations have alſo a conſiderable influence in ſeveral of the above-mentioned reſpects. But in order to explain this, it will be neceſſary to ſay a few words of the effects of the different kinds of food upon the human body.

Food may be conſidered in ſeveral lights: as, firſt, with regard to its conſiſtence, as *ſolid* or *liquid*, or meat and drink. I ſhall ſpeak of theſe ſeparately: and firſt of *ſolid* food.

CHAP. I.

ON SOLID FOOD.

SOLID food is divided into animal and vegetable; and that of a mixed kind—as cheeſe, fiſh, eggs, &c.

But here it is proper to remark, that there is no nation, or ſet of people whatever, that live entirely upon either animal or vegetable food; but all uſe, in ſome meaſure, a mixture of both. The Eaſt Indian

Indian brachmans, who are ſaid to live on a vegetable diet, eat milk, which is partly of an animal nature; and the abſtinence they practiſe appears to be too rigid for even ſo hot a climate, as they are moſtly meagre, weak, and ſickly, labouring under a * conſtant diarrhœa, and ſeveral other diſorders. On the other hand, the Laplanders are ſaid to live on animal food only; but this is contradicted by Linnæus, who ſays, that beſides milk, which they alſo take ſour, they uſe ſome of the ſpecies of arum, of the marſh trefoil, and other plants, very copiouſly; ſo that there is no inſtance of any nation living entirely on either of theſe diets, though there are ſeveral which vary the proportion of them reſpectively. When, therefore, we ſpeak of a people living † on either animals or vegetables, we mean that they uſe one or the other of them conſiderably in the larger proportion.

SECT. I. *Animal Food.*

Animal diet is greatly more nutritious than vegetable: both as containing a greater quantity of nouriſhment, and as this ‖ nouriſhment is more eaſily extracted.

* "Abſque carnibus ſumma debilitas et corporis et ventriculi, et diarrhœa perpetua ſolet moleſta eſſe."—Halleri primæ lineæ Phyſiolog. § dcxlii.

† It is obvious to every one who examines the human frame and conſtitution, that mankind were intended by nature for a mixed diet of animal and vegetable ſubſtances, in every climate and ſituation, notwithſtanding the proportions of theſe to each other may vary according to circumſtances. Man is furniſhed with teeth of the inciſor and canine kind, like the carnivorous animals; and with a double row of molares or grinders, like the herbivorous. His ſtomach approaches to the carnivorous, and his inteſtines are of a middle length, between them and the herbivorous animals. But I would truſt more to inſtinct, producing practice, abſtracted from artificial opinions; and here we find the uſe of animals and vegetables promiſcuouſly.—Vide Cullen's Mat. Medica.—Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xix. ſect. 3. § 2. —and Arbuthnot on Aliments.

‡ Halleri Phyſiol. lib. xix. ſect. 2. § 7.

Animal

Animal food alſo, by its adding greater weight, and by its filling the veſſels, and thereby giving a proper degree of tenſion for the performance of ſtrong oſcillatory motions, gives greater ſtrength to the * body.

It not only gives out nutriment more plentifully, but alſo ſupplies a fluid more denſe and elaſtic, and with a greater quantity of † red globules than vegetables do; which is alſo more ſtimulant, both cauſing a greater reſiſtance to the ſolids, and again exciting their ſtronger action. From its greater ſtimulus, alſo, it is more perſpirable than vegetable food, and tends to preſerve a more equal balance between the excretions.

Animal diet, however, although it be highly nutritive, and gives great ſtrength to the ‡ body, yet, in conſequence of its ſtimulus to the ſtomach and ſyſtem, is rather dangerous. || Hippocrates long ago obſerved, that the athletic habit was, from a ſmall increaſe or irregularity, ſubject to great hazard; and that it is only proper for thoſe who uſe much bodily labour. It alſo loads and oppreſſes the body, and requires the conſtant repetition of a fever to throw it off; which tends greatly to wear out the conſtitution.

Theſe properties are more remarkable in the fleſh of wild than of tame animals, probably from the former being more exerciſed; in the carnivorous than in the herbivorous; in the old than in the young; in ſuch as are eaten ** raw than in thoſe that are dreſſed with

* The Athletæ of old lived upon animal food almoſt altogether.—See Athenæus and Galen.

Robur majus eſt ab eo alimento.—Haller, l. xix. ſect. 2. § 7.

† Robur enim pendet ab eo reparato quod eſt amiſſum, atque copia rubrorum globulorum, et a tenacitate glutinis fibrarum.—Haller, ibidem.

‡ Ipſa animalia carnivora pro natura ſua plus habent virium.—Haller Phyſ. l. xix. ſect. iii.

|| De Diæta.

** Dudum eſt annotatum eas gentes robuſtiſſimas eſſe, quæ carnibus et iis crudis vivunt, ut Tartaros, Braſilianos, Eſquimanticos, tum venatores quos diximus.—Halleri Phyſiol. ibidem.

with fire; and in ſuch as are killed in the blood *, than in ſuch as are bled to death.

From this account, ſomething may, perhaps, be gathered, explanatory of the effects of animal food upon the mind, diſpoſition, and conduct.

The ſtrength afforded by animal food naturally ſuggeſts a degree of confidence, which as naturally produces courage and reſolution.

This may be the cauſe why animals that feed upon a fleſh diet are more fierce and courageous than thoſe who live upon † vegetables.

But this effect is not merely to be aſcribed to ſecondary cauſes, as I am convinced that animal food has a direct tendency that way. Carnivorous animals are more fierce and daring, as well as more ſtrong and active, than the herbivorous: and this holds true, not only of quadrupeds, but of birds and fiſh alſo. The people of cold climates are more courageous than thoſe of warm; and this difference is owing, in no inconſiderable degree, to the greater quantity of animal food they take in.

This tendency of animal food appears to be increaſed in proportion, in ſome meaſure, to the prevalence of the ſame cauſes that

No carnivorous animals are at preſent uſed in diet among the Europeans; but Hippocrates mentions the fleſh of the dog and of the fox, in his Treatiſe of diet, and the Romans reared rats for the ſame purpoſe. We know, however, that the Romans uſed to feed the rats on vegetable food only, and poſſibly the foxes and the dogs might be fed in the ſame manner among the Greeks. Some of the late diſcoverers in the South Seas mention, that the dogs there uſed in food were fed on vegetable diet. Dr. Shaw, however, ſays, that lion was eaten at Algiers, and that it taſted like veal.—Shaw's Travels.

* "Thoſe animals which are moſt exerciſed, and fulleſt of blood, have their fleſh the moſt nutritive and ſtrengthening."—Hippocrates de Diætâ, lib. ii. ſect. 20.

† Maximus Tyrius obſerves, that the moſt timid animals ſupport themſelves on vegetable food; the moſt fierce and daring by hunting. The ſtag lives on herbs; the lion on prey caught in the chace.—Diſſertat. xiii.

rendered

rendered it more nutritive and ſtrengthening. Thus the fleſh of wild animals is more ſtimulant than that of tame; and hence, perhaps, the great ferocity of ſome beaſts of prey. A dog fed upon * raw victuals is much more fierce and rapacious than one that eats them dreſſed. From this proceeds the great ferocity of butchers dogs; and the tendency of this food to render them miſchievous is remarked in thoſe that are apt to kill ſheep, which, after having once taſted the raw fleſh, are with great difficulty reclaimed.

Wolves alſo, lions, tygers, &c. probably owe their ſuperior fierceneſs in a good meaſure to their food, which is always raw, and killed in the † blood, and moſtly of the wild kind. The ſame holds good of ‡ mankind. Thoſe || nations who live by hunting, are in general of a cruel and daring diſpoſition; which is probably owing, in no ſmall degree, to their feeding upon ** fleſh in the ſtate above-mentioned. The ſame is true of ſome other

* Thucydides obſerves, that the Ætolians, whom he deſcribes as a people remarkably bold and warlike, fed upon raw fleſh, lib. iii.—Ammianus Marcellinus ſays the ſame of the Hunns:—"In hominum autem figurâ licet inſuavi ita viſi ſunt aſperi, ut neque igni neque ſaporatis indigeant cibis, ſed radicibus herbarum agreſtium et *ſemicruda* cujuſvis pecoris carne veſcantur."—Lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

† Moſt of the ſavage animals are peculiarly greedy of blood, and, where that is to be had in plenty, never regard the ſolid part of their prey. The weaſel and polecat will kill great numbers of fowls at one time, to ſuck their blood only; and the ſame is true of the fox.

‡ Pomponius Mela mentions it as a cuſtom of the Scythians to ſuck the blood of their enemies killed in battle. Lib. ii. cap. 1.—Ammianus Marcellinus gives the ſame account of the Saracens, lib. xxxi. cap. 16.—and Mr. Carver, of ſome of the American Indians.

|| The opinion of different foods differently affecting the mind and diſpoſition, is ridiculed by Mr. Pope; but is, nevertheleſs, to a certain degree, founded in truth.—See Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, chapter iv.—See alſo Prior's Alma, Canto iii.

** Mihi utique videtur quemque populum aratorem mitiorem eſſe, deinde paſtorem; ferociſſimos populos venatores eſſe, qui ſolis pene carnibus vivunt.—Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xix. § 3.

nations that live in a roving ſtate, as the * Tartars and Arabs, which have been, by turns, the conquerors both of the northern and ſouthern parts of the world.

The effects of animal diet upon the underſtanding and intellects are next to be conſidered. It appears evidently to be adverſe to the exertions † of genius, ſentiment, and the more ‡ delicate feelings; and alſo for deep mental reſearches. This may be accounted from the plethora, and diſtenſion of the veſſels, which is induced by animal diet, and the load which it lays on the digeſtive organs and powers of the body. This is indicated by the indolence, dullneſs, and yawning, which a full meal of animal food almoſt always brings on. But I know not if this kind of aliment, by the firmneſs and tone of fibre, and the conſequent ſteadineſs and reſolution which it conveys, be not better adapted to the common buſineſs of life, than a diet which produces a greater

* Albinus noſtri ævi phyſiologorum facilè princeps de rei veritate convictus affirmabat carnem vel *crudam*, vel modicè coctam cibi loco ſumptam robur hominibus audaciamque addére. Gens Tartarorum belli gloriâ inſignis, quæ omnes fere orientis terras olim in ditionem ſuam redegerat, ſolâ fere carne, eaque *crudâ*, nutriebatur.—Zimmerman Zoolog. Geograph. cap. i. § 21.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that the northern nations, who lived in a great meaſure upon animal food, were, notwithſtanding, humane and mild in their conduct and behaviour; but the ſame people, when tranſplanted into a warm climate, and probably preſerving their former cuſtoms with reſpect to diet, became very cruel. Thus the Goths and Vandals were very ſavage in their treatment of the conquered people; and the ſame holds true of the Tartars. Where much ſenſibility is combined with great ferocity, it forms the ingredients of cruelty. Perhaps the ſtudied inhumanity of the American Indians may be partly owing to this cauſe. The mode of life among the northern nations produced no ſuch effect in their native country, as it was there obſtructed by the power of the climate.

† "To eat a large quantity of food, and that of the animal kind, deſtroys the powers of reaſon and of reflection, and renders the powers of the underſtanding more ſlow and heavy."—Theophraſt. Philoſ. lib. 5.

‡ Dogs of the chace, that feed much upon animal food, raw fleſh particularly, loſe their accuracy of ſcent of the game. Perhaps this may be one cauſe why beaſts of prey, in general, have no ſcent of the animals they purſue.

degree

degree of ſenſibility. Man is formed more for action than for contemplation; for bodily exertion more than mere mental reſearches; and the firm and tenſe fibre, which is adapted to the former, is inconſiſtent with the delicacy of ſenſation neceſſary for the latter. It is not, however, to be diſputed, that the moſt valuable ſtate of the mind is ſomewhat of a medium between the two.

From the above account of the effects of animal food upon the mind, it might be imagined that it might have ſome effects upon the form of government; and this appears often to be verified by experience. Moſt of the nations that preſerve a degree of * liberty live upon animal food; and although there are inſtances of abſolute governments among nations that uſe this diet, yet this has not been uniform, nor is it ſo abject as among thoſe who live upon vegetable aliment.

The effects of animal food upon religion are not, I apprehend, ſufficiently marked to be diſtinct, at leaſt in any material inſtances. Some religious precepts, however, relate hereto; and it is probable from thence, that the reſpective legiſlators imagined that the diet had ſome connection with religion. I have taken notice of ſome of theſe in another † place.

SECT. II. *Vegetable Food.*

This, I have before remarked, is much leſs nutritive than animal food, inſomuch as to be ſcarcely ſufficient, when rigidly followed, for the ſupport of life in the human ſpecies. In conſequence hereof, it is far leſs ſtrengthening ‡, and produces, in general, a

* Maximus Tyrius extends this obſervation to brute animals.—Diſſertat. xiii.

† See chapter i. on Climate.

‡ Sæpe tentavi victum vegetabilem ob podagram, ob bilem putreſcibilem quæ faciebat ut carnes non ferrem abſquè agrypniâ. Semper ſenſi debilitatum univerſum corpus; ad laborem, ad venerem invitius.—Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xix. ſect 3.

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more ſpare habit of body; which is probably owing, not only to its containing leſs nutriment, but alſo to the acidity which prevails in all vegetable ſubſtances, which, it is very well known, tends much to check the * diſpoſition to increaſe in bulk. Some compenſation is, however, made for vegetable foods being leſs nutritive, by its being capable of being taken in much larger proportion than animal. In hot countries, the climate renders ſeveral fruits ſafe, and even neceſſary, in ſuch quantities as would be highly dangerous with us. People in Perſia will eat at once, at leaſt in twenty-four hours, the quantity of thirty-five † pounds weight of melon; which would, in our climate, either by its bulk, or refrigerating qualities, be extremely dangerous. But vegetable food is not only neceſſary to be taken in larger quantity, on account of its being leſs nouriſhing, but in order to compenſate by its bulk, and the diſtenſion it occaſions, for its want of ſtimulus to the ſyſtem. It has been found, that the filling of the ſtomach with victuals to a certain degree, at ſtated intervals, is neceſſary, not only to ſupply the waſte of the animal body, but alſo to communicate a degree of tenſion to the nervous and muſcular ſyſtems. Now animal food is leſs neceſſary to be taken in large quantity, on account of its ſtimulus, which of itſelf communicates a degree of tenſion. But the vegetables chiefly uſed in diet, and ſuch as are of the nutritious kind, are nearly inſipid, and, of conſequence, require a large bulk to be taken, in order to accompliſh the ſame purpoſe by their mechanical operation.

It appears, however, that notwithſtanding the greater quantity in which vegetables may be taken, they ſtill require ſome ſtimulus to be joined with them, in order to render them fit for the purpoſes of aliment. This is very bountifully beſtowed by nature in thoſe

* Vegetable diet is found to have great effects in reducing obeſity.—Medical Obſervations, vol. v.

† Chardin's Travels into Perſia, book iv. p. 51.

climates

climates where vegetable food is moſt uſed, and conſiſts of pungent aromatic plants, which though of themſelves nearly ‖ deſtitute of nouriſhment, correct the bad qualities, and ſupply the defects of thoſe vegetables that are more nutritious.

From the above properties of vegetable diet, and perhaps from ſome others more ſpecific, it is found to render thoſe who feed upon it leſs bold and courageous than thoſe who uſe animal food.

This I take to be the principal cauſe why the people of the Eaſt Indies are ſo cowardly, and ſo eaſily conquered. Mr. Monteſquieu aſcribes this to the climate; but this cannot univerſally produce this effect, as we know that there are ſeveral nations under the ſame parallels of latitude with the * Eaſt Indies, that are extremely fierce and bold. This is the caſe with the inhabitants of the Eaſt Indian iſlands, as thoſe of Ceylon, Borneo, Japan, and ſeveral others. This difference is more probably to be aſcribed to the inhabitants of the continent uſing a vegetable diet, whilſt thoſe of the iſlands live † on animal food. The ſame cauſes that tend to inſpire timidity, tend alſo to infuſe a great degree of mildneſs and ‡ gentleneſs into the mind and diſpoſition. The native

‖ Quæ plantæ aromaticæ ſunt eæ omnino parum faciunt ad alendum.—Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xix. § 3.

* The Mahommedans, in the Eaſt Indies, who eat animal food, as well as the Malays and the Marattas, are not a cowardly people. Their character is a direct contraſt to that of the Hindoos, who feed on vegetables. "The ſtrong lines," ſays an elegant writer, "in the character of a Hindoo, are effeminacy and avarice. Thoſe of a Tartar, cruelty and ambition."—Letters from the Eaſt Indies, p. 197.

† The people of the continent, in the time of Diodorus Siculus, lived on vegetables altogether, whilſt the people of the iſlands eat animal food.—Diodor. Sicul. book ii.——Kæmpfer ſays, that the Japaneſe eat animal food very plentifully.

‡ In general, cowardice and cruelty are found united. But in the preſent inſtance, the caſe is otherwiſe. Vegetable food is ſo adverſe to ferocity of diſpoſition, as to overpower the natural tendency of cowardice.

people of the continent of India, according to all the accounts, both ancient and modern, have always been mild ||, tender, and compaſſionate. Theſe qualities, as well as the foregoing, are, by Mr. Monteſquieu, aſcribed to the climate. But their neighbours, the inhabitants of the iſlands, are by no means of this deſcription; and the Japaneſe, who live in the ſame latitude with a great part of the Indies, are of a cruel, obſtinate, and perverſe temper. This difference, as well as the former, is more probably owing to a difference of diet. This conjecture is rendered more probable, from the analogy of the effects of vegetable food on * brute animals. Even the fierceſt of theſe, lions, for inſtance, have had their ferocity greatly abated, and have been rendered tractable and docile, by being fed upon vegetable food. And Dr. Arbuthnot mentions, that ſeveral inſtances had fallen under his own obſervation, of iraſcibility of temper, in the human ſpecies, being ſubdued by a vegetable regimen.

A vegetable † diet, by keeping the paſſions within due bounds, is an admirable preſervative of the purity of morals.

Whilſt the people of the Eaſt, in general, are immerſed in debauchery, profligacy, and all kinds of ‡ wickedneſs, the natives

|| Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.—Strabo, lib. xv.—Bernier, tom. ii. p. 140.

* Arbuthnot on the Nature of Aliments, chap. vi. prop. 8. § 22.

† It is natural, ſays Strabo, for people, who live on a moderate and ſimple diet, to be very regular and juſt in their conduct. Lib. vii.

‡ The profligate manners of the Eaſt are finely deſcribed and inveighed againſt in the ſacred writings, particularly by the prophet Ezekiel. Thoſe of Babylon are ſtrongly pointed out by Quintus Curtius:—"Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus, nihil ad irritandas illiciendaſque immodicas voluptates inſtructius, liberos conjugeſque pro ſtupro coire; modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur."—Lib. v. cap. 1.

Xenophon, in the ſeventh book of the Inſtitution of Cyrus, ſpeaks of the impiety, the injuſtice, the corruption, and the practice of poiſoning one another, among the Aſiatics.

of

of India are regular in their conduct, and juſt and merciful ‖ in their dealings.

A diet of this kind is, in the main, very favourable to the mental faculties.

Vegetable aliment, as is well obſerved by a great * writer, as neither diſtending the veſſels, nor loading the ſyſtem, never interrupts the ſtronger action of the mind; while the heat, fullneſs, and weight of animal food, is adverſe to its vigorous efforts. The great degree of bodily ſtrength, and conſequent tenſe fibre, produced by animal food, is alſo inconſiſtent with that delicacy of ſenſation, which is the parent of livelineſs of imagination, quickneſs of apprehenſion, and acuteneſs of judgment. This latter ſtate of the mind is, however, liable to be carried too far, and then it becomes ſubject to timidity, fluctuation, and doubt, which render it unfit to manage the more important and active ſcenes of

‖ Homer extols the juſtice and virtue of the feeders on mares milk, which may in in a good meaſure be looked upon as a vegetable aliment.

> And where the far-fam'd Hippemolgian ſtrays,
> Renown'd for juſtice, and for length of days;
> Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,
> From milk innoxious ſeek their ſimple food.
>
> Pope's Homer, book xiii.

See alſo Strabo, l. vii.—and Ammianus Marcell. lib. xxiii. c. 6.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that certain officers were appointed in India, called the guards or guardians of ſtrangers, who take eſpecial care that they receive no injury. If any ſtranger is ſick, theſe officers provide them with phyſicians, and every other neceſſary; and if they die, take care of their funeral. Whatever is left of the ſtranger's effects, is carefully preſerved, and reſtored to the relations of the deceaſed. —Diodor. Sicul. b. ii.

His (Arymphæis) juſtiſſimi mores: nemora pro domibus; alimenta baccæ.—Pomp. Mela. l. ii. cap. 22.——A ſimilar account of them is given by Herodotus and Solinus.——Arrian remarks the adherence of the Eaſt Indian people to truth.—Hiſt. Indie, liber.

* Cullen's Materia Medica.

life; which require ſteadineſs of judgment and firmneſs of reſolution.

That, however, a vegetable diet is favourable to many exertions of the mind, is proved in ſeveral practical inſtances. Gameſters—whoſe minds muſt be always on the watch to take advantages, and prepared to form calculations, and employ the memory—conſtantly avoid a full meal of animal food; which they find incapacitates them for play, nearly as much as a quantity of ſtrong liquors would have done; for which reaſon, they feed chiefly on milk and vegetables. John Macnamara has been known to take Physick previous to his Gaming.

The great Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo ſenſible of this effect of animal food, that, during the time of his writing his treatiſe on Optics, which is generally thought to be the work wherein his genius diſplayed itſelf in its fulleſt force, he lived on a * vegetable diet only, and that extremely ſimple and rigid. The ſame regimen is ſaid to have been followed by ſeveral of the Greek philoſophers diſtinguiſhed for wiſdom, as Pythagoras, Zeno, and ſeveral others. This diet is probably no ſmall cauſe why the nations, who inhabit warmer climates, are, in general, endued with a more † lively apprehenſion and exalted imagination, than thoſe who live in cold countries; as in the former the diet is principally vegetable, and in the latter, animal. As, however, the moſt valuable ſtate of the mind is a medium between a great degree of ſenſibility, and a defect of it, a moderate proportion of animal food is not inconſiſtent with this, but rather tends to promote it.

The above-mentioned effects of vegetable food, have alſo had their influence on the form of government and laws. The tendency of this kind of diet, as of every thing that generates timidity

* Cheyne, Diſeaſes of the Body and Mind.

† Senſus etiam Brachmannis accuratiores eſſe legas.—Halleri Phyſiolog. l. xix. § 3.

and irreſolution in the people, is to produce an abſolute government. A free ſtate is with difficulty preſerved, even where the people are reſolute, active, and vigilant; much leſs can it be maintained under an oppoſite diſpoſition. Thus we ſee the few free ſtates that at preſent exiſt, are among thoſe people who uſe a large proportion of animal diet; and that thoſe countries, where tyranny is the moſt firmly rivetted, and, as it were, interwoven into the conſtitution, are where the people live, in a great meaſure, upon vegetables; ſuch as the Eaſt Indies, Perſia, and ſeveral other of the eaſtern kingdoms.

The ſame cauſes, however, that here produce this form of government, prevent its being, in general ‡, tyrannically exerciſed. The ſovereign is equally diſpoſed to a mild government, as his ſubjects are to an unlimited obedience. And what renders the ſituation of the people greatly preferable to what it is in many deſpotic, and ſome free governments, is, that domeſtic ‖ ſlavery is unknown among them.

The mildneſs of the government of India may be judged from the laws, which breathe the ſame ſpirit, and appear to be owing to the ſame cauſe.

‡ See the account of the paſtoral kings of Egypt, by Diodorus Siculus.

‖ "This is remarkable in India," ſays Arrian, "that all the people are free, and that there is not a ſlave among them."—Hiſt. Indie.

Diodorus ſays, that it is provided by law, that no one among them ſhould be a ſlave; but that each man being free, ſhould preſerve an equality with his fellow-citizens.—Diodor. Sicul. book ii.

Mr. Monteſquieu, in a note to chap. 15, book xiv. of the Spirit of Laws, ſays, that Diodorus has here aſcribed to the whole continent of India, what, according to Strabo, belonged only to a particular nation. But Strabo gives no opinion about it, but only ſays that Megaſthenes declared it to be a general cuſtom of the country, whilſt Oneſicritus ſaid it was peculiar to the Muſicani.—Strabon. lib. xv. p. 710. edit. Caſaubon. Lutetiæ, 1620.

In moſt of the other parts of the Eaſt, deſpotiſm and domeſtic ſlavery walk hand in hand.

The legiſlators of India are ſaid to have placed great confidence in the people. They eſtabliſhed very few ſevere puniſhments, and thoſe are not * rigorouſly executed. They have ſubjected nephews to their uncles, and orphans to their guardians, as in other countries they are ſubjected to their fathers. They have regulated the ſucceſſion by the acknowledged merit of the ſucceſſor. They ſeem to think, that every individual ought to put an unlimited confidence in the good intentions of his fellow-ſubjects. This diſpoſition of the inhabitants, has made the conſequences of their being conquered by their neighbours leſs dreadful than might be imagined; ſince in no caſe does ſuch a conqueſt terminate, as among the ſtubborn natives of Europe, in the deſtruction of what the love of eaſe and pleaſure had produced.

This was obſerved by † Diodorus and ‡ Arrian; and is the caſe at this day.

It is, however, to be apprehended, that their Europæan conquerors have not purſued the ſame moderate conduct.

The people of Japan, on the contrary, who live alſo under a deſpotic government, are not truſted in the ſmalleſt degree, either by their legiſlators or magiſtrates. They ſet nothing before

* Vide the Code of the Gentoo Laws, publiſhed by the Eaſt India Company.

† "Among other nations, ſays Diodorus Siculus, the country is laid waſte by the invaſion of an enemy; but among theſe, the huſbandmen remain ſacred and inviolable, inſomuch that they do not apprehend any danger from the neighbourhood of armies and engagements. For each of the contending armies do, indeed, fight with and ſlaughter each other, but by no means injure the cultivators of the land, who are conſidered as perſons to whom both parties have mutual obligations. They, therefore, do not lay the enemy's country waſte, by burning the houſes and deſtroying the woods."—Diodor. Sicul. book ii.

‡ "If inteſtine wars break out in India, it is eſteemed impious to attack the huſbandmen and lay waſte the country. The military part of the people carry on the war, and deſtroy one another as they find opportunity; but the huſbandmen apply themſelves quietly to their labour, whether it be ploughing the vintage, the dreſſing of trees, or the getting in the harveſt."—Arrian Hiſt. Ind. liber.

their

their eyes, but judgments, menaces, and chaſtiſements. Every ſtep they take is ſubject to the inſpection of the civil magiſtrate. Thoſe laws, which, out of five heads of families, eſtabliſh one as a magiſtrate over the other four; thoſe laws which puniſh a family, or a whole ward, for a ſingle crime; thoſe laws, in fine, which find no one innocent, where one may happen to be guilty, are made with a deſign to implant into the people a mutual diſtruſt; and to make every man the inſpector, witneſs, and judge, of his neighbour's conduct.

The above maſterly picture of the latter people, is drawn by the Preſident Monteſquieu; and that great man ſeems to aſcribe this difference to the climate. But I have before remarked, that the climate of Japan differs very little from that of a great part of India. Is it not more likely to be owing to the difference of diet ‖, and perhaps ſome other circumſtances with which we are unacquainted? The Japaneſe, according to Kæmpfer, eat a large proportion of animal food, which, by imparting ſtrength and fierceneſs, to unite with the ſenſibility inſpired by the climate, may produce that ferocious, daring, implacable, and bloody diſpoſition for which they are ſo remarkable, and which runs through their ſyſtem both of laws and government.

The people of * Mexico, who uſed animal diet in a large proportion, and part of it raw, and dwelt at the ſame time in a hot climate, were of a diſpoſition ſimilar to that of the Japaneſe, being bold, cruel, and revengeful, as appears by the reſiſtance they made

‖ Zimmerman attributes the ſuperior ferocity and cruelty of the brute animals, that inhabit the torrid zone, to their animal diet, joined to the greater heat of the climate.

Obſervationem tamen non exigui momenti, hoc loco commode addendum puto; pleraque nimirum animalium genera, quæ *carne* vivunt truciſque & ſævioris ingenii ſunt, ſub flagrantiſſimo ſolis æſtu, luſtra ſibi ſua condidiſſe, quod ipſum quidem ex nimio domicilii ſui calore provenire vero eſt ſimillimum. — Zimmerman. Zool. Geogr. p. 600.

* Robertſon's America, vol. ii. p. 302, 4to ed.

to

to the Spaniards, and the barbarous manner in which they treated their priſoners, and their human ſacrifices. It alſo argues a diſpoſition extremely ſavage, in a people who had attained a conſiderable degree of civilization, to eat the fleſh of their fellow-creatures, as they are reported to have done †.

Vegetable diet appears to have imparted a great degree of mildneſs to religion, and from the ſame cauſe. We do not find, among ſuch a people, any inſtances of cruelty in religion; of human ſacrifices, or of gods delighting in blood, or in the deſtruction of mankind. It is probable, that the religious toleration that prevails through the Indies, is owing to the ſame cauſe. That people, although paſſionately attached to their own religious ſect or perſuaſion, allow ſtill, that future happineſs is not confined to their own followers. The people of Siam ‡ never diſpute about religion. At || Calicut, it is a maxim of ſtate, that every religion is good. Compare theſe tenets with thoſe of the Japaneſe, and even of the Mahommedans.

SECT. III. *Of the effects of fiſh as a food.*

Fiſh are next to be conſidered; which are thought, with great probability, to hold a kind of middle * rank between animals and vegetables. They are, in general, leſs putreſcent, and alſo leſs nutritive, than fleſh-meats, and produce alſo leſs red blood and ſtrength of body. This is experienced in countries of the Romiſh perſuaſion, where the bulk of the people, during the ſeaſon

† Robertſon's America, vol. ii. p. 310, 4to ed.

‡ Forbin's Memoirs.

|| Pirard's Travels, chap. xxvii.

* Porro piſcium natura inter vegetabilia & animalia ambiget. — Halleri Phyſiol. lib. xix. § 3.

of

of lent, live upon † fiſh; and alſo among the Banyans in the Eaſt.

From this account, fiſh, as a diet, might be ſuppoſed to produce a middle effect between animal and vegetable food; and this, in general, appears to be true. Some peculiar effects, however, of this aliment are proper to be remarked. And firſt, it has been imagined, that a fiſh diet is more prolific, or conduces more to increaſe population, than one of either animals or vegetables. This was hinted by Dr. ‡ Arbuthnot, and afterwards ſuggeſted by Mr. || Monteſquieu. Haller *, indeed, appears to be of a different opinion, though indeed rather from an inference of reaſon, than from experience. Dr. Reinhold Forſter has, however, given ſome inſtances, in a late publication of his, which ſeem to indicate, from his own knowledge, that a diet of fiſh has no ſuch properties; and, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that neither Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, nor Arrian, all of whom have deſcribed ſeveral nations living on a fiſh diet, have mentioned this quality of it, or remarked that ſuch countries were more than ordinarily populous. But how far this opinion be founded in truth, I leave to future enquiry.

Another quality of the Icthyophagi, or feeders upon fiſh, which is taken notice of by Diodorus Siculus, is, that they are endued with a remarkable apathy or unfeelingneſs, not only to the ſentiments of the mind, but alſo to ſome of the natural appetites. But theſe qualities have been obſerved of ſeveral nations who do not

† Minus utique piſces alunt, minus ſanguinis rubri faciunt, minus dant roboris quam carnes: ut eam debilitatem & ego expertus perceperim, & invenias tempore quadrageſimali ab aliis eſſe perceptam.—Ibidem.

‡ On the Nature of Aliments, ch. iv. prop. 1. § 13.

|| Spirit of Laws, book xxiii. ch. 13.

* Non adeo abſque ratione monachi generationi non deſtinati a Romanâ eccleſiâ aut ad majorem aut ad unicum piſcium uſum legibus adſtringuntur.—Haller. Phyſ. l. xix. § 3.

live

live upon fiſh, particularly of the American Indians, and are more probably owing to their particular ſtate and way of life, than to their diet. But of this more hereafter.

CHAP. II.

LIQUID FOOD.

LIQUID food may be conſidered as fermented or unfermented. Of the latter of theſe I ſhall take water as an inſtance, as being the liquor moſtly uſed as drink, either ſimple, or at leaſt with ſuch admixture only, as does not materially alter its properties in the light I mean to conſider it.

SECT. I. *Water.*

Water, as it poſſeſſes no ſtimulant quality, is not ſubject to produce any irregular irritation of the † paſſions; and hence, I believe, the drinking of it has a tendency to render the temper even and regular.

Likewiſe, as water has no tendency to put people off their guard, by exhilarating their ſpirits above the natural pitch, or by diſordering the underſtanding, thoſe who drink it are apt to acquire a habit of ſecrecy and reſerve. This may, perhaps, be one cauſe

† Shakeſpear obſerves, apparently in a ludicrous manner, the tendency of water-drinking, to increaſe the generation of females. (See Falſtaff's ſpeech in the ſecond part of Henry the Fourth.) But the ſame obſervation is to be found in Hippocrates, Treatiſe on Diet, (lib. i. § 20.) and it is obſerved in many parts of the Eaſt Indies, at this day, where they drink no wine, that the number of women exceeds that of men very conſiderably.

why the Turks are ſo reſerved and ſilent, and perhaps of the ſame qualities of the Spaniards, who, it is ſaid, drink very little wine.

The drinking of water is alſo, in ſome reſpects, favourable to morality, by preventing the outrages which intoxication is ſo apt to occaſion.

With regard to the intellects, it is obſerved, that water-drinkers moſtly preſerve their ‡ ſenſes and faculties to a late period of life; and are alſo more calm, prudent, and conſiderate, than thoſe who uſe fermented liquors. As for the laws and cuſtoms, both civil and religious, regarding the drinking of water, as they are moſtly derived from the climate, I have ſpoken of them under that head.

SECT. II. *Fermented liquors.*

I ſhall next ſpeak of fermented liquors: which, though of ſeveral ſorts, I ſhall conſider collectively as to their general qualities; adding, however, a few remarks, occaſionally, on ſome peculiar qualities of the different kinds.

Fermented or ſpirituous liquors have univerſally the effect of enlivening and exhilarating || the ſpirits.

‡ Aquæ puræ quæ ab anno ætatis octodecimo ſolâ utor tribuo, quod poſt tot in fulgido ſolo ſuſceptos microſcopicos labores omnibus ſenſibus & oculis potiſſimum non minus valeam quam puer valui.—Halleri Phyſ. l. xix. § 3.

|| A very accurate account of the effects of wine, and their progreſſive order in which they act upon the mind, is given by Ariſtotle:—"When a ſober, moderate, and ſilent man, drinks wine in a quantity rather more liberal than ordinary, it has the effect of cheriſhing and rouſing his ſpirits and genius, and rendering him more communicative; if taken ſtill more freely, it renders him more talkative, eloquent, and confident of his powers and abilities; if taken in ſtill larger quantity, it makes him bold and daring, and deſirous to exert himſelf in action; if taken ſtill more largely, it renders him petulant and contumelious; the next ſtep renders him mad and outrageous; and if he proceeds farther ſtill, he becomes ſtupid and ſenſeleſs."—Problemat. § xxx.

Hence thoſe who uſe them are ſubject to a greater flow of ſpirits than thoſe who do not, though, at the ſame time, they are leſs equable and regular. Fermented liquors have alſo the effect of opening the mind, and rendering ſocial intercourſe more free and chearful, and individuals more communicative. Thus it is obſerved by Tacitus ||, that the ancient Germans, whoſe fondneſs for ſtrong liquors he particularly mentions, uſed the time of drinking for that of public buſineſs, on account of the effect of the liquor in producing an elevation of mind, and a freedom of debate and communication of ſentiment.

Perhaps the greater uſe of theſe liquors may account, in general, for the greater openneſs and * frankneſs of the northern nations; and alſo for the great degree of hoſpitality practiſed by them.

Fermented liquors have been thought by ſome writers to have a tendency to corrupt the morals of mankind. Thus, ſome nations have prohibited the planting of vines, and the uſe of wine, upon that account; and † Livy tells us, that it was the tradition, that wine was introduced into Gaul for the purpoſe of debauching the manners of the people. Cæſar alſo gives a ſimilar account of the opinion of that people concerning its effects. When taken to

|| Tanquam nullo tempore magis aut ad ſimplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incaleſcat.—Tacit. Germania.

The Perſians likewiſe, according to Herodotus (lib. i.) and Strabo (lib. xv.) debated on the moſt important affairs over their cups, and eſteemed the reſolutions taken by them in that ſtate, as more reſpectable and ſacred than thoſe taken in a ſtate of ſobriety.

A ſimilar account is given in the book of Eſther, where the divorce of a queen is debated over cups.

* Athenæus remarks the effects of wine in making people ſpeak truth.—Lib. ii.

† ——— invexiſſe in Galliam vinum illiciendæ gentis cauſâ Aruntem Cluſinum irâ corruptæ uxoris a Lucumone.—Livii, lib. v.

Cæſar ſays, that the Suevi do not allow any wine to be imported among them, leſt it ſhould make them lazy and effeminate.—Comm. book iv. ch. 1.

The Nervii never drank wine, nor ſuffered it to be brought amongſt them, for the ſame reaſons.—Cæſar's Comm. book ii. ch. 8.

exceſs,

exceſs, this opinion of the effects of intoxicating liquors is undoubtedly juſt, as we found by experience in this country, before the law was made for reſtraining the inordinate uſe of ſpirituous liquors; which were found to be no leſs ruinous to the morals than the health of the people. Undoubtedly they ſhould be taken very ſparingly in hot climates; but the moderate uſe of them in cold countries appears natural, and well adapted to counteract the effects of the climate.

Another effect aſcribed to fermented liquors, by ſome writers, is that of inſpiring ‡ genius and ſentiment, eſpecially of the || poetical kind. This, at firſt ſight, might ſeem ludicrous, but is ſeriouſly

‡ Shakeſpear, although he introduces it in a manner apparently burleſque, appears to have been aware of the effect of wine in exciting genius and quickening the underſtanding:—"A good ſherris ſack hath a twofold operation in it; it aſcends me into the brain; dries me there all the fooliſh, dull, and crudy vapours, which environ it; makes it apprehenſive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable ſhapes, which, delivered over to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit."—Second Part of Henry IVth, act iv.——Athenæus makes a ſimilar obſervation, lib. ii.

Haller makes the ſame remark. Omni vino commune eſt calefacere: vires ingenii et corporis augere.—Halleri Phyſiol. lib. xix. ſect. 3.

|| Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xvii. ſect. 1. § 13.—"Ingenium quod excitet vinum, ex eo clariſſimé intelligitur, quod ad poeſin, quæ res ingenii eſt, mirificè diſponat. Perpetuò ab antiquitate creditum eſt, et ipſa res docet, vini calorem poetarum furorem et impetum excitare, et Bacchi et Apollinis furorem unum eſſe eundemque; quamobrem Ovidius vino carens in exilio de ſe conqueritur.

Impetus ille ſacer, qui vatum pectora nutrit,
Qui prius in nobis eſſe ſolebat, abeſt."

Hoffman.——One of the ſummits of Parnaſſus was ſubject to Bacchus, the other to Apollo.

Jam obſervamus omnes hos populos qui vino utuntur, longe ingenioſiores eſſe reliquis omnibus. Nullibi enim artes liberales, et diſciplinarum ſtudia, melius floruerunt et florent, quam dictis in locis: vina enim fovent vires, pituitam attenuant, mordaces curas humanis mentibus infeſtas abſtergunt, vim animo reddunt, ſpirituaſcentiam ſanguinis promovent, ingeniumque acuunt: unde non ineptè vinum poetarum equus dictus eſt.—Hoffman De Temperamento, Fundamento, &c. &c.

asserted by several very grave and eminent writers, and is, I believe, in some degree, founded upon truth. Many of the ancient poets speak of the connection between wine and genius; and although we should not believe all these expressions to be meant to be understood literally; yet it may still be inferred, that some connection between them was supposed. Our own Milton, whose temperance was remarkable in every period of his life, has expressed the same * sentiment, and enlarged considerably upon it.

Malt-liquor possesses, in many respects, the same qualities with wine, but has not the same reputation for inspiring genius, and improving the † intellects. This may be ascribed to several causes: first, the viscidity of malt-liquor is such, as to prevent the effects of the spirituous part upon the nervous system, by invisicating and entangling it in its substance; secondly, malt-liquor is very nutritious, and apt to encrease corpulency, a circumstance by no means favourable to mental exertions; lastly, malt-liquors have but little of the acid which accompanies wine, which is of great efficacy in causing the latter to pass off quickly by the secretions, and prevents its loading the body, and powers of digestion; whereas malt-liquors, for want of some stimulus of this kind, are

* Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin?
Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.
Nec puduit Phœbum virides gestasse corymbos,
Atque hederam lauro præposuisse suæ.
Naso Corallæis mala carmina misit ab agris,
Non illic epulæ, non sata vitis erat.
Quid nisi vina rosasque racemiferumque Lyæum
Cantavit brevibus Teia musa modis?
Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Evan,
Et redolet sumptum pagina quæque merum.
Elegia sexta Miltoni ad Carolum Deodatur ruri commorantem.

† Athenæus remarks, that wine taken too freely caused the head to be more painful, but does not render people so heavy and lethargic as malt-liquor.—Lib. i. ad finem.

nearly

nearly equally oppreſſive with animal food. Diſtilled ſpirits might appear to have nearly the ſame effects with wine, as being very ‡ thin, light, and poſſeſſing nearly the ſame powers of the ſpirituous kind; but in reality, wine and ſpirituous liquors differ very much from one another. Diſtilled ſpirits want the acid of wines—which either does not riſe, or is deſtroyed in the diſtillation—and therefore remain longer in the body, and are more inflammatory. They are alſo more narcotic, and produce worſe effects upon the nervous ſyſtem, in debilitating it, than wine. They are likewiſe deſtitute of || fixible air, to which wine, in a great meaſure, owes its invigorating and chearing qualities, but which is deſtroyed or diſſipated in the diſtillation of ſpirits. Hence their effects upon the intellects are leſs happy than thoſe of wine.

As to laws reſpecting the uſe of wine, or the omiſſion of it altogether, I have before ſpoken under the article of Climate.

I know of no peculiar or ſpecific effects of fermented liquors on the form of government or religion of mankind.

SECT. III. *Effects of Tea.*

As tea now makes ſo large a part of the pleaſures, and indeed of the diet, of a great number of people, eſpecially in our own country, a few remarks upon it may not be improper.

‡ Aqua eſt occulto acore et plurimo phlogiſto ebria.—Halleri Phyſiolog. lib. xix. ſect. 3.

|| There appear to be two cauſes of inebriation in fermented liquors; one from the fixible air, and another from the vinous ſpirit. That from the former takes place ſooner, and is the more tranſient of the two, and ſeems alſo to do leſs injury to the conſtitution, and is likewiſe more apt to excite chearfulneſs and good ſpirits. This is very well known to thoſe who have compared the effects of champagne with thoſe of the ſtronger wines.

The ſame effects with thoſe of champagne are found in ſome mineral waters, eſpecially in thoſe of Spa and Pyrmont, and in ſome degree in thoſe of Bath, when drank freſh at the ſpring.

Tea

Tea appears, from the || beſt experiments, to produce ſedative effects upon the nerves, diminiſhing their energy, and the tone of the muſcular fibres, and inducing a conſiderable degree, both of ſenſibility and irritability, upon the whole ſyſtem. It alſo promotes the thinner evacuations very powerfully, and diminiſhes the fleſh and bulk of thoſe who uſe it. Theſe effects tend to impair the ſtrength, and promote the other conſequences of it upon the nervous ſyſtem above deſcribed. Hence the uſe of tea has been found very agreeable to the ſtudious, eſpecially thoſe engaged in the compoſition of works of genius and imagination, and hence is emphatically ſtyled the poet's friend. But, on the other hand, I believe that, at leaſt with us, it has had the effect of enfeebling and enervating the bodies of our people, and of introducing ſeveral diſorders that ariſe from laxity and debility; and has been of ſtill more conſequence in making way for the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, which are often taken to relieve that depreſſion which tea occaſions.

From theſe effects of tea, I cannot but think that its conſequences, on the whole, have been highly prejudicial. It evidently injures the health, and, by the conſequences laſt mentioned, tends to corrupt the morals of the people; and, in my opinion, by the effects it produces upon the nerves, contributes to abate courage, vigour, and ſteadineſs of mind: circumſtances ſurely of themſelves ſufficient to diſcredit its uſe, with thoſe who are engaged in any ſituation of life that requires exertion and reſolution. Perhaps, however, in the hot climates of China and India, the uſe of this liquor may not be ſo prejudicial as in the colder ones; it may there tend to abate the wearineſs occaſioned by heat, and, as a grateful diluent, promote the thinner evacuations; which poſſibly may, by cauſing it to paſs off quickly, counteract, in ſome mea-

|| See Dr. Lettſom's ingenious Eſſay on this ſubject.

ſure, its bad effects. But the † noxious qualities of this plant are not unknown even in its native countries. The Japaneſe are ſubject to the diabetes, and to conſumptive diſorders reſembling the atrophy, from its uſe; and the Chineſe, it is ſaid, are ſo ſenſible of theſe conſequences, that they rarely drink green tea at all, which is the moſt remarkable for theſe effects. Perhaps the diminutive ſtature, and cowardly, and at the ſame time acute and tricking diſpoſition of the Chineſe, may be owing, in no ſmall degree, to the uſe of this vegetable.

† Tea belongs to the natural order of the Coadunatæ, which are all of the narcotic kind.

BOOK VI.

On the Influence of Way of Life.

I NOW come to the laſt head on which I mean to treat, which is concerning the influence of way of life upon mankind, with reſpect to the above particulars.

This expreſſion, if taken in the extent in which it is uſually underſtood, would compriſe a larger field than the limits of the preſent work would admit. I muſt therefore inform the reader, that I mean to confine it, in general, to the various degrees of civiliſation amongſt mankind, adding, however, ſome remarks on the different occupations and modes of living that uſually occur in the progreſs of improvement.

In purſuing this plan, I ſhall begin with that ſtate of mankind that appears to be the leaſt civiliſed, compatible with the ſubſiſtence of a nation or body of people, and proceed upwards to the higheſt degree of refinement that we have any authentic teſtimony to have been poſſeſſed by any nation whatever.

The progreſs of civiliſation may be divided into ſeveral ſtages; each of which, however, ſeparately, comprehends divers degrees of improvement.

CHAP. I.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF A SAVAGE STATE.

THE firſt and loweſt ſtage of civiliſation, of which I ſhall ſpeak, is that generally called ſavage, where the people ſubſiſt by hunting or fiſhing, and on the ſpontaneous produce of the earth; and are ignorant, at leaſt in general, of the nature of private property, particularly money. Some latitude muſt, however, be allowed in this deſcription, as there is ſcarce any people to whom it is ſtrictly applicable. It may be ſuppoſed to comprehend from the Fenni of Tacitus, and the Icthyophagi of Diodorus, and other writers, to the Goths, Hunns, and Saracens, of former ages, or the Arabs and Tartars of the preſent; or from the greateſt degree of ſavageneſs known, to ſuch a degree of civiliſation as is produced by the general knowledge of property and money.

The two nations mentioned above, the Fenni and the Icthyophagi, are, I believe, the moſt ſtriking inſtances of ſavageneſs which are recorded to have taken place in any conſiderable body of people.

The former of theſe * (the Fenni) had neither defenſive arms, horſes, nor deities. To ſavage fierceneſs they joined abject poverty. They fed upon herbs, cloathed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts, and ſlept upon the ground. Their only dependence was on their arrows, which, for want of iron, were pointed with bones. The ſubſiſtence of both ſexes was procured by hunting, to which they went jointly, and ſhared the prey alike. A covering made of boughs intertwined with one another, was all

* Taciti Germania, cap. xlvi.

the

the ſhelter that defended their infants from the rigour of the weather, and the fierceneſs of beaſts of prey. This furniſhed a home for the young, and a place of refuge and repoſe for the old. This mode of living they preferred to the fatigue of cultivating the ground, and of building houſes; to the agitations of hope and fear, attendant on a care of their own fortunes, and on a connection with thoſe of others. Without apprehenſions from either gods or men, they had reached a ſtate which is nearly unattainable to all human endeavours, the being entirely without a wiſh. The Icthyophagi were nearly ſimilar to the Fenni—they went * naked, dwelt in rude buildings, made of the † bones of large fiſh and of ſhells, lived on ‡ fiſh, which they caught in a ‖ rude and ſimple manner, and which alſo they eat nearly § raw. When this ſupply failed, they lived on ſuch ſhell-fiſh ** as they found upon the ſhores; and, in default of this, on the †† bones or prickles of fiſh, which they either eat when ſimply cut into pieces, or, when too hard for maſtication, bruiſed between ſtones. Sometimes they made a kind of bread of the fiſh, beaten into a paſte, with

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 106. edit. Rhodom.

† Strabon. lib. xv. p. 720, 726.—Arrian Hiſt. Ind. liber, § 29, 30.

‡ Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 106.—Strabon. lib. xv. p. 720.—Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. liber, § xxix.

Feeding upon fiſh was, in the early ages of the Greeks, thought an inſtance of great barbariſm, and what was never practiſed, unleſs in times of great diſtreſs. Homer's heroes, in the Iliad, although their ſcene of action lay upon the ſea-ſhore, never appear to have fed upon fiſh: and Menelaus, in the Odyſſey, mentions it as an inſtance of the higheſt neceſſity, that his ſoldiers were obliged to feed upon fiſh in Egypt.

‖ Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 106.—Arrian, § xxix.

§ Strabon. l. xv. p. 721.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 108.—Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. lib. § xxix.

** Diodor. Sic. lib. iii. p. 107.

†† Idem, p. 107.

the mixture of a little flour *, which they uſed with the fiſh when eaten freſh, as a ſupply for a dry food. For drink † they uſed water, and ſome of them ſcarcely any ‡ liquid at all. Their wives and children were ‖ in common among them, in the ſame manner with their flocks and herds. They had ſcarcely any language, but uttered an § unformed rude kind of ſound **, ſcarcely reſembling a voice. The inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, in South America, were in a ſtate little differing from the Icthyophagi, and equally ſavage ††.

The North American Indians may be adduced as an inſtance of a ſtate of life ſomewhat ſimilar, though more improved. Theſe, like the people above deſcribed, live by hunting and fiſhing; but have advanced to greater degrees of dexterity in their employments than the Fenni or Icthyophagi. In other circumſtances too, relative to civiliſation, they are far ſuperior.

From theſe, and ſome other inſtances, I ſhall attempt to deduce the effects of this way of life upon mankind, relative to the articles here under conſideration.

* Strabon. lib. xv. p. 720. — Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. § xxix. — Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 107.

The Laplanders, who, in ſeveral particulars of their way of life, reſemble the Icthyophagi, make a bread of dried fiſhes; and of the inner bark of the pine-tree, ground to powder, which they eat more for the purpoſe of ſupplying a dry food, than that of nouriſhment.

Diodorus and Arrian both mention, that the Icthyophagi uſe this kind of bread for the purpoſe of ſupplying a dry aliment. For the uſe of which, ſee Dr. Cullen's Mat. Medic. Art. *Bread.*

† Strabon. lib. xv. p. 720.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 106.

‖ Idem, lib. iii. p. 106.

§ Idem, l. iii. p. 108.

** Jornandes, the Goth, mentions the Hunns as reſembling the Icthyophagi in this reſpect.—" Nec aliud voce notum niſi quæ humani ſermonis imaginem aſſignabat."

†† See Banks' and Cook's firſt voyage.

SECT.

SECT I. *Effects of a ſavage way of life upon the diſpoſition.*

One of the moſt remarkable circumſtances belonging to the ſavage ſtate of mankind, is an apathy or inſenſibility of diſpoſition, which they almoſt univerſally diſcover. This part of the character of theſe people may, with great probability, be referred to their rude ſtate, as it is found in all climates, and under very different circumſtances with regard to diet, &c. Savage nations have been remarkable for this characteriſtic from great antiquity, and modern experience is agreeable thereto. Tacitus obſerves, that the Fenni had no regard for gods or men; and Diodorus † ſays, that the Icthyophagi were remarkable for want of ſenſibility, even to a degree that ſurpaſſes belief. The ſame quality is alſo obſervable, in a high degree, among the ‡ American Indians.

† What is moſt extraordinary in theſe people is, their freedom from all agitation or emotion of mind on any occaſion, which is ſo great as to ſurpaſs all belief. Theſe people neither enter into any converſation with ſtrangers, nor are at all ſurpriſed by the ſight of them; but regard them with a fixed and unconcerned aſpect, and without ſhewing any ſigns of being at all affected. It is even ſaid, that when naked words were aimed at them, they made no attempts to avoid them; nor were they rouſed to paſſion by the infliction of injuries or wounds: neither were they more affected by the ſufferings of others, than by their own; but have often beheld the maſſacre of their wives and children without betraying any ſymptoms either of pity or reſentment.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 108.

‡ If you tell an Indian that his children have greatly ſignaliſed themſelves againſt the enemy, have taken many ſcalps, and brought home many priſoners, he does not appear to feel any extraordinary pleaſure on the occaſion—his anſwer is generally, "It is well," and he makes very little further enquiry about it. On the contrary, if you inform him that his children are ſlain, or taken priſoners, he makes no complaints, but only replies, "It does not ſignify," and probably, for ſome time at leaſt, aſks not how it happened.—Carver's Travels, p. 240, 241. —See alſo note L of Robertſon's Hiſtory of America, wherein numerous teſtimonies of this part of the character of that people are adduced.—The thoughtleſs and improvident conduct of ſavages, with reſpect to laying up of proviſions and other neceſſaries, is to be aſcribed to this diſpoſition.

This

This diſpoſition is the leading mark of the character of nations in this condition, and from it moſt of their other qualities are derived.

Why this way of life ſhould produce this effect, it is difficult fully to explain. Is it that the feelings, as well as the faculties of the mind, being little employed about that period of life wherein the inhabitants of civiliſed countries generally receive impreſſions and ideas, become callous afterwards, for want of being accuſtomed early to a variety of ſenſations, which improve ſenſibility by habit and uſe? We all know how difficult a thing it is to inſtruct perſons, in an * advanced age, in what is eaſily acquired in youth—the knowledge of languages for inſtance—and how ſoon the impreſſion thus made is obliterated. Does the mental capacity bear any analogy to the appetite for food, and inclination to ſleep; which we often obſerve, if not indulged at the uſual periods, depart, and return no more until the recurrence of the accuſtomed time of gratification? It is remarked with great ingenuity, by an elegant writer, that the anatomy of an eye that had never received the impreſſion of light, or of an ear that had never felt the impulſe of ſounds, would probably exhibit defects in the very ſtructure of the organs themſelves, ariſing from their having never been applied to their proper functions; ſo in the preſent caſe we may ſuppoſe, from analogy, that the human capacity, in ſuch ſituations, would be defective in its very arrangement and formation, from want of opportunity of being employed at that period when it is intended by nature to receive impreſſions.

It is alſo not improbable, that this defect of the ſenſible faculties, although perhaps it might be originally derived from acci-

* It is remarked by an ingenious and amiable writer, that a child has more to do and to learn in the firſt three years of its life, than it has in thirty years of any future period of it.—Gregory's Comparat. View.

See alſo the ſame work, on the Improvement of Senſibility by Exerciſe and Cultivation.

dental and extraneous circumſtances, might, in proceſs of time, become hereditary; and that the ſenſations, from want of uſe, through a number of generations, might acquire a degree of inſenſibility ſufficient to mark the character of the people. Providence has, without doubt, ſet bounds to this depravation of the ſenſible faculties, as well as to others of the moral kind; but, within thoſe limits, I make no doubt that the cauſe above-mentioned produces a certain effect. Hippocrates *, whoſe obſervations on human nature in general, as well as on the ſcience of medicine, have been hitherto univerſally reſpected, has delivered it as his opinion, that even bodily forms, artificially at firſt introduced, may be tranſmitted to poſterity; and if this has any foundation, it is not leſs probable of the mental faculties, which ſometimes indeed, unfortunately for our nature—as in the caſe of inſanity, and frequently in inſtances of taſte, ſenſibility, &c.—we ſee prevalent in particular families, and continued through many generations. As a confirmation of this theory, I have been credibly informed, that the children of ſavages, the North Americans particularly, although brought into this country at ſo early an age that they could ſcarcely have received any prior impreſſions †, and educated here, ſtill retained a ferocity of diſpoſition, and an unſettled roving turn, ſimilar to that poſſeſſed by thoſe ‡ from whom they ſprung.

Another part of the character of ſavage nations, or rather another inſtance of the inſenſibility above deſcribed, is the indifference

* Hippocrates de Aeribus, Aquis, & Locis, cap. xxxvi.

† There is great reaſon to believe, that the tame and the wild cat were originally the ſame animal; yet the young of the wild cat, though taken at the earlieſt age, and bred up in the moſt domeſticated ſtate, ſtill retain the ferocity of their parents, and cannot be reclaimed, but on the firſt opportunity fly to the woods.

‡ The degeneracy and improvement of mankind, in ſeveral climates, in a courſe of generations, ſhew, that different degrees of perfection or depravation of the human mind or genius may be hereditary.

they

they ſhew for the fair ſex. This was remarked by Diodorus Siculus of the Icthyophagi *, and is found to prevail to a great degree among the † American Indians.

Another mark of a ſavage is pride, or rather a high degree of ſatisfaction with his ſtate and condition in life. This was obſerved by Tacitus of the Fenni ‡, and of the Icthyophagi ‖ by Diodorus; neither of which nations appear, by the accounts we have of them, to have much reaſon to boaſt of their ſituation.

The ſame diſpoſition is ſtill more remarkable among the American Indians, who are ſo far from envying the ſituation of men in a higher ſtate of civiliſation, that they regard them with the utmoſt contempt, and look upon themſelves, and their own way of life, as the ſtandard of perfection. This preference of themſelves is very conſpicuous on every occaſion. The very names by which they deſire to be diſtinguiſhed are expreſſive of their ſuppoſed ſuperiority. § The Iroquois ſtyled themſelves the chief of men. Caraibe, the name of the inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands, ſignified the *warlike* ** *people*. The Cherokees, from an idea of ſuperiority in themſelves, call the Europeans Nothings, or the accurſed people. The froth of the ſea was another appellation by which the Americans diſtinguiſhed the people of Europe. The hunting nations on the confines of Siberia were not deficient

* Diodor. lib. iii. p. 107.

† Carver's Travels, p. 368.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xlvi.

‖ Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 108.

Diodorus Siculus alſo ſays of the Troglodytæ, that they not only would not avoid any of the inconveniences belonging to a ſavage ſtate, but would rather ſuffer death than be compelled to embrace any other way of life.—Diod. Sic. lib. iii. p. 116.

§ Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 412.

** The ancient Germans beſtowed upon themſelves a ſimilar appellation. *Germann* ſignified, in their language, a *man of war*, or a *warlike man*.

in

in this † ſelf-eſtimation, and contempt of a more civiliſed way of life. It was a proverbial imprecation with them, that their enemy might be obliged to live like a Tartar, and be ſeized with the folly of breeding and attending his cattle. The origin of this ſelf-eſtimation is connected with various cauſes: firſt, the ignorance and confined obſervation of people in this ſtate is ſuch, as to prevent their being able to compare their own ſituation in life with that of others, from which compariſon all ideas of choice muſt be deduced; conſequently it is probable, that, as they ſee none in a condition preferable to their own, they may not believe that ſuch a condition exiſts.

Moreover, were ſuch a ſituation to be offered to them, it would be doubtful if they could comprehend the advantages of it, or would think favourably of them, if they were explained to their underſtandings *. Many of the gratifications on which people in poliſhed ſociety value themſelves, would appear to the untutored ſavage a ſcene of tedious confinement and fatigue; and the uſual forms of civility and behaviour among cultivated perſons, would appear to him a conduct mean and unnatural, and highly degrading to that force of mind and independent ſpirit with which he is animated.

The indolence, likewiſe, which is almoſt inſeparable from a ſavage ſtate, is highly favourable to this diſpoſition of mind. Pride and idleneſs have been always obſerved to be nearly connected, in all circumſtances of life, but in none more remarkably than in that now under conſideration.

Idleneſs, if indulged, is a paſſion very apt to gain ground upon

† Dr. Reinhold Forſter tells us, that the ſavages, on the frozen extremities of the globe, think themſelves happy, and even happier than the moſt civiliſed nation; and every individual of them is ſo well ſatisfied with his condition, that not even a wiſh is left in his breaſt for the leaſt alteration.—Forſter's Obſervations made during a Voyage round the World.

* See this ſubject beautifully treated in Mr. Prior's Solomon, book i.

the human mind, and naturally fertile in inventing excuſes for its own gratification. One of the moſt obvious of theſe is, that the objects of attention are not ſufficiently important to demand the exertion of the faculties of body or mind; and this ſuggeſtion occurring frequently, is apt to induce a perſuaſion of the reality of it, at leaſt with reſpect to the common affairs of life.

From another principle, idleneſs produces pride, by rendering the ideas ſelfiſh and perſonal. A man that is unemployed is apt to turn his thoughts upon himſelf, and the idea of his own importance and value naturally ſuggeſts itſelf. Idleneſs, indeed, almoſt neceſſarily inſpires a notion of ſuperiority; it ſhews that a man is able to ſubſiſt, and to maintain his rank in the world, without being obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance or favour of others, by the neceſſity of mutual ſervices. Idleneſs is alſo a great ſource of pride, by preventing that familiar intercourſe with others, which is ſo connected with induſtry. Nothing is more adverſe to pride, than a habit of being frequently acquainted with the mutual wants of ſociety, and thoſe eſpecially in which men reciprocally ſtand in need of the aſſiſtance of each other; but idleneſs is a ſolitary paſſion, and tends to increaſe pride, by diminiſhing our acquaintance with our own ſpecies, at leaſt in reſpect to their mutual dependence upon one another.

Idleneſs I have juſt mentioned as a part of the character of a ſavage people. This is amply confirmed both by ancient and modern † obſervation.

Tacitus ſays, that the ancient Germans, when not engaged in ‡ hunting or warfare, ſpent their time in idleneſs, ſleep, and eating.

† If we contemplate a ſavage nation, in any part of the globe, a ſupine indolence, and a careleſſneſs about futurity, will be found to conſtitute their general character. —Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, p. 224.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xv.—Moſt of the copies of Tacitus read, Quotiens bella non ineunt *non* multum venatibus, &c.; but ſome of them leave out the negative

ing. Nearly the ſame mode of life is practiſed by the || American Indians at preſent. But this diſpoſition of theirs is rather an averſion to labour, than a love of quiet and repoſe. This is evidently expreſſed by Tacitus *, in his admirable character of the Germans, and is no leſs true of the American Indians. The ſame man, who, to procure food, will not ſubmit to any ſpecies of ordinary labour, will, in purſuit of an enemy or a wild beaſt, traverſe an hundred leagues over mountains covered with ſnow. Indolence indeed is, with theſe people, from their natural courſe of life, almoſt inevitable. Without agriculture, trade, manufactures, or literature, great part of their time is vacant, for want of an object to engage it; eſpecially as the improvident diſpoſition, which reigns ſo much among them, prevents their uſing it in providing for future neceſſities. I have, however, ſome doubts, if this way of life does not diſpoſe to indolence by means which we do not fully comprehend. The beaſt of prey, whoſe mode of life does not vary much from that of the human ſpecies in this ſtate, is himſelf a ſluggard, and when not engaged in the toil of hunting, ſpends his time in ſleep and indolence. Perhaps the

tive *non:* which alteration ſeems to make the different parts of the ſentence coincide better together, and is alſo more anſwerable to the account he had given of the diet of the Germans; which, he ſays, conſiſted in a good meaſure of the fleſh of wild animals freſh caught: which could not be the food of the people in general, if hunting was not much practiſed.—Cæſar alſo tells of the ſame people expreſsly, that they were much addicted to hunting, which makes this alteration more probable. The ancient Germans were in a middle ſtate, between ſavages and barbarians. Their diet and way of living—their want of all manufactures, and ignorance of money—are certainly marks of ſavageneſs: but the regularity of their government, the fixed adminiſtration of juſtice, and the difference of rank, in the ſtate, and thoſe of a permanent and hereditary kind, are inſtances of a farther advance in civiliſation. I ſhall conſider them in both the lights of ſavages and barbarians, as the circumſtances in their hiſtory are connected, more or leſs, with either of theſe ſtates of mankind.

|| Carver's Travels, p. 244.

* Mira diverſitas naturæ ut iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. —Taciti Germania, cap. xv.

large proportion of animal food they both take in, may not a little contribute this way. Another diſpoſition natural, as I think, to a ſavage ſtate, though apparently contrary to that laſt mentioned, is a diſpoſition for warfare and warlike atchievements. This is mentioned particularly, by Tacitus, of the ancient Germans; who tells us, that the fondneſs of this people for † warfare was ſo great, that when they had no war at home, they would go in ſearch of other nations ‡ engaged in ſuch conteſts, and take part in their quarrels, merely for the ſake of employment, and of diſtinguiſhing themſelves.

Nearly the ſame diſpoſition may be diſcovered among the || American Indians.

Nor is this matter of ſurpriſe: ſince war is, with them, almoſt the only ſcene for the exertion of genius and abilities; the only ſtimulus that can occur, ſufficiently powerful to call forth their faculties into action, diſſipate the tædium and fatigue of idleneſs, and ſatisfy that deſire of diſtinction ſo univerſally preſent in the human breaſt. The mode of life alſo, which people purſue in this ſtate of ſociety, in order to procure ſubſiſtence, is itſelf a kind of emblem of war. It is attended with a ſimilar danger, and followed by means of exertion of the mind and body, and alſo with inſtruments nearly reſembling thoſe uſed in a conteſt with the human ſpecies. This, therefore, habituates them to war as an employment, and deprives it of many of the terrors which accompany it when it breaks out in a civiliſed country.

The little property, at leaſt property of a ſeparate kind, which they poſſeſs, is another inducement to a warlike diſpoſition. Much of the dread of war ariſes from the hazard incurred by it to

† See the derivation of the word German, in the note **, p. 264.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xiv.——Ammianus Marcellinus ſays the ſame of the Gauls in his time, and Cæſar of the Suevi.—Amm. Marc. l. xv. cap. 12.—Cæſ. de Bello Gallico, lib. iv. cap. 1.

|| Carver's Travels, p. 298.

property;

property; and this is one of the principal reaſons why people in trade are in general indiſpoſed to war. It is evident, therefore, that a ſituation in which people have ſcarcely any motives of the diſſuaſive kind, ariſing from intereſt or property, muſt be highly favourable towards encouraging a military diſpoſition among the people.

Notwithſtanding, however, the warlike diſpoſition of ſavage nations, they are far inferior in ſteady courage and reſolution to civiliſed. It is a part of their character to be ſoon elated with proſperous, and ſoon depreſſed by adverſe events. This was obſerved by ſeveral ancient * writers, well acquainted with their character; and has been confirmed by after experience. Nor is it difficult to be explained. People in a rude ſtate are impatient for a deciſion, deficient in reſources, and apt to magnify every thing, from ignorance of its real extent. Add to this, that they are generally very ſuperſtitious, and, on every reverſe of fortune, apt to deſpair, from the belief of the diſpleaſure of the Deity; of whoſe favour or diſapprobation they always judge by the ſucceſs or failure of their enterpriſes.

Friendſhip, or perſonal attachment, appears to be often carried to a high degree among ſavage nations. This ariſes in a good meaſure, as has been before † remarked, from the ſmallneſs of the number of the people; but the way of life, and ſituation in point of circumſtances, tend to produce the ſame effect. The joint trials of fortitude, which occur ſo often in a way of life that may not improperly be called a perpetual warfare—the mutual aſſiſtance afforded to one another—tend to draw the tie of friendſhip cloſer than in civiliſed ſocieties, where the ſame trials are not found. The little property, which ſuch nations poſſeſs,

* Dion Caſſius mentions this as a part of the character of the Gauls, lib. xxxix. —and Ammianus Marcellinus attributes it to rude nations in general, lib. xvi. c. 12.

† See chapter iv. on Population.

has

has alſo, I apprehend, a great effect in heightening the ardor † of friendſhip and affection. This attachment is not here diſgraced by intereſted motives; nor is regard exacted for ſervices in the ſame way with a pecuniary recompence. The object is freely choſen, and conſidered merely with a view to the pleaſure ariſing to themſelves from the connection; not as to any expectation of advantage to be derived from it. Hence ‡ gifts or preſents among them were not conſidered, as with us, to be matters of obligation: if either of the two, the giver was the perſon obliged. Hence the mind, free from a mercenary commerce and traffic of affection, fixes its regard on the perſonal qualities alone: and in ſo doing forms a connection more || intimate, and more durable, than the

† This is no way inconſiſtent with the apathy of the ſavage before deſcribed. His frame of mind, though hard to be affected, is, when it meets with an adequate object, agitated to a greater degree, in proportion to the ſlowneſs wherewith the impreſſion was received. When that is once made, it is felt in full force: and not likely to be effaced by ſubſequent impreſſions, as none but thoſe of a very ſtrong kind are felt, and ſuch do not often occur.

‡ Tacitus tells us, that the Germans, although they were fond of preſents, never conſidered them as matters of obligation, either on the giver or the receiver.

|| Charlevoix ſays, that the North American Indians are affectionate in their carriage, and in their converſations pay a mutual attention and regard, more tender and more engaging than we profeſs in the ceremonial of poliſhed ſocieties. A great writer has repreſented the Americans as devoid of the attachment of friendſhip, and indeed incapable of it. This he aſcribes, in part, to the inſenſibility with which they are endued, and partly to their independent ſpirit. But their inſenſibility is not ſo great as to prevent their having a high degree of attachment to their country, a great jealouſy of its honour, and ſenſe of its intereſts: it is, therefore, highly improbable that it ſhould be ſo great as to obſcure ſocial affection and regard. As to their independent ſpirit, I have already ſpoken of it as a circumſtance which drew the bond of affection ſtill cloſer, by its being a matter of choice. The ancient Germans, whoſe ſituation in point of independency was nearly equal to the North American Indians, appear to have been highly ſuſceptible of friendſhip; and we have not only the teſtimony of Charlevoix above quoted, but alſo that of a late writer and excellent obſerver, whoſe experience was very extenſive, to prove that the ſocial regards and affections of the latter are very powerful.—Carver's Travels, p. 410.

ſtudied attentions which the inhabitants of civiliſed nations exact from each other, under the idea of gratitude. Another circumſtance that renders friendſhip more complete, and more frequent, in a rude or ſavage ſtate, is the equality, in point of rank and fortune, of all the members of the ſociety. A great writer obſerves, that friendſhip is ſeldom laſting, but between equals, or where the ſuperiority on one ſide is reduced by ſome equivalent advantages on the other. Benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be diſcharged, are not commonly found to increaſe affection. They excite gratitude, indeed, and heighten veneration: but commonly take away that eaſy freedom and familiarity of intercourſe, without which, though there may be zeal, fidelity, and admiration, there can be no friendſhip. A ſtate, therefore, that admits of no inequality of ranks, and no diſtinctions, ſave thoſe of a perſonal kind, muſt be better adapted to promote this affection, than thoſe wherein the variety of rank and circumſtances not only produce an original inequality in point of conſideration and importance, but alſo tend to prevent that freedom of intercourſe, and communication of ſentiment, without which friendſhip cannot even commence.

Another characteriſtic of ſavages is, that high degree of regard and attachment which they bear to their country. I have before ſpoken of a regard of this kind, which prevailed among a people few in number; which circumſtance I believe to be the principal cauſe in the preſent inſtance. But other reaſons concur. The mind of a ſavage, unoccupied by the uſual concerns that diſtract the attention, and divide the affections, in civiliſed nations, has no other object upon which to reſt, but that of concern for his friends, and the community to which he belongs; conſequently this, as it comes fully within the ſcope of his comprehenſion, and as the whole power of his mind is directed to this point, may be expected to be exerted with full force.

But although the affection of people, in this ſituation, may be very

very great for their countrymen, they have very little local attachment. This naturally ariſes from their manner of life. Hunting neceſſarily requires a large ſcope of ground, and a frequent change of ſituation, as the game alters in its diſpoſition, to frequent particular diſtricts. Hence there can be no towns, no hereditary monuments, no paternal inheritances, to excite affection, or rouſe the pride of family, and intereſt the paſſions in the regard or defence of any place in particular. Thucydides obſerved formerly, that thoſe people who gained but a bare livelihood by cultivating the ground, were eaſily induced to change their habitation; and this remark is much more likely to be true of the people now under conſideration; who, as they gained nothing immediately from the ground, had ſtill fewer motives of local affection. I believe that this mode of life, or one ſimilar thereto, was formerly the great cauſe of the eaſy migration of ſeveral of the northern ſtates. We do not find that the Gauls, the Cimbri *, or the Teutones, in the early ages, or the Goths and Vandals in later times, expreſſed any regret at leaving the country they had before inhabited; nor is any concern of the ſame kind remarked, by Cæſar, to have been felt by the † Helvetii; who, to a man, left their own country

* Cæſar ſays, that no man among the Germans had any landed property of a ſeparate or diſtinct kind; but that the magiſtrates and princes annually diſtributed to every diſtrict ſuch a portion of land as they thought ſufficient for their maintenance, whither they ſend them to continue for one year only, and remove them to ſome other quarter the next; which cuſtom, he ſays, is obſerved, leſt, from being *attached to a place*, they ſhould change their inclination for war to that of tillage, and think of extending their confines, to the oppreſſion of the weak by the powerful; leſt they ſhould learn to build more elegantly than is neceſſary, againſt ſummer's heat and winter's cold; but chiefly to prevent covetouſneſs, the root of all factions and diſcord, and preſerve that equality of riches in the commonwealth that produces peace and content.—Comment. book vi. ch. 10. § 22.——Tacitus mentions the cuſtom, but aſſigns no reaſon for it.—German. c. xxvi.

† The Helvetii burnt all their towns, villages, corn, and ſpare ſtocks of proviſions.—Cæſar. Comm. book i. ch. 2. § 5.

from

from ‡ ambitious motives, and with a deſign of ſettling in the poſſeſſions of their neighbours. But this very people, who formerly quitted their country with ſo little remorſe, have now, ſince it has been || improved, and fully cultivated, contracted ſuch a degree of local attachment to it, as to pine away, and to be affected with a real diſorder *, when ſeparated from it for any length of time.

SECT. II. *On the influence of a ſavage ſtate upon the manners.*

I ſhall conſider theſe, firſt with regard to the morals, and next with reſpect to the behaviour. Many of the vices incident to a civiliſed ſtate, are excluded from a ſavage one, merely by their ignorance

‡ Their intent was to invade and ſettle in Gaul.——Ammianus Marcellinus gives a ſimilar character of the Saracens:—Nec eorum quiſquam aliquando ſtivam apprehendit, aut arborem colit, aut arva ſubigendo queritat victum, ſed errant ſemper per ſpatia longe lateque diſtenta, ſine lare, ſine ſedibus fixis aut legibus: nec idem perferunt diutius cœlum aut tractus unius ſoli illis unquam placet.—Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. cap. 4.

Sondanis diſſuaded Crœſus from making war upon the Perſians, for ſimilar reaſons, telling him that he was preparing to attack a people who had no covering but ſkins; who inhabited a barren country, and who eat not the things they liked, but what they could get; who had only water for drink, and had neither wine, nor figs, nor any delicious thing among them; that no advantage could be gained by their conqueſt, but that, if the victory ſhould be in their favour, and that they ſhould come to taſte the voluptuous way of living in their enemy's country, that they would eſtabliſh themſelves in it, and never be driven out.—Herodotus, lib. i.

|| Switzerland, though a very mountainous country, is very highly cultivated.—See Coxe's Travels.

* Apud milites Helvetos cum e patria exceſſerunt frequens eſt hic morbus, et olim eâ de cauſâ plurimi caſtra deſerebant; erat autem cantilenâ Helvetiæ delicias revocans, quæ ipſos in hunc affectum deducebant, quam deinceps repetere ſub capitis pœnâ prohibitum eſt.—Sauvage Noſolog. Method. Deſcript. Noſtalgiæ.

of † money. People in this ſituation are ſeldom acquainted with any other injuſtice than what ariſes from, or is accompanied with, violence. That kind of it which is attended with craft, and which may be exerciſed a thouſand ways, is altogether unknown. Corruption alſo, or the power of money as an ‡ inducement to act contrary to the real ſentiments or belief, is there impracticable, for want of the means of acquiring ſuch influence. This circumſtance ſhuts out the largeſt ſhare of the vices incident to human nature, and avarice || particularly.

The love of equality likewiſe, which is incident to nations in this ſtate, is nearly connected with, if not the ſame with, the love of juſtice. This happy principle preſerves the mind from degenerating into meanneſs and ſlavery, the parents as well as the produce of corruption; inſtils a ſenſe * of juſtice into our conduct,

† Aurum et argentum perinde aſpernantur, ac reliqui mortales appetunt. Hæc continentia illis morum quoque juſtitiam edidit nihil alienum concupiſcentibus. Quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido eſt ubi et uſus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus ſimilis moderatio, abſtinentiaque alieni foret; profectò non tantum bellorum per omnia ſecula terris omnibus continuaretur, neque plus hominum ferrum et arma quam naturalis fatorum conditio raperet. Prorſus ut admirabile videatur hoc illis naturam dare quod Græci longa ſapientium doctrina, præceptiſque philoſophorum conſequi nequeunt, cultoſque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione ſuperari. Tantò plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam cognitio virtutis."—Juſtin. lib. ii. cap. 2. Deſcriptio Scytharum.

‡ No ſelfiſh views ever influence their advice, or obſtruct their conſultations.—Carver's Travels, p. 412.

|| The Indians are extremely liberal to each other, and ſupply the deficiency of their friends with any ſuperfluity of their own.—Carver's Travels, p. 247.

* It is, however, remarkable, that ſavage nations, although attentive to juſtice with a punctilious exactneſs, within the limits of their own community, paid little regard to it out of that limit. Beyond the frontier of his ſtate, the Gaul and the German was a thief and a robber. It was eſteemed an action of glory and renown to attack a neighbouring people, though at peace; to carry off their cattle, and lay waſte their territory. A ſimilar ſpirit prevailed among other nations in the ſame ſtate of ſociety.—See Homer's Iliad and Odyſſey.—Thucydides, book i.—Cæſar Comm. b. vi.—Tacitus's Account of Germany, ch. xiv.—and Laſitau Moeurs de Savage, tom. ii. p. 169.

from

from the idea of reciprocal right; and leaves the heart open to ſentiments of generoſity and benevolence. It gives to the untotored ſavage that ſentiment of candour, and regard to the welfare of others, which ſoftens the arrogant pride of his carriage, and, in times of confidence and peace, without the aſſiſtance of government and † law, renders the approach and ‡ commerce of ſtrangers ſecure.

Faults, nevertheleſs, are to be found in the moral character of ſavages. Thus, it is much to be ſuſpected that they are, in general, of a cruel and ‖ vindictive diſpoſition. The barbarities of the Americans towards their priſoners, the human ſacrifices of other ſavage nations, and the ſeverity of ſome of their puniſhments, indicate this very ſtrongly. This ariſes, no doubt, in a good meaſure, from their apathy, or unfeeling diſpoſition; but I am inclined to believe, that their animal diet, of which I have before ſpoken, and alſo their method of procuring food, has alſo a conſiderable ſhare.

Nations that live by hunting are accuſtomed to blood and ſlaughter, and to behold the pangs and agonies of death, not only without concern, but alſo with pleaſure and ſatisfaction. This, although practiſed on brutes only, has a natural tendency to harden the heart, and to obliterate the tender feelings; and of this the law of England is ſo ſenſible, as to exclude butchers, whoſe manner of life is not very diſſimilar to that of nations who live by hunting, from ever being made judges of the guilt or innocence of their fellow-creatures, in caſes that affect life. Another cauſe of the cruelty of ſavages may be, their not experiencing a variety of ſituations in life, and the viciſſitudes of fortune.

† Juſtitia gentis ingeniis culta non legibus.—Juſtin de Moribus Scytharum.

‡ If any one of their allies come to viſit them, they ſhew him more kindneſs, and greater endeavours to ſerve him, than if he was their own countryman.—Kalm's Travels, vol. i. p. 77. 8vo edit.

‖ "Ferociſſimos populos venatores eſſe."—Halleri Phyſiol. lib. xix. § 3.

The Indians are of a cruel, revengeful, inexorable diſpoſition.—Carver's Travels.

It is finely obſerved by ‡ Mr. Monteſquieu, that an uniform exceſs of either happineſs or miſery naturally inclines people to ſeverity; as inſtances of which, he adduces conquerors and monks. It is, as he obſerves, moderation alone, and a mixture of proſperous and adverſe fortune, that inſpires us with lenity and pity. What is here obſerved of individuals, is equally true of nations. In countries inhabited by || ſavages, who lead a very hard life—and in deſpotic governments, where there is only one perſon upon whom fortune laviſhes all her favours, while the miſerable ſubjects lie expoſed to her inſults—people are equally cruel.

Drunkenneſs or * inebriation has been imagined, alſo, to be a vice peculiar to barbarous or uncivilized nations. The ancient Scythians procured ebriety by the fumes of an † intoxicating fruit; other nations, upon the northern extremity of Aſia, uſed muſhrooms infuſed in water for the ſame purpoſe; and the Calmucks ferment mares milk into a liquor that has the ſame effects. In ſome of the iſlands of the South Seas, an inebriating drink is made from the root of a cultivated pepper, which is much in uſe. Tobacco was taken, for a like reaſon, by the people of California; and in many other parts of America, an intoxicating liquor was procured from mayz, or from the manioc root. The paſſion for ſpirituous liquours was formerly very ſtrong among the ancient ‡ Germans; the Gauls || were alſo very fond of them—but it muſt alſo be obſerved, that the climate of that country was then

‡ Sp. of Laws, book vi. ch. 9.

|| Another reaſon for the vindictive diſpoſition of ſavages will be given, when I come to ſpeak of the influence of this way of life upon the laws.

* Robertſon's Hiſt. of America, book iv.—Forſter's Obſervations made in a Voyage round the World, p. 481.

† Herodot. lib. i.—Maxim. Tyr. Diſſ. xi.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xxiii.—Appian. Bell Civ. lib. ii.

|| Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.—Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 12.—Plinii Nat. Hiſt. l. xiv. cap. 22.

much

much colder than at preſent. The ſame deſire prevails at preſent among the ſavage inhabitants of Africa and America.

This paſſion is aſcribed by ſome writers, and not without great probability, to the ſtimulating effects which ſuch liquours produce on the melancholy and torpid frame of the ſavage. As ſtrong liquors awaken him from this ſtate, give a briſker motion to his ſpirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than any other ſtimulus, no wonder * his love of them ſhould be exceſſive. This paſſion, however, is not univerſal; ſeveral of the Aſiatic and African nations, as the Arabs † and the ancient Lybians, and indeed the preſent inhabitants of that country—who, although not abſolute ſavages, are ſtill in a very imperfect ſtate of civiliſation—uſe no fermented or ſpirituous liquors at all, nor any ſubſtitute for them; and have a religious law or precept for the prohibition of any ſuch, which has ſubſiſted nearly as ‡ long as we have any accounts of that part of the world. It is, indeed, hardly juſt to draw preciſe and determinate concluſions from the liking of ſavages to a thing brought to them from abroad, and which muſt of neceſſity be rare: novelty has, in ſuch a caſe, a powerful attraction, eſpecially in hot climates; and this, joined to its ſcarcity, which renders it only procurable by the chief perſons, may make it more ſought than the diſpoſition of the inhabitants would naturally incline.

Gaming is another vice, which ſome very reſpectable writers ‖ have repreſented as being connected with a ſavage ſtate. It certainly often occurs in ſuch a condition of life, and is partly owing to the idleneſs which prevails in that ſituation: partly may be ſubſervient, as well as drinking, to diſpel that cloud and melancholy which indolence is ſo apt to induce. But

* Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 398.

† See note, book i. ch. xxii. § 3.

‡ It ſubſiſted in the time of the Carthaginians.

‖ Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 396.

I queſtion

I queſtion if this paſſion be ſo univerſal as is imagined; and believe that it is principally prevalent in cold climates, where ſomething is requiſite to excite the paſſions, and ſet a heavy, inactive machine into motion. It is worthy of remark, that the games played by ſavage people, are * all games of chance, and not of ſkill; and, in general, where the chance is quickly decided. The ſtake they play is likewiſe conſiderable. Thus Tacitus || tells us, that the Germans were paſſionately fond of playing with dice; and the American ſavages are particularly fond of games of † hazard. Both theſe people, when engaged at play, ventured their whole fortune, and, when that was loſt, their perſons alſo, and ſubmitted to a voluntary captivity. Their violence of temper, and vehement ardour in purſuit of what they deſire, as well as their ignorance, is pointedly expreſſed by theſe circumſtances in their hiſtory.

Several authors ‡ have accuſed rude nations of inconſtancy, and want of faith in their dealings and contracts, eſpecially thoſe of a public nature. But I believe this charge not to be altogether well founded. That they may not, through ignorance of their nature, affix preciſely the ſame ideas to their contracts that are habitual to civiliſed nations, I ſhall not diſpute, as it requires, perhaps, a conſiderable degree of cultivation to comprehend exactly the ſcope and extent of engagements of this kind. But I do not believe that ſavage nations, in general, are deficient in moral qua-

* Helvetius on Man, vol. i. p. 129.

|| Taciti German. cap. xxiv.

† Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 396.

‡ Peritus omnis barbaricæ, & præcipue earum gentium in quibus per tot annos militabat, perfidiæ.—Livii lib. xxv.

Memor quam vana & mutabilia barbarorum ingenia.—Livii lib. xxix.

———per inducias infidi; inconſtantes.—Ammian. Marcellin. Deſcr. Hunnorum.

Fluxâ ut eſt barbaris fide. — Tacit. Hiſt. l. iii. c. 48.

lities of this nature. Herodotus § tells us, that the Arabians were remarkably tenacious of their word and contracts. The barbarous nations, who ſubverted the Roman empire, were rigid obſervers of their promiſes. Veracity, alſo, was a characteriſtic quality of them; and from thence were derived many of our ideas of modern honour ‡; which was indeed founded, in a good meaſure, on a ſtrict adherence to truth.

Theſe qualities are equally remarkable in modern ſavages. ‖ Mr. Kalm ſays, that no one is ſo rigid in keeping his word as a ſavage: and * Mr. Ulloa gives the ſame character of the Indians of South America.

A violence of temper, and the breaches of the laws of ſociety incident thereto, may alſo be conſidered as belonging to this way of life. The courſe of juſtice, in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety, muſt of neceſſity be very imperfectly conducted; the natural conſequence of which is, that every man, in his individual capacity, becomes the avenger of his own wrong, and the vindicator of his own right. This ſtate of civil government naturally introduced a ſimilar conduct into private life, to which alſo the cuſtom of intoxication not a little conduced. This laſt is, indeed, carried to ſuch a height, that a man is by them ſcarcely thought accountable, in his ſober mood, for what he did in heat of paſſion, or in time of a debauch.

This diſpoſition to ſudden violence prevailed much among the

§ Herodot. lib. iii.

Strabo ſays, that the Maſſagetæ were obſervant of their agreements, and devoid of fraud and deceit. Lib. xi.

‡ Sp. of Laws, book xxviii. ch. 20.

The barbarous nations reproached the Romans with lying and falſity. When they wanted to expreſs their opinion of the bad qualities of an enemy, falſhood particularly, they called him a Roman.—Robertſon's Hiſt. ch. 5. vol. i. n. 2.

‖ Kalm's Travels, vol. i. p. 77. 8vo. Lond. 1772.

* Ulloa's Voyage to South America, book viii. ch. 9.

ancient

ancient Germans †; who, we are told by Tacitus, were ſubject to frequent outrages * of this kind, and ſome of them very groſs in their nature; which, however, appear to have no ‖ penalty affixed to them in this ſtate of ſociety.

The North ‡ American Indians are exactly in a ſimilar ſtate.

It is difficult to reconcile this part of the character of ſavage nations with the apathy or inſenſibility before aſcribed to them; but it ſhould be conſidered, that this apathy, joined with ignorance, leads to the performance of actions, without conſidering their conſequences; and alſo ſtifles that remorſe, which, in minds endued with ſenſibility, naturally ſucceeds the commiſſion of any improper deed.

The manners of ſavages, in point of behaviour, are next to be conſidered.

Though unacquainted with the formality of ceremonial, ſavages are not always deſtitute of civility, and, indeed, politeneſs of external behaviour. Tacitus deſcribes the behaviour of the ancient § Germans as courteous to ſtrangers; and the North Ame-

† In other reſpects the Germans were humane and merciful.—Pompon. Mela.

* Crebræ ut inter vinolentos rixæ, raro conviciis, ſæpius cæde atque vulneribus tranſiguntur. — Taciti Germania, cap. xxii.——See too Diodorus on the Gauls, p. 212.

It appears from Horace, that the Thracians, whoſe manner of life much reſembled that of the Germans, were very quarrelſome in their cups.

Natis in uſum lætitiæ Scyphis
Pugnare, Thracum eſt: tollite barbarum
Morem; verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis. Horat. Carmin. lib. i.

‖ Verberare ſervum, ac vinculis & opere coercere, rarum. Occidere ſolent, non diſciplina et ſeveritate, ſed impetu & ira, ut inimicum, niſi quod impune.—Taciti Germania, cap. xxv.

‡ When their paſſions, naturally ſtrong, are heightened and inflamed by drink, they are guilty of the moſt enormous outrages; and the feſtivity ſeldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodſhed.—Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 339.

§ Victus inter hoſpites comis.—Tacit. Germ. cap. xxii.

rican

rican Indians are, according to Charlevoix, and others, affectionate in their carriage, and tender in their regard; which laſt they have the faculty of expreſſing with great propriety, and even elegance.

When I beheld, ſays * Mr. Carver, on an occaſion of this kind, the artleſs, yet engaging manners of this unpoliſhed ſavage, I could not help drawing a compariſon between him and ſome of the more refined inhabitants of civiliſed countries, not much, I own, in favour of the latter. Nor is the cauſe of this ſtyle of manners difficult to be traced to its ſource. The equality of the people, in point of rank, cauſes every man to be an object of reſpect and conſideration to another. There is here no room for the arrogance of birth, privileges of rank, or precedence of dignity. It is with them a maxim, that no man is naturally under any obligation to another; and conſequently, that he is not obliged to bear with any impoſition or unequal treatment. This naturally produces from every one a behaviour ſuitable to that which he thinks himſelf entitled to from others; and, as no one has a right to expect, in a ſociety of equals, greater attention than he pays, ſo here the rules of civility are enforced, even from motives of pride and intereſt, which, in poliſhed communities, produce directly oppoſite effects.

The vindictive and jealous diſpoſition, likewiſe, of theſe people, is ſo well known as to put each perſon on his guard with reſpect to another, as he is certain that any inſult or affront, however ſlight, would be ſure to be remarked and revenged.

There are, beſides, ſome peculiarities in the manners of people in this ſtate, that require to be noticed. Thus ſavages are, in general, dirty † in their dreſs, bodies, and victuals. This has been obſerved of them from great antiquity, and is not leſs true in the

* Carver's Travels, p. 68.

† Victus aſper & munditiis carens.—Pomp. Mela deſcript. Africæ interioris.

In omni domo nudi atque ſordidi, in hos artus & in hæc corpora quæ miramur excreſcunt.—Tacit. Germ. cap. xx.

preſent * times. The reaſon of this may be eaſily apprehended. The inſenſibility of theſe people in reſpect to delicacy, their want of the conveniences of life, that conduce to cleanlineſs, together with the idea that an attention of this kind is connected with effeminacy and cowardice, prevent its being ſo much regarded as among civiliſed nations.

Taciturnity is likewiſe another quality incident, I believe, to ſavage nations—though of this I am not certain. Juſtin has remarked the taciturnity || of the Parthians, who were at that time in a very rude, although not a ſavage ſtate; and the ancient Germans appear to have been of a ſimilar diſpoſition. The ſame turn is diſcoverable among the American Indians. When not engaged in action, they often ſit whole days in one poſture without ever opening their lips. When they go forth to war, or to the chace, they uſually march in a line, at ſome diſtance from one another, without exchanging a word. The ſame profound ſilence is obſerved when they row together in a canoe. It is only when they are animated by intoxicating liquors, or rouſed by the jollity of the feſtival and dance, that they become gay and converſible. The other circumſtances attendant on this way of life, explain ſufficiently this part of the character of a ſavage. The apathy with which they are endued, prevents their being affected with many of the impreſſions which occur frequently in life, and give birth to obſervation and diſcourſe: with which inſenſibility, his ignorance, and the uncultivated ſtate of his faculties in general, not a little concur. His pride too has a great ſhare in promoting this diſpoſition, as we ſee by many inſtances that occur often in civiliſed life, in which this paſſion is ſeldom carried ſo far as it is in a ſavage ſtate. Hoſpitality is another part of the manners of people in this condition of life. This is owing in a great meaſure

* Carver's Travels, and indeed all the modern accounts of ſavages.

|| —— Natura taciti, ad faciendum quam ad dicendum promptiores, proinde ſecunda adverſaque ſilentio tegunt.—Juſtin, l. xli.

to the ſmallneſs of the * population, to which I have before aſcribed it. Another queſtion of great importance, relative to ſavages, regards the condition of women in that ſtate of life. This ſubject has been already treated in a maſterly manner by Dr. Stuart, in his Hiſtory of Society in Europe; to which, for a more full account, I ſhall refer the reader. A ſlight ſketch, however, of the moſt remarkable circumſtances that occur to women in that ſtate, may not be improper. Several † writers of eminence have deſcribed the female ſex, in a ſavage condition, as in a ſtate of abject ſervility, from which they emerge not until the period of ſeparate and diſtinct property.

But this notion, like many others, degrading to human nature, appears to have been too haſtily adopted, and to want that ſupport from fact and experience that alone can eſtabliſh it. That ſtate of ſociety, as Dr. Stuart well remarks, which is antecedent to the knowledge of extenſive property, and of the debaſement that ariſes from refinement and commerce, is, in a high degree, favourable to women. It is inconſiſtent with the elevation of ſentiment which then prevails, to treat them with harſhneſs or cruelty. Theſe paſſions are reſerved for their adverſaries only; and are not exerted againſt thoſe with whom they are united in ſociety and connection, and between whom, and themſelves, there ſubſiſts ſo many mutual obligations. Inſtances of the influence of women, on the contrary, are very numerous in ſuch ſocieties.

The ancient ‡ Germans had a peculiar reſpect and veneration for women. Velleda, Aurinia, and many others, were held by them in the rank of divinities. Their remonſtrances and exhortations have often rouſed the fainting courage of the ſoldiers. They were thought the beſt judges of military merit; and their eſteem

* See book iv. ch. 2. of this work.

† See Dr. Millar on the Diſtinction of Ranks in Society, ch. i.—Lord Kames' Sketches of Man, vol. i.—Robertſon's Hiſt. of America, vol. i. p. 318.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. viii.

and commendation implied the || higheſt praiſe. Their opinion was much reſpected with regard to * political affairs; and they were reckoned the moſt ſecure hoſtages that could be taken. Other nations, in like circumſtances, have ſhewn a ſimilar regard for the ſex. To deliberate in public, on national concerns, was a privilege of the women, in the Gothic and † Celtic tribes, which alſo they enjoyed in the early ‡ ages of Greece. And to this day the ſame cuſtom continues in ſeveral parts of § America.

In the latter of theſe the women are, in many ſtates, the ſole arbiters of the fate of the priſoners, as it depends entirely on their reception of them, whether they ſhall be ſpared and adopted, or put to a cruel death.

Another inſtance of the regard paid to women in civil life, is, that when a divorce ** takes place among them, the woman is allowed the larger ſhare of children, where the number is odd, children being there eſteemed a valuable property. In ſeveral of the ‡‡ nations, a man undergoes a voluntary ſervitude, in the family of his miſtreſs, for a year, before he is allowed to marry her. Numerous inſtances beſides, of this reſpect to women, may be produced; but the above, I truſt, are ſufficient.

SECT. III. *Effects of a ſavage ſtate upon the intellects.*

It is the remark of an able hiſtorian |||, that the progreſs of the underſtanding in the individuals of the human ſpecies, from infancy to childhood, and from childhood to vigour and maturity

|| Taciti Germania, cap. vii.
* See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, tranſlated, 8vo. 2 vol.—vol. i. p. 317.
† Plutarch. de Virtute mulierum.—Polyæni Stratagem, lib. vii.
‡ Goguet, part ii. book 1. ch. 4.
§ Charlevoix Journal, hiſt. lat. 13—18.——Laſitau, tom. i. p. 477.
** Carver's Travels, p. 372.
‡‡ Ibidem, p. 373.
||| Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 308, 309.

of

of underſtanding, bears ſome reſemblance to the general advance of improvement in the ſpecies at large. Thus in the early ages of ſociety, when the condition of man is ſimple and rude, his reaſon, like that of a child, is but little exerciſed; and his deſires contracted within a narrow ſphere. Hence ariſe two remarkable characteriſtics of the human mind in this ſtate:—Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both theſe diſtinctions are conſpicuous among the American tribes, and conſtitute a ſtriking part in their deſcription. But I believe that this obſervation, however plauſible and ingenious, is carried rather too far; and that the analogy between the ſpecies and the individual, has in ſome meaſure contributed to miſlead this eminent writer. It may, perhaps, hold true where the ſavage ſtate is carried to an extreme degree, as among ſuch people as the Fenni of Tacitus, the Icthyophagi of Diodorus, or the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, deſcribed by modern travellers; but is by no means true, in the degree here repreſented, of ſeveral nations who ſtill come within the deſcription of ſavages.

Their intellectual powers are, indeed, confined in number and extent, and applied in a different manner, and to different purpoſes, from ours. They are alſo defective in method and arrangement; circumſtances which, it is well known, ſet off, even in poliſhed ſociety, moderate abilities to great advantage. But, in many inſtances, the intellectual powers of ſavages appear to gain ſtrength from their being applied to few objects, upon which their faculties are at liberty and leiſure to dwell and examine. Even their apathy, or inſenſibility, while it leſſens the ſcope of their enquiry, cauſes them to comprehend more fully thoſe objects which are ſufficiently powerful to impreſs their ſenſes, and renders the impreſſion more durable, as it is not likely to be effaced by others.

Thus it is remarked, by * the ſame writer, that however narrow

* Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 402.

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the bounds of the knowledge of a ſavage, he thoroughly poſſeſſes that portion of it which he has attained. It is not with him the reſult of formal inſtruction, nor is it conſidered by him as matter of ſpeculation or curioſity. His knowledge is all practical, derived moſtly from his own experience, gained at his own hazard, and ſuited to his ſituation of life. In the active and dangerous occupations of war, and of hunting, he often finds himſelf in a ſituation in which general inſtruction would avail him little. Every ſtep he takes muſt be directed by his own ſagacity, often unaſſiſted by previous knowledge of events of a ſimilar nature, and relying ſolely on his own penetration to diſcern the advantage, or to avoid the hazard. However limited then the ſcope of the capacity of a ſavage may be, many inſtances occur, in his ſituation, for the exertion of original genius, and exerciſe of abilities much ſuperior to the generality of what appear in civiliſed life; where a certain routine of practice, and following exactly the ſteps of others, are uſually found the ſureſt roads to riches and diſtinction.

But the intellectual qualities of ſavages will be better underſtood by being treated more in detail.—Every device which man's ingenuity has invented for the taking of animals that are valuable, either for food or for their ſkins, is put in practice by the American Indians. They diſcern the tracks of the beaſts; they purſue, when imperceptible to every other eye; and when they attack them openly, their arrow ſeldom errs from its purpoſe. If they attempt to circumvent them, their ſtratagems are not leſs ſucceſsful. Their dexterity in catching fiſh is equally admirable. They have a poiſon for fiſh, as well as for land animals, which enables them to ſeize their prey, and at the ſame time does not in the leaſt injure it for the purpoſes of food.

But the principal diſplay of their ingenuity is in ſome circumſtances relative to navigation. The Eſquimaux Indians, who, in ſeveral reſpects, are the moſt ſavage of any of the tribes, exhibit great

great ſkill in this way. One of theſe people, ſhut up, like the Greenlander, in his boat of whale-bone, will venture upon the moſt tempeſtuous ocean, on which, perhaps, no other veſſel could live. The Canadian ſavages form boats from the bark of trees, in which, however fragile in appearance, they perform long voyages. Other nations hollow trunks of trees for the ſame purpoſe: and though theſe veſſels appear rude and unwieldy, they are capable of being managed with great celerity; and in every reſpect adequate to the purpoſe for which they were intended. The balza, or raft, uſed by the Indians of South America, is ſtill more admirable, both in its conſtruction and its uſes. Though apparently rude and ſimple in its formation, it is able to perform all the motions of a regular ſhip, and even to go long voyages †. The flying Proa ‡, in the ſame country, exhibited new principles of the arts both of navigation and building of ſhips, and was capable of ſailing with a degree of ſwiftneſs much ſuperior to any European veſſels. The people ‖ of Otaheite, and the neighbouring iſlands, aſtoniſhed the Europeans with their dexterity in navigation, and the numbers and ſize of their veſſels; to which they added no inconſiderable knowledge both of geography and aſtronomy.

The natives of the new * Archipelago, in the Indian ocean, had not only a knowledge of the geography of their own neighbourhood, but alſo the faculty of deſcribing them in the way of a chart or map, formed by ſtones of different ſizes, placed at proportionable intervals from one another.

As war itſelf is a ſcience, and one much ſtudied by ſavages, I ſhall here add a few words on that ſubject.—The mode of carrying

† Ulloa's Voyage to South America.

‡ Anſon's Voyage.

‖ Forſter's Obſervations, ſect. viii.

* Phil. Tranſ. Motte's Cont. part iv. p. 191.

on

on war among ſavages has been variouſly deſcribed by ſeveral eminent writers. Lord * Kames has advanced it as his opinion, that our European anceſtors, at a time when they were undoubtedly in this ſtate, relied on open force, and were averſe from deceit and ſtratagem. The ſame opinion appears to have been adopted by Mr. † Gibbon. On the other hand, Dr. ‡ Stuart maintains the contrary, and aſſerts that a reliance on artifice and ſurprize, in military operations, was not only in uſe amongſt our German anceſtors, but is alſo characteriſtic of rude nations in general. The truth, I apprehend, here lies between the two extremes, or rather, that the cauſe of this difference has been miſtaken. It is ſufficiently clear, both from hiſtory and experience, that ſavage nations are prone to open violence, and eager to decide a conteſt by force. On the other hand, it is no leſs true, that ſeveral of them have practiſed many arts to deceive their enemies, which is falſly attributed to their want of active || courage.

Polybius

* Sketches of Man, vol. i. p. 23, 24.

† Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. ix.

‡ View of Society in Europe, p. 160.

|| I am ſo far from according with this opinion of the ingenious author of the Sketches of Man, that I rather believe that ſavage nations in general abound in active courage, and are deficient in paſſive. Active courage occurs naturally, to a perſon unuſed to any reſtraint upon his paſſions, and accuſtomed to act from the firſt impulſe; but paſſive courage—at leaſt that branch of it that teaches people to endure misfortunes with patience, and to endeavour to repair them—is the reſult of conſideration, experience, and a habit of ſelf-command. It is obſerved of ſavages, that they are apt to preſume, and deſpair, on ſlight grounds; and ſurely this character is more agreeable to an active than a paſſive courage.—Ammianus Marcellinus has drawn a fine contraſt, in this reſpect, between the Romans and the barbarians.

Alemanni robuſti et celſiores; milites uſu nimio dociles: illi feri et turbidi; hi quieti et cauti: animis iſti fidentes; grandiſſimis illi corporibus freti.—Amm. Marc. l. xvi. c. 12.

What proves farther, that ſavage nations are ſuperior in active courage to what they are in paſſive, is, that although they ſhew the greateſt bravery in battle, they cannot endure ſickneſs, and even frequently, through impatience under it, put an end to their

Polybius * obſerves of the Gauls, that they were very dangerous in their firſt attack, but if that could be reſiſted, they were no longer formidable; and adds, that in every thing they attempt, they are hurried on by the force of their paſſions, and never ſubmit to right reaſon. Livy † tells us, that the Romans, at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, were famous for, and valued themſelves upon, their enterpriſing courage, and their profeſſing to depend more upon valour than artifice. The ſame author remarks the ‡ eagerneſs of the Gauls to come to an engagement, and their ‖ impetuoſity in their firſt attack; and obſerves, that in the beginning of a battle they were more than men, and at the end leſs than

their lives. This was obſerved of the ſavage nations of antiquity, and is the caſe at this day. The cauſe of this difference is finely explained by Cicero, in his Tuſculan Queſtions.

"Atque imprimis meditemur illud, ut hæc patientia dolorum, quam ſæpe jam animi intentione eſſe dixi firmandam, in omni genere ſe æquabilem præbeat. Sæpe enim multique aut propter victoriæ cupiditatem, aut propter gloriæ, aut etiam ut jus ſuum et libertatem tenerent, vulnera exceperunt fortiter et tulerunt: iidem omiſſâ contentione, dolorem morbi ferre non poſſunt. Neque enim illum quem facile tulerant, ratione aut ſapientia tulerant, ſed ſtudio potius et gloriâ. Itaque barbari quidam, et immanes, ferro decertare acerrimé poſſunt, ægrotare viriliter non querunt. Græci autem homines non ſatis animoſi, ſed prudentes, ut eſt captus hominum, ſatis hoſtem aſpicere non poſſunt, et iidem morbos toleranter atque humanè ferunt. At Cimbri et Celtiberi in prœliis exultant, lamentantur in morbo. Nihil enim poteſt eſſe æquabile quod non a certâ cauſâ proficiſcatur."—Tuſc. Quæſt. l. iii.

* Book ii. ch. 2.

† Hæc ut ſummâ ratione acta magna pars ſenatus approbabat; veteres et moris antiqui memores negabant ſe in ea legatione Romanas agnoſcere artes, non per inſidias et nocturna prœlia, nec ſimulatam fugam improviſoſque ad incautum hoſtem reditus, nec ut aſtu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur bella majores geſſiſſe indicere, priuſquam gerere ſolitos bella denunciare, etiam interdum locum finire in quo dimicaturi eſſent.—Livii, lib. xlii. ſect. 47.

‡ Gens ferox, et ingenii avidi ad pugnam, lib. vii.

‖ Gallos primo impetu feroces eſſe—primaque eorum prœlia pluſquam virorum, poſtrema minus quam fœminarum eſſe.—Lib. xii.

Dion Caſſius, lib. xxxviii. gives a nearly ſimilar character of the Germans.

women. In another place, he introduces * the conſul informing the ſoldiers, that if they could reſiſt the firſt aſſault of the Gauls, which was generally a blind effort of paſſion and violence, that they would fall an eaſy prey to their attacks.

It does not appear, from the accounts given by Cæſar, that the Gauls uſed any great artifice or deceit in their wars with him; and the character of them, given by † Strabo, plainly expreſſes a contrary diſpoſition.

The account of the Germans by ‡ Tacitus, appears to favour this opinion. He tells us, that the moſt admired qualifications of a general, and thoſe to which he owed his authority in the army, were—to be ready on all occaſions to manifeſt his courage—to be conſpicuous in the battle—and to fight in the front of the army: qualities very different from deceit and ſtratagem, neither of which are mentioned as neceſſary to the character of one in that ſtation. Laſtly, the modern ideas of honour, which diſclaim any advantages of the latter kind, and are founded entirely upon a trial of courage, and a combat on even terms, and which were undoubtedly derived from a northern original, argue very ſtrongly that ſuch ideas were general among that people, and that their military operations were directed by that rule.

* Jam uſu hoc cognitum eſt, ſi primum impetum, quem fervido ingenio et cæca irâ effundunt, ſuſtinueris, fluunt ſudore et laſſitudine membra; labant arma; mollia corpora, mollis ubi irâ conſedit animus, ſol, pulvis, ſitis, ut ferrum non admoveas, proſternunt.—Livii, lib. xxxviii.

Strabo ſays, "that the Gauls are intrepid but negligent," lib. vii.

"The whole Gallic nation is inflamed with military ardour, and a deſire of war, and particularly that of coming to an engagement.—Strabo, book iv.

† "The Gauls, except their ſtrength and bravery, have no military talents."—Strabo, book iv.

‡ Duces exemplo potius quam imperio; ſi prompti, ſi conſpicui, ſi ante aciem agant, admiratione præſunt.—Tacit. Germ. c. vii.——Ammianus Marcellinus deſcribes all the rude and barbarous nations as of this diſpoſition, lib. xvi.

It

It is nevertheleſs certain, that arts of deceit and ſtratagem in war, have been, and are ſtill, uſed among ſome rude nations. Tacitus mentions, that the Arii ‖ blackened their ſhields, coloured their bodies, and made uſe of dark nights for their attacks on the enemy. It ſhould, however, be remarked, that this was only the deſcription of a particular tribe among the Germans, and by no means a part of their * general character, as Dr. Stuart † ſeems to inſinuate. The cauſe of this difference of diſpoſition I take to be what I before noticed, the various degrees of population and numbers in each nation. I have no doubt that open force and violence are more natural to the character of a ſavage; but allow, at the ſame time, that other circumſtances may render it neceſſary to ſuppreſs this diſpoſition, and embrace another method of making war. When the barbarous people took the field in large bodies, as in ſome of the invaſions of Italy by the ‡ Gauls, &c. they did not appear to have practiſed any art or ſtratagem: they were even addicted to ſingle combats and challenges, from which they drew inferences concerning the fate of the battle. Thus the tribune ‖‖ Valerius Corvus killed a Gaul, who challenged any of the Romans to fight in ſingle combat, in the front of the battle, before the general engagement. Titus Manlius ** did the ſame, and about the ſame period of time, and from the ſpoils he gained in that engagement, acquired the ſurname of Torquatus. Virido-

‖ Nigra ſcuta, tincta corpora, atras ad prælia noctes legunt.—Taciti Germania, cap. xliii.

* The Germans were, in general, ſo far from wearing black ſhields, that they ornamented them with the choiceſt colours.

Scuta lectiſſimis coloribus diſtinguunt.—Tacit. German. cap. vi.

† Book iv. ch. 2.

‡ Strabo ſays of the Gauls, that their violence of temper and conduct proceeded partly from a confidence in their bulk and ſtrength, and partly from a reliance upon their numbers, lib. iv.

‖‖ Livii, l. vii. c. 26.

** Idem, lib. vii. c. 10.

marus †, king of the Gauls, gave a like challenge to Marcellus, and was ſlain in the combat with him. Boiorix ‡, king of the Cimbri, came to the camp of Marius, to challenge him to appoint the time and place for a battle, and they agreed upon the plains near Vercellæ.

When the numbers are great, the comparative conſequence of every individual is diminiſhed, ſo that his loſs is of leſs importance to his party; and in ſuch circumſtances the natural diſpoſition takes place, and the war is carried on in the manner moſt agreeable to it. But when the numbers are ſmall, every individual becomes of conſequence; and it is of importance, not only to himſelf, but alſo to his country, that he ſhould be as careful of his life as poſſible.

I am ſtill inclined to think, that the climate has here ſome influence, and that all nations who come from a cold country, whether ſavage or civiliſed, have a greater tendency to decide diſputes by open force, than thoſe who inhabit hot ones. It has nevertheleſs been found, that all rude nations, for want of the advantages of diſcipline, and regularity of military conduct, however patient they may be of fatigue, and however qualified, by their ſtratagem and valour, to inſpire terror into the armies of a more regular enemy, yet, in the courſe of a continued ſtruggle, always || yield to the ſuperior arts and diſcipline of more civiliſed nations, except when the latter have been highly corrupt and effeminate. Hence

† Plutarch's Life of Marcellus.

‡ Plutarch's Life of Marius.

|| Strabo makes this obſervation of the Gauls.

When enraged, they march openly, and in a body, to battle, and do this in a very careleſs and improvident manner; whence it happens that they are eaſily circumvented, if any enemy chuſes to employ againſt them any military policy or cunning; for it is in the power of any enemy to draw them to an engagement at any time, and in what ſituation he chuſes, as they are furniſhed with none of the neceſſary proviſions for war, beſides courage and ſtrength.—Strabo, book iv.

the

the Romans were able to overrun the provinces of Gaul, Germany, and Britain; and hence the Europeans have a growing ſuperiority over the nations of Aſia, Africa, and America.

The proficiency, however, in general, in arts, above deſcribed, certainly argues no defect in the intellectual faculties of ſavages. Perhaps our own improvements might not, in ſeveral inſtances, have extended much farther, had it not been for the diſcoveries of the compaſs, the uſe of metals, and ſome others; all which were probably at firſt accidental, and by no means marks of any ſuperiority of genius or learning in the inventors. Nor are the intellects of people in this ſtate contemptible in other circumſtances, wherein the mind is more immediately, and indeed ſolely concerned. Thus ſavages are in many inſtances found to poſſeſs great art and cunning, conſiderable knowledge of character, and deep penetration into the thoughts and intentions of thoſe with whom they have to deal. We are told by Dr.* Robertſon, that their craft and diſſimulation is ſuch, that when ſet upon deceiving, they wrap themſelves up ſo artificially, that it is impoſſible to penetrate into their intentions, or to detect their deſigns.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the above character of ſavage nations, in point of diſſimulation, is far from being univerſal, and not at all applicable to the northern nations † of Europe.

Nor do their talents appear to leſs advantage in a political light, according to ſome writers. The council of old men, in an American tribe, deliberating upon its intereſts, and determining with regard to peace or war, has been compared to the ſenate in a more

* Hiſt. of America, vol. i. p. 409.

† Tacitus ſays expreſsly of the Germans, that they were not endued with art or cunning, but that all their conceptions were of a great and ſimple kind: and Strabo ſays, the Gauls were accuſtomed to act openly, and without much premeditation; which agrees nearly with Tacitus's character of the Germans.

poliſhed

poliſhed republic. The proceedings of the latter are ſaid to be not more ſagacious and formal than thoſe of the former. Much political wiſdom is ſaid to be ſhewn in pondering the various methods propoſed, and in balancing their probable advantages againſt the evils of which they may be productive. Dr. Robertſon, indeed, is of opinion, that the political knowledge of ſavages is in theſe accounts much over-rated, and that the perpetual enmities between ſeveral of the clans of ſavages, and the want of commercial intercourſe between others, together with their own thoughtleſs and improvident conduct in private life, tend much to narrow their ſphere of action, and to render it probable that their political talents are not any ways extraordinary. It is, however, poſſible, that as their abilities may have been too much cried up on the one hand, they may have been too much depreciated on the other. The Gauls appear, by the accounts of * Livy and † Cæſar, to have had a juſt conception of their national intereſts, particularly of the balance of power; and Tacitus's account of the ‡ Germans is not leſs favourable. Even the Americans, whom this writer adduces as an inſtance on this occaſion, appear in many inſtances to have been by no means defective, either in underſtanding or in purſuing the intereſts of their country. When the Europeans made their firſt ſettlements in America, ſix ſuch nations had formed a league, had their Amphyctions or ſtates general, and by the firmneſs of their union, and the ability of their councils, had obtained an aſcendant from the mouth of the river St. Laurence to that of the Miſſiſippi. They appeared to underſtand the objects of their

* Livii, lib. xxi.

† Cæſar. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 7. § 12.

‡ Multum ut inter Germanos rationis et ſolertiæ: præponere electos; audire præpoſitos; noſſe ordines; intelligere occaſionem; differre impetus; diſponere diem; vallare noctem; fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare. quodque rariſſimum, nec niſi diſciplinæ conceſſum plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu.—Taciti German. cap. xxx.

confederacy, as well as thoſe of the ſeparate nation. Even the balance of power, a thing thought to have been almoſt peculiar to European politics, was much ſtudied among them. The ſtateſmen of the ſeveral nations underſtood how to watch the deſigns and oppoſe the attempts of any of the confederate nations, that ſeemed to arrogate to itſelf too large a ſhare of power or of influence, and knew how to check it, by throwing the weight of his tribe into the oppoſite ſcale. Their alliances and treaties were conducted in much the ſame manner with ours; which they kept or broke for ſimilar reaſons of policy. One political maxim of ſavages is of ſuch antiquity, and ſo univerſal, that there is reaſon to believe it to be natural to this ſtate of ſociety. This is, to have a large waſte frontier ſurrounding their territories.

Thus * Cæſar tells us, that the Suevi eſteemed it the greateſt honour to have the countries round about lie deſolate; from whence they would have it inferred, that the united force of ſeveral kingdoms is not ſufficient to oppoſe their ſingle valour; in conſequence of which, the country upon one ſide lies waſte for ſix hundred miles together. In † another place he deſcribes this maxim as general among the Germans; and a ſimilar account is given of them by Pomponius ‡ Mela. The ſame idea, alſo, is adopted by the ſavages in North America. The reaſon above given by Cæſar for this practice, as being derived from motives

* Publice maximam putant eſſe laudem quam latiſſimè a ſuis finibus vacare agros; hac re ſignificari magnum numerum civitatum ſuam vim ſuſtinere non potuiſſe. —Cæſar. Comm. lib. iv.

† Civitatibus maxima laus eſt quam latiſſimas circum ſe vaſtatis finibus ſolitudines habere; hoc proprium virtutis exiſtimant, expulſos agris finitimis cedere neque quemquam prope ſe audere conſiſtere.—Lib. vi.

‡ Bella cum finitimis gerunt, cauſas eorum ex libidine arceſſunt neque imperitandi prolatandique quæ poſſident, nam ne illa quidem enixe colunt, ſed ut circa ipſos quæ jacent vaſta ſint.—Pomp. Melæ deſc. Germaniæ.

of

of national pride, may, perhaps, be one of the cauſes of this conduct; to which, may be added, that it contributes to their ſecurity; which is, indeed, mentioned by Cæſar ‖: and moreover, as theſe people live by hunting, the more waſte and deſolate any country is, the more probability that it would be frequented by * beaſts of the chace.

Even ſome qualifications, which we eſteem to be matters of taſte and elegance, and therefore leaſt likely of any to be found in ſuch a ſtate, have been diſcovered among ſavage nations.

Thus the talent for eloquence, and even for poetry, is ſaid to be found in high perfection among them. Every idea, every conception, is cloathed in image and metaphor. "The bones of our deceaſed countrymen lie unburied," ſays an American orator †, "they call out to us to revenge their wrongs; and we muſt ſatisfy their requeſt. Their ſpirits cry out againſt us, and they muſt be appeaſed. The genii, who are the guardians of our honour, inſpire us with a reſolution to ſeek the enemies of our murdered brethren. Let us go and devour thoſe by whom they were ſlain. Let us conſole the ſpirits of the dead, and tell them they ſhall be revenged."

‖ Simul hoc ſe fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinæ incurſionis timore ſublato, quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert.—Cæſar, lib. vi.

Ovid ſeems to hint at the ſame cuſtom among the Getæ.

Quocunque aſpicias, campi cultore carentes,
Vaſtaque, quæ nemo vindicet, arva jacent.
Epiſtol. iv. De Ponto, lib. i.

* A writer of eminence thinks, that the modern taſte for parks is a remnant of this diſpoſition of the barbarous nations. Parks, indeed, are ſaid to be firſt introduced into this country in the time of Henry I. who made a park at Woodſtock; but Sir Henry Spelman proves them to be of much higher antiquity. Parks, however, were in uſe in the eaſtern countries, as well as in the North.

Vide Spelmanni Gloſſ. Vox *Parcus & Derefald.*—Du Cange Vox *Parcus.*

† Carver's Travels, p. 299, 300, 302, 303.

What

What is the cauſe of this apparently extraordinary circumſtance, is difficult to explain. Is it that the unbounded liberty, enjoyed in this ſtate, inſpires this daring freedom into the language and expreſſion, as being the moſt proper terms in which ſuch ardent ſentiments could be delivered? or is it that his ignorance of abſtract ideas cauſes him to form analogies between the objects which are always preſent before him, and thoſe which occur to his underſtanding or memory—with which the ſcantineſs of his language concurs—which compels him to expreſs his ſentiments in terms and expreſſions derived from viſible objects?

Nor is it in the expreſſion and ſentiment only, that theſe compoſitions may be termed poetical. They are often expreſſed in a kind of rhythm or numbers, which, though not reduced to exact regularity of meaſure, is ſufficient to come under the idea, though rudely, of verſification. Cæſar *, whoſe judgment in matters of taſte and ſcience cannot be ſuſpected, ſpeaks of the ſongs of the Gallic Druids as poetical performances; and the ſame epithet is beſtowed on the ſongs of the Gallic and German bards, by Strabo † and Tacitus ‡. Ammianus Marcellinus || and Diodorus § Siculus are more particular in this reſpect, and inform us, that theſe compoſitions were not only metrical, but alſo adapted to muſical accompaniment; a circumſtance which formerly, above all others, eſtabliſhed a claim to the poetical character.

The ſame obſervation has been found to hold good of almoſt every nation in its infant ſtate, and eſpecially of thoſe, who in a ſubſequent period attained to the greateſt height of improvement. Thus Homer and Heſiod preceded any of the proſe-writers in

* Cæſ. Comm. lib. vi. § 14.

† Βαρδοι μεν ὑμνηται ϗ ποιηται.—Strabo, lib. iv.

‡ Germania, cap. iii.

|| Et bardi quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta heroicis compoſita verſibus cum dulcibus Lyræ modulis cantitarunt.—Ammian. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 9.

§ Diod. Sicul. lib. v. p. 213.

Greece, either moraliſts or hiſtorians; and the firſt efforts towards the latter branch of compoſition among the * Romans, were probably of a poetical kind.

Dante, alſo, and Petrarch preceded any proſe-writers of eminence in modern Italy; and Corneille and Racine were prior to the age of good proſe-compoſition in France. Even in our country, ſome of the moſt early literary performances with which we are acquainted were poetical; and this mode of writing amongſt us appears to have been brought nearly to its higheſt perfection, before any conſiderable advances were made in the other. Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in the greateſt genius this country ever produced; whoſe proſe-compoſitions, in general, though fraught with good ſenſe, ſtrong reaſoning, and often with nervous diction, are moſtly uncouth in phraſeology, obſcure in expreſſion, debaſed by vulgariſms, and deficient in harmony of period; whilſt his poetical works—though not quite void of ſcholaſtic diction, affectation of literature, and ſometimes, though but ſeldom, vulgar expreſſion—excel, not in plan, thought, ſentiment, and character only, but alſo in purity of ſtyle, elegance of words and epithets, harmony and variety of numbers, not only all preceding writers, but all that have ſucceeded him. Indeed, his ſuperiority in this way has been ſo remarkable, that few of our poets have ventured to tread in his ſteps; and thoſe that have attempted the ſame metre, though far from deficient in the poetical character, have ſhewn their own inferiority ſo much, as to deter others, in a great meaſure, from a ſimilar † emulation.

* Nævius and Ennius wrote the Roman hiſtory in verſe. Probably the Annoſa volumina vatum, mentioned by Horace, Epiſt. i. lib. 2. might be of this kind.

† Dr. Young's Night Thoughts, and Thomſon's Seaſons, though ſublime and beautiful performances in many reſpects, are ſo inferior to Milton in point of expreſſion and harmony, as ſcarcely to be ranked in the ſame ſtyle of poetry with his compoſitions.

Even

Even the rude inhabitants of Otaheite, New Zealand, and ſeveral other places mentioned in Forſter's voyage, appear to have been much addicted to poetical performances. They had evidently a rhythm or cadenced meaſure; and their poetry, which appears to have been both rhyme and blank verſe. Many of them were likewiſe the production of the moment, like the ancient Carmina Amœbœa; and were, like them, accompanied with muſic. What the original motives were, that cauſed mankind to adopt this mode of expreſſion, is not clear. Is it, that for want of a permanent record of any ſentiment or tranſaction—ſuch as is afforded by writing—they expreſs themſelves in ſuch meaſures as may, with the leaſt difficulty, be retained by the memory? or is it—which appears to be more probable—that the very cadence of numbers is natural to the language of ſentiment, and ſerves beſt to expreſs thoſe ideas that naturally preſent themſelves to men in this ſtate of life. But although ſavages may, in certain caſes, and on particular occaſions, ſhew no inconſiderable marks of genius, or of underſtanding, their ſtate and condition of life prevents their making uſe of them to advantage; and conſequently make them appear much inferior, in theſe reſpects, to civiliſed nations. One of the principal circumſtances that produces this inferiority in the ſavage, is the want of letters, or of the art of writing. Without this artificial aſſiſtance, the memory ſoon loſes the ideas impreſſed upon it, whether of facts or ſentiments; and, in conſequence thereof, the judgment, deprived of its foundation, and of the materials on which it muſt operate, is apt to languiſh for want of uſe; and the other faculties, for the ſame reaſons, muſt either be impaired in their powers, or at leaſt exerted to great diſadvantage. We might likewiſe add, that, for want of this aſſiſtance, ſavages are greatly deficient in profiting by the diſcoveries of others.

In a civiliſed country, one invention ſuggeſts ground for another, as the deſcription of it may be accurately tranſmitted through a

ſeries of ages; and what was at firſt only a ſpeculative idea or ſentiment, often gives occaſion to the moſt important diſcoveries in practice. But the ſavage is deſtitute of this mode of information, or of being inſtructed from analogy. Nothing, that is not brought to a certain degree of perfection at once, is retained by them; as it ſoon goes out of uſe, and they have no methods of preſerving the deſcription, and conſequently of improving upon it. Hence moſt of their utenſils are extremely rude and aukward, and continue the ſame through a courſe of periods.

The taciturnity, likewiſe, and want of curioſity, in the ſavage, are great obſtacles to his improvement, as they not only preclude mutual information, but alſo ſtifle, in a good meaſure, the deſire of advancement; with which, indeed, their pride, and ſatisfaction with their own condition, not a little concur. The warlike diſpoſition of ſavages is, I take it, another obſtacle to the improvement of their intellectual faculties. Arms and letters, although united in ſome poliſhed nations, have always been thought to be in ſome meaſure in ‡ oppoſition to each other. The hardy warrior naturally held a character in contempt, that might be acquired without danger or fatigue, and conſequently without courage or military ſkill. This, it is probable, cauſed the contempt and averſion which the northern nations, who invaded the Roman empire, ſhewed for all kinds of literature and ſcience; and produced thoſe devaſtations which we at preſent ſo much deplore. I am the rather inclined to this opinion of the effects of a military life upon the people, from the conſideration of what took place at Sparta. The inſtitutions of that nation—who were indeed a body of warriors—gave a profeſſed contempt for whatever was not connected with the practical virtues of a vigorous and reſolute ſpirit. The charms of imagination, and the parade of

‡ Quidam eorum ſapientiam capere dicuntur quantumcunque gens capit ſemper armata.—Quint. Curt. l. vii. c. 8.

language,

language, were, by this people, claſſed with the arts of the cook and the perfumer; they wiſhed to cultivate in their people the active virtues, not a proficiency in ſcience or literary taſte.

SECT. IV. *On the influence of a ſavage ſtate upon the laws and cuſtoms.*

I ſhall conſider the laws of ſavages, firſt, with reſpect to their communication with one another as nations; and in the next place, as to their intercourſe as individuals. The firſt of theſe is the law of nations; and the ſecond the civil or municipal law. Every country, even the moſt rude and unciviliſed, has ſomewhat of a law of nations. They all ſend and receive embaſſadors, and underſtand the rights of † war and peace in general. Indeed, people who live in this ſtate of ſociety, have frequent occaſion to apply to the law of nations.

As the territories they inhabit have no determinate or viſible boundaries, many cauſes of diſpute muſt neceſſarily ariſe concerning the bounds of theſe limitations. This gives occaſion to frequent wars, from the diſputes about the places beſt ſuited to fiſhing, hunting, or paſturage of their cattle; whilſt their domeſtic diſputes, from no individual being poſſeſſed of landed property, are but few in number. Thus they have much to decide by the law

† When the Gauls were beſieging Cluſium, the Romans ſent embaſſadors to them to mediate between them and the Cluſians. But the embaſſadors not ſucceeding in their mediation, retired into the town, and encouraged the inhabitants to make an attack upon the Gauls; and one of them engaged perſonally in the battle, and ſlew one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Gauls. Brennus, the king of the Gauls, perceiving this, complained of a breach of the law of nations, that an embaſſador had committed acts of hoſtility; and marched forthwith to Rome, demanding the embaſſador to be delivered up to him. This the Romans refuſing, though the heralds or Feciales inſiſted ſtrongly on its being done, gave occaſion to the battle of Allia, and the taking of Rome by the Gauls. This, however, is an inſtance of this rude people's underſtanding the laws of nations.

of

of nations, and but little by * the civil law. The notions, however, of many ſavage nations vary, in this reſpect, much from thoſe of civiliſed ones; and are, indeed, founded upon different, and frequently falſe principles.

Thus it was common, as has been before remarked, among ſuch nations, to make incurſions upon the neighbouring ſtates, though at peace, and carry off the cattle, and lay waſte the territory; and ſuch actions were eſteemed, among the ancient Gauls and † Germans, and are ſtill among the American Indians, to be deeds of glory and renown. The very ſame body of Gauls, who complained of the Roman embaſſadors infringing the law of nations, in the inſtance before mentioned in the note, made no ſcruple to attack the ‡ Cluſians, in order to compel that people to reſign to the Gauls a part of their lands, on no better pretence than that of their having a larger portion than the Gauls thought they needed; and the like demand was made by ſeveral of the nations who invaded the empire in the latter ages. Even the rights of embaſſadors—the moſt neceſſary circumſtance towards carrying on a mutual correſpondence between nations—are not, in all places, equally reſpected. The Gauls killed the || Roman meſſengers who were ſent to treat about an exchange of priſoners; and the herald, who carries the declaration of war among the American Indians, incurs great riſque of his life: and the ſame is true of one who carries propoſals of peace, if the terms § are not accepted. The ideas of ſavages, relative to the

* Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 12.

† Cæſ. de bell. Gallic. lib. vi. cap. 22. — Taciti German. cap. xiv.—Laſitau, tom. ii. p. 169.—Carver's Travels, p. 300.

——— ſe in armis jus ferre & omnia virorum fortium eſſe.—Livius de Gallis loquens.

‡ Livii, lib. v. § 36.—Plutarch, Life of Camillus.

|| Polybius, book ii.

§ Carver's Travels.

treatment

treatment of priſoners, or of a conquered people, are very different from thoſe of civiliſed nations. The former imagine, that the right of conqueſt implies a right of uſing the conquered people according to the will or ‡ caprice of the victors; the latter think, that the conquered people, when ſubdued, are no longer enemies, but deſerve to be treated as ſubjects. In conſequence of theſe maxims, ſavages generally exterminate thoſe whom they conquer; whilſt civiliſed nations only alter the form of government and laws, and ſometimes only aſſume the direction of the ſtate, according to the old form.

The reaſons of this difference of conduct remain to be explained.

Courage is a qualification ſo much reſpected among ſavage and barbarous people, that it affords not a moral only, but even a legal, excuſe for almoſt every tranſgreſſion, as will be ſhewn hereafter. Hence they were fearful of depreſſing the national ſpirit, by laying too great reſtraint on thoſe actions that partook of activity and fortitude. The imperfect nature, likewiſe, of the civil government, and its impotency with reſpect to coercive power, prevented thoſe reſtrictions being impoſed upon individuals, which are uſual in more regular and eſtabliſhed governments. As to the infringement of the rights of heralds and embaſſadors, and the cruel uſage of priſoners, &c. they are probably owing to the violence of temper which uſually accompanies ſavages, and to their vindictive diſpoſition. Political || motives alſo, ſuch as have been already explained in the chapter on Population, have a conſiderable influence.

The municipal law of ſavages is but of ſmall extent, either in the civil or criminal part.

‡ Arioviſtus told Cæſar, that by the law of arms, he had a right to treat thoſe he had conquered in any manner he thought proper.—Bell. Gallic. lib. i.

|| The Romans, although highly civiliſed, frequently took great ſteps towards the extermination of the people whom they conquered.

Where

Where landed property is unknown, and moveable property little more than attends the perſon, few occaſions are afforded for civil diſputes. Perſonal injuries and affronts, however, frequently occur; but with reſpect to theſe it does not appear that the law often interferes. In ſuch caſes, every man is the legiſlator, judge, and party, and either takes ſatisfaction perſonally, by revenge or otherwiſe, for the injuries he has ſuffered, or ſubmits to the wrong which he is unable to redreſs. It is doubtful if the magiſtrates among the ancient Germans had much authority in civil affairs, although ſomething of this kind certainly ſubſiſted in Gaul amongſt the * Druids.

Among the American † Indians, even the office itſelf of magiſtrate ‡ is unknown. Indeed, judicial deciſions, without a power to reſtrain and to puniſh, muſt be in themſelves frivolous; and the exceſſive liberty which people in this ſtate enjoy, renders all coercive power impracticable. It is with them an eſtabliſhed maxim, that no man is accountable to any other perſon for his actions, or in the leaſt degree liable to animadverſion, either from individuals or the people in general. As, therefore, the independence of the individual is ſo great, as to prevent his acknowledging any right in

* Cæſar Comm. lib. vi.

† I ſuſpect that this circumſtance is in a great meaſure the occaſion of the vindictive diſpoſition we ſo often obſerve among ſavage nations. People who are themſelves accuſtomed, in almoſt every inſtance, to judge of the degree of injury which they receive, and inflict the penalty for it—and to whom, likewiſe, it often happens, that they are unable to execute juſtice, from the ſtrength of their adverſary—are apt to become peremptory and revengeful. Having no tribunal to which to appeal, each perſon remains ſatisfied of the juſtice of his own cauſe, and waits only for an opportunity to exerciſe it. Their being obliged often to diſſemble their intentions, for want of force to put them into execution, gives them a habit of retaining the memory of injuries. Add to this, that, as moſt of their injuries are perſonal, and the puniſhment or atonement can only be perſonal, it inſpires a habit of hatred and diſlike to particular people.

‡ The ſachem or chief, among the Indians, never interfered in civil diſputes. His province regarded public tranſactions only.

others to direct his conduct, it is evident there can be no laws, as there is no authority either to make or enforce them. Causes directly opposite, often produce similar effects. In despotic governments there are no laws, because all depends on the momentary will and caprice of the sovereign: among savages there are none, because all depends on the same qualities in each individual. In criminal matters, however, and those which affect the state, or public manners, some interference of the law has been introduced. Thus Tacitus informs us, that the ancient Germans punished several crimes with great severity, and even with death. The American savages, however, who seem to be in a less cultivated state, and indeed in a different style of improvement from the ancient Germans, though in several instances greatly resembling them, have not established any judicial authority even in such cases. If violence be committed, or blood shed, the right of avenging these misdemeanors is left to the family of the injured; the chiefs assume neither the power of inflicting nor of moderating the || punishment.

What mode of trial is most natural to nations in this state of life, I am at a loss to determine. The warlike disposition of the people induces me to think, that a trial by battle would be the most obvious, especially as they were constantly in arms; and accordingly we find, that this mode of decision was of the * highest antiquity among the barbarous nations.

And farther, the superstitious turn of mind that always attends ignorance and barbarism, would be very likely to produce a trial by some means of that kind. Indeed, the antiquity of such a trial is extremely great, it being mentioned in the Antigone of

|| Carver's Travels, p. 259.

* Livy describes a duel in Spain, to determine a dispute between two brothers, in the time of Scipio, lib. xxviii. cap. 21.—See also Velleius Paterculus, book ii. ch. 118.

Sophocles, to have been in uſe among the Greeks, and diverſe methods of a ſimilar kind were practiſed in later † times among barbarous nations. Even the trial by battle, which was probably at firſt of a military nature, became at laſt an inſtrument of ſuperſtition. It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that Tacitus, whoſe account of Germany is ſo accurate, ſhould not mention the trial by battle as ſubſiſting in that country. It certainly was in uſe about that time, as appears from ‡ Paterculus, and was alſo practiſed in ‖ Gaul nearly at the ſame period; and a ſimilar practice of the ſuperſtitious kind is related by Tacitus to have been in uſe among the Germans, in order to foretel the event of a war they were about to undertake. Another mode of deciſion, which was natural enough to a barbarous people, was, by the body of the people aſſembled in council; and this was really the method in uſe among the ancient Germans. But of this I have ſpoken * above.

Another mode of deciſion, very likely to be uſed by ſavages, in caſes where there was no evidence of the deed or act, was by the oath of the defendant, or party accuſed. This appears to be of great antiquity: its original may be traced, as Sir William Blackſtone obſerves, to the †† Moſaical law, in civil caſes; and the tender of an oath by Menelaus ‡‡ to Antilochus, in Homer, when he

† As the fire and water ordeal, judgment by the croſs, the corſned, &c.

‡ Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 118.

‖ Cæſar. Comm. lib. vi. cap. 12.

* See book iv. chapter 2, of this work.

†† Exodus, xxii. 10.

‡‡ But ſhall not we ourſelves the truth maintain?
What needs appealing in a cauſe ſo plain?
What Greek ſhall blame me if I bid thee riſe,
And vindicate by *oath* th' ill-gotten prize?
Riſe, if thou dar'ſt, before the chariot ſtand;
The driving ſcourge high lifted in thy hand,

And

he accuſes him of gaining the race by unfair means, is of the ſame kind. It appears, likewiſe, from the Antigone || of Sophocles, that it was in uſe in Greece at a much later period; and we learn from Diodorus * Siculus, that it was in ſome caſes practiſed in Egypt. The northern nations, particularly the Germans, were likewiſe very fond of this mode of deciſion, which they endeavoured to ſtrengthen by the joint teſtimony of others, who made oath of their belief of the veracity of the perſon accuſed. This was increaſed in proportion to the heinouſneſs of the crime, inſomuch, that in ſome caſes the number of people who were neceſſary to ſwear to the credit of the accuſed, amounted to three † hundred. This mode of trial ſubſiſts in poſſibility, though not in practice, in the law of England, to this day.

All the foregoing modes of deciſion appear equally natural to mankind in this ſtate of ſociety; and accordingly we find, that they have all of them been practiſed by nations in ſuch a ſituation, and even in the ſame nation, and at the ſame time.

> And touch the ſteeds, and ſwear, thy whole intent
> Was but to conquer, not to circumvent;
> Swear by that God whoſe liquid arms ſurround
> The globe, and whoſe dread earthquakes rock the ground.
> Homer's Iliad, book xxiii.

> || The guards accus'd each other; nought was prov'd,
> But each ſuſpected each, and all deny'd;
> Offering, in proof of innocence, to graſp
> The burning ſteel, to walk through fire, and take
> *Their ſolemn oath they knew not of the deed.*
> Antigone, act i. ſcene 2. Franklin's Tranſlation.

* It was inſtituted by a law of Bocchoris, but only allowed in matters of debt, when there was no legal written evidence on the part of the plaintiff, exactly as the wager of law is at preſent with us.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.

† See the word *Juramentum* in Du Cange, where this ſubject is learnedly explained.—See alſo Wilkins Leges Saxonicæ.—Leges Athelſtani, p. 64.—& Leg. Henric. Prim. Pagin. 262, 263, 264, note.

What punishments are most usual among savages, is the next subject of consideration.

Barbarous or savage nations have, for the reasons given ‡ above, few capital crimes: some, however, they have, and those of a different nature from those so esteemed among civilised people. Thus cowardice was capital among the ancient Germans; and among the other nations of the North it appears, that the idea of cowardice included that of every other || crime.

Consonant to these ideas, actions, accompanied with great exertion of courage and resolution, however atrocious they might be, were, as has been before remarked, mildly censured. Thus murder, among the ancient Germans, does not appear to have been capital by law; and indeed it is doubtful, if it was at all a matter of public concern, although it was liable to be punished by private revenge. At any rate, it was capable of being compromised, or made up by agreement between the murderer and the relations of the deceased. Theft, likewise, when committed by force and * violence, was less severely censured than when attended with fraud or stealth, contrary to what † prevails in civilised countries.

As to the form or mode of punishment, I know of none peculiar to people in this state of life. Some of those in use among them were cruel. Thus Cæsar tells us, that Orgetorix § would have been burnt alive, had he not laid violent hands upon himself. The Gauls inflicted the *most cruel* punishments on those who secreted any part of the plunder taken in battle. The widow ‡‡, like-

‡ See book iv. ch. 2.

|| This is evident from the laws of the judicial combat. A man who was proved a coward was supposed guilty of the crime of which he was accused, be it what it might.

* Sp. of Laws, book xv. ch. 14.

† Qui vi rapuit fur improbior videtur.—Lex Civil.

§ Bell. Gallic. lib. i.

‡‡ Cæsar. Bell. Gallic. lib. vi. cap. 9. § 17, 19.

wife,

wife, was ſubject to be tortured, on ſuſpicion of being acceſſary to the death of her huſband, and, if found guilty, was put to death with the moſt horrid aggravations of cruelty. The puniſhments, however, among the ancient Germans, do not appear to partake of greater cruelty than is neceſſary to the privation of life.

I believe that corporal puniſhments, not extending to life, are but few among a people in this ſtate. Some, however, there were. Tacitus mentions ſtripes and bonds, as uſual among them; but theſe were only inflicted by the prieſts, and by them not ſo much as a puniſhment, as ſuppoſed to be by the || expreſs command of the Deity; a contrivance probably intended to ſoften the diſgrace of ſuch a cenſure. It may ſeem inconſiſtent to ſpeak of fines as one of the modes of puniſhment among nations of this kind. Undoubtedly, where property is entirely unknown, ſuch a penalty can have no place. Thus fines could be no part of the criminal law among ſuch people as the American Indians. But the ancient Germans made great uſe of fines in their ſyſtem of juriſprudence; and among the northern nations, almoſt all the penal law was meaſured by this ſcale. The cauſe why this method of puniſhment was preferred, has been partly explained * before; to which may be added, that this mode was well adapted to the ideas of a brave people, endued with a high ſenſe of honour, as it affected property only, and did not imply any perſonal affront or diſgrace.

With regard to cuſtoms, the ſame independency of ſpirit that diminiſhed the authority of the laws, prevents alſo the prevalence of cuſtom. The wandering and tranſitory life alſo, that theſe people lead, prevents the permanence and uniformity of cuſtoms;

|| Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, niſi ſacerdotibus permiſſum, non quaſi in pœnam, nec ducis juſſu, ſed velut Deo imperante.—Taciti Germania, cap. vii.

* See book i. ch. 18. ſect. 4. and book iv. ch. 2.

which

which are often, though not always, in a good meaſure † local, or connected with place and ſituation. The uſage of moſt importance, that I recollect to be practiſed by ſavages, is that of going conſtantly armed. Thus Livy tells us, that the Gauls went conſtantly ‡ armed, even to council. The ſame cuſtom is related by Tacitus of the || Germans, and had long before been eſteemed a mark of barbariſm by the * Greeks. Ammianus †† Marcellinus mentions the ſame cuſtom as prevalent among ſome of the rude nations of the Eaſt; and a ſimilar account is given by ‡‡ Joſephus. This cuſtom was alſo rigidly obſerved among the northern nations that ſubverted the Roman empire, from whom it has been tranſmitted to the preſent age, in which it ſtill continues a part of dreſs on particular occaſions.

The character before given of this people, will ſhew how naturally this cuſtom was ſuggeſted.

The diverſions, likewiſe, and amuſements of a people in this ſtate ſavour ſtrongly of a military diſpoſition. Tacitus ||| tells us, that it was the amuſement of the German youth to leap naked among unſheathed ſwords and pointed javelins; and Athenæus ** relates, that the Celtæ were accuſtomed to mock engagements, in which, notwithſtanding, wounds and death ſometimes followed.

Another amuſement, of leſs importance than the former, but

† This is the idea affixed to cuſtom in the law of England. "Cuſtom is a local uſage, and not annexed to any perſon."—Comm. book ii. ch. 17.—and Co. Litt. 113.

‡ Armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt.—Livii, lib. xxi. cap. 20.

|| Taciti Germania, cap. xiii.

* Thucydides ſays, that this cuſtom had its origin from the old cuſtom of robbing and plundering, book i.

†† Lib. xxiii. cap. 6.

‡‡ Joſephi, lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 3.

||| Germania, cap. xxiv.

** Athenæi, lib. iv.—This was ſuppoſed to be the amuſement of the departed ſpirits in the next world.—See Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

very general among ſavage nations, is that of dancing. This is a favourite diverſion with them, and for the ſame reaſons that have been given for their fondneſs for war, and for ſtrong liquors. As a great part of their time languiſhes away in liſtleſs indolence, without any occupation to rouſe or intereſt them, they delight univerſally in a paſtime that calls forth the active powers of their nature into exerciſe. Many of the ancient writers have taken notice of this diſpoſition of them. Hanno † remarks, in his Periplus, that a cuſtom of this kind, attended with muſic, was frequent on the coaſt of Africa; and a ſimilar account is given by Pliny ‡ of the ſame country. Livy || likewiſe tells us, that dancing to muſic, attended with ſinging, was an ancient cuſtom among the Tuſcans, and from them adopted as a religious ceremony by the Romans; who, indeed, derived moſt of their cuſtoms of that kind from Etruria. Athenæus * likewiſe gives an account of a remarkable military dance among the Thracians.

Modern accounts are exactly agreeable to this. The modern inhabitants of Africa are paſſionately fond of dancing; and the principal amuſement of the Aſiatics, thoſe of the Eaſt Indies § particularly, is in admiring the feats of their dancing women. This paſſion is at leaſt equally ſtrong among the Americans. It is there a ſerious and important occupation, which mingles in every occurrence, both of public or private life. The reciprocal intercourſe between the different nations; the denunciation of war;

† Vide Hudſoni Geograph. Veter. Script.

‡ Noctibus micare crebris ignibus tibiarum cantu tympanorumque ſonitu ſtrepere. —Plin. Hiſt. Natur. de Monte Atlante loquent.

|| Sine carmine ullo, ſine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos ſaltantes haud indecoros motus, more Tuſco dabant, imitari deinde eos juventus, ſimul inconditis inter ſe jocularia fundentes verſibus, cœpere; nec abſoni a voce motus erant.—Livii, lib. vii. ſect. 2.

* Athenæi, lib. i. p. 15. edit. Caſaubon.

§ See Mrs. Kinderſley's Letters from the Eaſt Indies.

the

the appeasing the wrath of the Gods, or the return of gratitude to them for their beneficence; are all expressed by dances adapted to the occasion. The circumstances, likewise, that occur in private life, are no less subject to the same ceremony. If they rejoice for the birth of a child, or deplore the loss of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of these events, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are animated. In short, scarce any occasion in life can occur, which has not some dance ‡ affixed to the expression of it.

Another custom or practice peculiar to people in a very rude state, is that of painting the body with diverse colours, figures, &c. This custom is of great antiquity, and extremely general. || Herodotus speaks of it as prevailing among the Lybians; * Julius Cæsar mentions the same practice among the ancient Britons; and † Ammianus Marcellinus among some of the Sarmatian nations.

Several of the savage nations on the Asiatic and African coasts follow the same practice to this day; and a mode of dress, if it may be so called, of a similar kind, was found among the Americans.

The uses of this are so numerous, especially among a people who make but little use of cloaths, that it is probable that it was suggested by nature, or, what is nearly the same, by necessity. As they chiefly used oils, or viscous gums, for this purpose, and often mixed them with earthy substances, these form a strong and almost impenetrable covering for the skin, which serves to close the pores in such a manner as to restrain the profuse perspiration to which they are liable in hot countries, to exclude the moisture, and to moderate the heat as well as the cold. The same contrivance protects them against the numerous insects, that at

‡ Robertson's America, vol. i. p. 395.
|| Melpomene.
* Cæsar. Comm. lib. v. cap. 14.
† Lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

certain

certain times of the year infeſt both hot and cold countries, whoſe perſecution would be unſufferable, if the ſkin had no protection, either by cloaths, or ſome other covering. The above method of defence ſerves alſo to diſtinguiſh the various ranks and orders of people, in the ſame manner as difference of dreſs and inſignia of office do amongſt us. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that it was applied to that uſe ‡ among ſome of the Sarmatian tribes; and at preſent, in North America, the warriors are eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the || marks impreſſed on the ſkin of their arms and body.

SECT. V. *Of the influence of a ſavage ſtate upon the form of government.*

It is doubtful if people in this ſtate can properly be ſaid to have any form of government at all: if any, it is little more than a political one, and ſuch as only regards their intercourſe with other nations. In a civil light, they have a high degree of what is uſually called freedom or liberty, but which is in reality an exemption from all legal reſtraint upon their actions. This ſtate, however, differs very much from one of freedom, and is, indeed, little elſe than the government of the ſtrongeſt or moſt powerful; whilſt the weaker have no protection from the laws, or ſocial compact, every perſon being unconnected with the other, and under no obligation from ſociety to aſſiſt or defend him. A ſtate, indeed, quite ſo ſavage, is ſeldom ſeen. It however exiſts in its full extent among the American Indians. This has, as I take it, produced ſome effects upon the diſpoſition of the people; it has encouraged private friendſhip, not merely from attachment,

‡ Humiles quidem minutis et raris; nobiles vero latis, fucatis, et denſioribus notis.—Lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

|| Carver's Travels, p. 337.

but alſo from neceſſity, and from a view of obtaining a * mutual defence and ſupport, which the ſociety at large was unable to afford. It has likewiſe, in ſome degree, given occaſion to that vindictive, and at the ſame time diſſimulating turn, which they diſcover. This, although odious in its immediate conſequences, has ſome good effects in ſociety. It eſtabliſhes a degree of balance between the weak and the ſtrong, and intimidates the latter from making uſe of that ſuperiority which he at preſent enjoys, from an apprehenſion of an advantage being again taken of him when deſtitute of defence. This ſtate, however, ſubſiſts not, except in the loweſt condition of ſociety. A ſmall degree of civilization produces great changes, which will be ſpoken of in the ſucceeding chapter.

The reaſon why people in this ſtate ſhould enjoy a great degree of liberty is very natural. As they do not cultivate the earth, and are not fixed to a ſpot, but † wanderers and vagabonds, if a chief ſhould attempt to deprive them of their liberty, they would immediately depart, and ſeek it under another; or retire into the woods, and there live with their families; there being no local attachment, and no inducement to prefer one ſituation to another. The liberty of the man is here ſo great, that it neceſſarily includes that of the citizen.

SECT VI. *Effects of a ſavage life upon religion.*

The objects of religion, among a people of this ſtamp, are various. The moſt general, and therefore probably the moſt na-

* Bonds of mutual defence and ſupport were not uncommon, at the firſt emergence of the people of Europe from that barbariſm which the irruption of the northern nations had introduced.—See Hickeſii Diſſ. Epiſt. p. 21.

† Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 14.

tural, appears to me to be a Divinity of the warlike kind. Thus Mars, or a deity with ſimilar qualifications, was the favourite divinity of the ancient * Scythians, and of their ſucceſſors the Alans. The ſame was alſo the caſe in † Spain; and a like deity was held in great eſteem in ‡ Gaul and ‖ Germany.

This is, however, a dubious point; and poſſibly may depend upon accidental circumſtances: ſince Mercury, or the inventor of arts and commerce, was the principal god in § Gaul and †† Germany; and the ſame reſpect for the inventors of uſeful arts was

* Ab origine rerum pro diis immortalibus veteres haſtas coluere. — Juſtin. l. xliii. § 3.

——————— verum ſuperavit honores
Omnes haſta meos; cui me libare Lyæi
Quod cernis latices. Silii Italici, lib. vi. l. 137, 138, 139.

The Scythians worſhipped a ſword, as the image of Mars, who was the only deity to whom they offered ſacrifices.—Herodoti Melpomene.

Addebat ei tamen confidentiam gladius Martis inventus, ſacer apud Scytharum reges ſemper habitus, quem Priſcus Hiſtoricus tali refert occaſione detectum.—Jornandes de rebus Geticis.

Gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant præſulem verecundius colunt.—Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxxi. cap. 2. De Moribus Alanorum.

Mars omnium Deus eſt, & pro ſimulacris enſes & tentoria dedicant.—Pomp. Mela, lib. ii. cap. 1. Deſcriptio Scythiæ.

Populis iſtis Deus Mars eſt; pro ſimulacris enſes colunt.—Solini, cap. 20. Deſcript. Scytharum.

† Livii, lib. xxviii. cap. 21.

‡ Cæſar, Comm. l. vi. cap. 17.

‖ Taciti German. cap. ix.

§ Cæſar, Comm. lib. vi. cap. 17.

†† Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt.—Taciti Germania, cap. ix.

It appears probable, however, that the object of devotion among barbarous nations is ſubject to be affected by the climate. (See book i. of this work.) See alſo Dr. Robertſon's account of the religion of the Americans. But I am dubious if the circumſtances he mentions are not imputable to other cauſes beſides their ſavage ſtate.

ſhewn in the eaſtern countries, and even in Greece, at the earlieſt periods.

The principles of religion, in a ſavage ſtate, are generally very imperfect, and often founded upon falſe ideas. Inſtead of thinking that the obligations of religion conſiſt in a performance of moral duties, they do not aſcribe any connection to them with religion; but think that the latter conſiſts in ſome obſcure ceremonials, and in deprecating the * anger of deities: which is ſuppoſed to be excited on the moſt frivolous occaſions.

Sacrifices to the gods appear to have been almoſt univerſal among ſavage as well as civiliſed nations. Thoſe, however, of the former, were uſually, though not always, more cruel and bloody than thoſe of the latter. † Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Scythians uſed human ſacrifices; and the like were cuſtomary among the ‡ Cimbri, the || Gauls, the § Britons, and even the ** Germans; a people in other reſpects humane and generous.

Modern accounts are ſimilar to the ancient. Many ſavage nations, at preſent, uſe human ſacrifices; which were very much practiſed even in the more civiliſed parts of America, among the Mexicans †† particularly, the genius of whoſe religion was extremely cruel and unfeeling. Another circumſtance expreſſive of the re-

* Carver's Travels.

† Herodoti Melpomene.

Scythæ qui omnem humani generis ſanguinem diis ſuis propinare devoverat.—Paul. Diacon. lib. xiii.

‡ Strabon. lib. vii.

|| Cæſar, lib. vi. cap. 9.—Pomp. Mel. Deſcr. Galliæ comatæ.—Diod. Sicul. lib. v.—Strabon. lib. iv.

§ Cruore captivo adolere aras & hominum fibris conſulere.—Taciti Annal. l. xiv. cap. 30.

** Taciti Germania, cap. ix.

†† Of all offerings, human ſacrifices were deemed the moſt acceptable to the Gods.—Robertſon's America, vol. ii. p. 303.

ligion

ligion of a ſavage people, is their great fondneſs for divination, or knowledge of future events. This is mentioned, in the ſacred writings, to have been very common in the early ages of the world. Herodotus alſo tells us, that the * Scythians were much addicted thereto, who tranſmitted it to their deſcendants the † Alans. The Germans too were of a ſimilar diſpoſition; and, what is remarkable, performed their ceremonies of divination exactly ‡ in the ſame manner with the former nations. The ſame diſpoſition is obſervable at preſent among the ruder part of the inhabitants of Europe; and, what is very extraordinary, it is not any very remote period ſince the belief of theſe fooleries was even countenanced by || law in our own country. A turn of mind exactly ſimilar is found among the ſavage Americans; the cauſe of which, and its connection with their condition of life, is well explained by the celebrated § hiſtorian, who has written the account of that country. Another circumſtance peculiar, as I believe, to the religion of mankind in this ſtate, is, to have no temples or habitations for their deities. Thus the ancient ‡‡ Scythians had no temples—and the ſame was a religious maxim among the ||| Alans.

The ancient Germans, alſo, thought it beneath the dignity of their deities to be confined within †† walls; for which reaſon their places of worſhip were in the open air, eſpecially in

* Herodoti Melpomene.

† Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. x.

|| By the act for burning witches, ſorcerers, &c. &c.

§ Robertſon's America, vol. i. p. 389.

‡‡ Herodoti Melpomene.

||| Nec templum apud eos viſitur aut delubrum; ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni unquam poteſt.—Amm. Marcellin. l. xxxi. cap. 2.

†† Cæterum neque cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem aſſimilare, ex magnitudine cæleſtium arbitrantur: lucos & nemora conſecrant. —Taciti Germania, cap. ix.

woods;

woods; and the ſame cuſtoms ſeem to have prevailed in Gaul and || in Britain.

The Tartars have alſo adopted notions of a like kind. Jenghiz-Khan approved of every part of the Mahommedan religion, except the building moſques, and the pilgrimage to Mecca *. — He could not comprehend why God might not be every where adored.

The reaſon of this is well explained by Mr. Monteſquieu †. Almoſt all civiliſed nations dwell in houſes; and hence naturally aroſe the idea of building a houſe for the Deity, in which they might adore and ſeek him, amidſt all their hopes and fears. But this natural idea never occurred to any but thoſe who cultivated the land, and were poſſeſſed of fixed habitations. Thoſe who have no houſes for themſelves, never thought of building any for the Deity. As the Tartars then did not inhabit houſes, they could have no idea of temples. A high degree of veneration for the prieſts or miniſters of religion, is alſo, I believe, natural to ſavage or barbarous nations; though this varies in different countries. Thus Cæſar informs us, that the Druids, in Gaul, had the care of all divine things, of private and public ſacrifices, and the interpretation of religion. They were exempted from military ſervice, from taxes, and other impoſitions. They had the education of youth, a circumſtance that gave them great weight in the ſtate; and were ſupreme judges in all controverſies, civil and criminal. And laſtly, to enforce their decrees, they had in their hands the power of excommunication, or of outlawry, which was

|| Exciſique luci ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri.—Taciti Annal. lib. xiv. cap. 30. Woods and groves were among the moſt ancient places of worſhip, as we may gather from ſeveral paſſages in the ſacred writings.—See alſo Strabo, book v. on the ſacred Grove of Feronia.—Ibidem, on that of Minturnæ.—B. viii. on the Groves of Diana and Eurydice.

* Hiſt. of the Tartars, p. 273, 342.

† Sp. of Laws, book xxv. ch. 3.

eſteemed

eſteemed the greateſt * penalty that could be inflicted. A ſimilar diſcipline prevailed in Britain.

Though there were no Druids in Germany, yet the prieſts there had conſiderable influence. They † preſided in the public aſſemblies, and had the power of regulating or of preſerving order amongſt them. They had, alſo, authority to cenſure, to ‡ confine, and to inflict corporal puniſhment; a permiſſion denied to the kings and generals. The Getæ || had alſo the higheſt veneration for prieſts, the high-prieſt among them being eſteemed a divinity.

The veneration, likewiſe, for prieſts, is very high among the § American Indians; who have maintained their influence in much the ſame manner that has been done in more civiliſed countries, and chiefly from the opinion that the people have of their being able to foretel future events.

The belief of a ‡‡ future ſtate, as well as of the being of a God, is, I believe, natural to mankind; and every where prevalent, unleſs where it has been obſtructed—though, I believe, never thoroughly extinguiſhed—by the folly and profligacy of metaphyſics. This general idea is found among ſavages, as well as among civiliſed nations. But the notions of the former, on this head, have ſome diſtinguiſhing characters, as I think, which deſerve to be conſidered.

* Cæſ. bell. Gallic. lib. vi. cap. 8. §. 13, 14.

† Silentium per ſacerdotes, quibus tum & coercendi jus eſt, imperatur.—Taciti Germaniæ, cap. xi.

‡ Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, niſi *ſacerdotibus* permiſſum.—Ibidem, cap. vii.

|| Strabon. lib. vii.

§ Carver's Travels, p. 382.

‡‡ We can trace, ſays Dr. Robertſon, this opinion from one extremity of America to the other. In ſome regions more faint and obſcure, in others more perfectly developed, but no where unknown.—Hiſtory of America, vol. i. p. 387.

Savage nations, I believe, never place their future felicity in * intellectual happineſs of any kind. All their gratifications are corporeal, and, in general, ſuch as have conſtituted their ideas of happineſs here upon earth. Even indolence is not forgotten, as they fancy that all their employments, in another life, will be ſimilar to thoſe in which they are engaged here, but without the labour † and toil annexed to them in their preſent ſtate of exiſtence. Thus the American Indians expect to be tranſlated to a delightful country, where they ſhall always have a clear unclouded ‡ ſky, and enjoy a perpetual ſpring; where the foreſts will abound with game, and the lakes with fiſh, which may be taken without requiring a painful exertion of ſkill or a laborious purſuit: in ſhort, that they ſhall live for ever in thoſe regions of happineſs, and enjoy every gratification which delights them here, but to a greater degree.

The northern nations, who invaded the Roman empire, carried their ideas of martial atchievements into the other ‖ world with them. Theſe, however, like the exerciſe of the Indians, before deſcribed, were to be without the pain, danger, and trouble, of ſuch exertions here. Herodotus gives nearly the ſame account of the Scythians, and their founder Zamolxis.

* Intellectual pleaſure, Mr. Carver ſays, is not included in the American ſcheme of future happineſs.—Carver's Travels, p. 384.

† Carver's Travels, p. 383, 384.

‡ Some of theſe ideas do not differ much from Virgil's deſcription of the Elyſian Fields.

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedeſque beatas:
Largior hic campos æther & lumine veſtit
Purpureo; ſolemque ſuum ſua ſidera norunt.
Æneid. lib. vi. l. 638.

‖ See book i. ch. 22. § 5. of this work.

With

With reſpect to the propagation of religion, ſavage nations appear to have but little zeal that way. In general, they readily change their own religion—to which they ſeldom have any great attachment.

The ſame cauſes which prevented their having much local regard to place or country, have had a ſimilar effect with regard to religion. People who have no temples, no rites, no ceremonies, have but little to engage them, or to awaken their paſſions. Religion, as well as other ideas, requires ſomewhat to intereſt us in its favour, and to remind us daily of the duties we owe to it. But where there are no local places of worſhip or regard, no permanent inſtitutions to keep up our attention, our attachment to matters of opinion is apt to languiſh, and to degenerate into indifference. Hence the little regard ſhewn by ſavages to religion, and the eaſe wherewith Chriſtianity has been propagated amongſt them.

Hence, too, proceeds the cauſe why, ſince the Popiſh miſſionaries have built churches in South America, the native Indians, who before were ſo indifferent, are now ſo zealous for religion.

CHAP. II.

INFLUENCE OF A BARBAROUS STATE UPON MANKIND.

I NOW come to the ſecond ſtage of civiliſation, under which I propoſe to conſider mankind.

This may be ſuppoſed to comprehend the period from the invention of property and money, to the general uſe of agriculture and cultivation of lands. This diviſion, as well as the former, admits of ſeveral intermediate ſtages or degrees.

The firſt advance from a ſavage ſtate towards civiliſation, is when people leave off their mode of gaining ſubſiſtence by hunting or by fiſhing, and betake themſelves to paſturage and feeding cattle. This ſtate of life I have been obliged to comprehend, in ſome meaſure, in the foregoing diviſion, as the two conditions are not diſtinctly ſeparated, but many nations partake of both at the ſame time. At preſent, however, I mean to expreſs a ſtate wherein the feeding of cattle is the means of ſubſiſtence; and hunting or fiſhing are not practiſed with that intention, in a national view at leaſt. It is neceſſary to remark, that the ſtyle of this mode of living, if I may uſe ſuch an expreſſion, varies extremely, according to the climate, nature of the country, &c. Thus the Egyptians, at a certain period, followed this courſe of life, as did alſo the people of Sicily. But theſe differed extremely from the Arabs and the Tartars, both of whom purſue this courſe of life, and who likewiſe differ greatly from one another. As the cauſes which I have before mentioned, as operating upon the minds and actions of men, modify and temper each other; ſo, in the preſent inſtance, we muſt conſider the effects of the way of life, as ſubject to be directed and altered in a great meaſure by ſimilar circumſtances.

Some things, however, to which it ſeems particularly to lead, I will endeavour to point out.

SECT. I. *Effects of the barbarous or paſtoral ſtate of mankind on the temper and diſpoſition.*

The apathy or inſenſibility ſo remarkable in a ſavage ſtate, is greatly diminiſhed by this advance towards civiliſation. The introduction of property, and of the attentions conſequent upon it, and the aſſuming a more regular and uniform courſe of life, excite the powers of the mind, give it new motives and ſprings of action, methodiſe the ideas, and keep up a conſtant and ſteady at-

tention; circumſtances all favourable to the preſerving the force and power of the ſenſible faculties.

An indifference for the fair ſex was before mentioned as a part of the character of ſavage nations. This, however, is greatly changed in the courſe of life now under conſideration. The ancient deſcriptions of paſtoral life are full of amorous events: and the Tartars and Arabs, at preſent, are much addicted to this paſſion; which intimates, that the diſpoſition of mind natural to that ſtate had a turn this way.

Hippocrates *, it muſt be owned, gives a different, and, indeed, an oppoſite account of the Scythians; but this he aſcribes, and with great probability, to their ſpending their time ſo much on horſeback. Indeed, no way of life could differ more from another, than do the ſeveral modes that come under this general deſcription; and therefore it is not extraordinary that different or contrary effects ſhould be aſcribed to it.

Pride and haughtineſs are poſſeſſed in a high degree by people in this ſtate of life, as well as the former.

Theodoſius †, ſays Attila the Hunn, with an inſolent air, is deſcended from a father as noble as mine; but when I compelled him to pay tribute to me, he fell from the grandeur of his extraction, and became my vaſſal; and therefore it is unjuſt in him to act as a baſe man, and to prejudice his maſter by his treachery. An emperor, ſaid he, on another occaſion, ought not to be a liar; he promiſed one of my ſubjects to give him the daughter of Saturninus in marriage, and I will immediately declare war againſt him if he preſumes to depart from his word; but if the diſobedience of thoſe about him puts it out of his power to be punctual, I will march to his aſſiſtance. That haughty barbarian had, or affected to have, no rule of diſtinction or precedence but what was derived from military ſuperiority.

* De Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis.

† Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire, by Mr. Monteſquieu, ch. xix.

Idleneſs ‡ prevails in this ſtate of mankind, as well as in that before deſcribed; but it ſeems here to be more an indolent courſe of employment than the torpid inſenſibility of the ſavage.

The paſtoral life requires a conſtant, though not a very active, attention; ſufficient, however, to engage the mind, and prevent that vacuity of ideas which ſo frequently occurs to the ſavage, and ſo naturally produces a ſtupid inſenſibility. Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks even of the induſtry and attention of the Egyptians, when in this ſtate; which indicates, at leaſt, that their life was not ſpent without ſome exertion of the faculties, both of mind and body.

In general, however, it muſt be admitted, that ſeveral nations in this ſtate are extremely indolent.

The Arabs, both ‖ ancient and * modern, appear to have been a very idle ſet of people, though not quite ſo inactive as ſavages. In the latter, the time is divided between the moſt violent exertion and the moſt ſupine ſloth. In the former, the exertions are not ſo violent, nor are the intervals of labour and fatigue conſumed in ſuch abject idleneſs. A people in this ſtate, as well as the foregoing, are, I imagine, diſpoſed to war and † warlike atchievements. Thus we find, in the early ages of mankind, and when this way of life was principally followed, that wars were very frequent, and begun on ‡‡ ſlight occaſions. The northern ‖‖ na-

‡ Ariſtotle repreſents this way of life as being extremely idle.—De Republicâ, lib. i. cap. 8.

‖ Strabon. lib. xvi.

* The Arab follows no regular trade or employment. His life is a continued round of idleneſs or of diverſion. When no paſtime nor hunting-match calls him abroad, he does nothing all the day long, but loiter at home, ſmoke his pipe, and repoſe himſelf under ſome neighbouring ſhade. He has no reliſh at all for domeſtic amuſements, and is rarely known to converſe with his wife, or play with his children. —Shaw's Travels, chap. iii. ſect. 9.

† Strabo obſerves, that the Albani, by following this courſe of life, became a warlike people, book ii.—See alſo his account of the Maſſagetæ, l. xi.

‡‡ See the book of Geneſis.

‖‖ Et ſequerer duros æterni martis Alanos.—Lucan, lib. viii. lin. 223.

tions,

tions, who ſubverted the Roman empire, diſcovered a diſpoſition exactly of this kind. As repoſe and quiet, ſays Ammianus Marcellinus *, is grateful to perſons of a peaceable diſpoſition, ſo are dangers and wars agreeable to the Hunns. That man is deemed particularly fortunate, who loſes his life in battle; which is eſteemed the only honourable means of the termination of human exiſtence. The Arabs have been of a military turn from the earlieſt accounts, and are ſo at preſent; and the Tartars have followed a courſe nearly ſimilar. Both theſe nations have been, in their turns, the conquerors of a great part of the world.

The wars carried on by theſe people are, like thoſe in the former ſtate, conducted apparently with a great degree of cruelty. Thus it appears from Herodotus † that the ancient Scythians took but few priſoners, but deſtroyed the nations they had conquered. Diodorus ‡ alſo tells us, that the Sauromatæ, when they invaded Scythia, laid waſte the whole country, and put to death all the people whom they ſubdued. The Getæ || were equally cruel, particularly

* Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium eſt voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Indicatur ibi beatus qui in prælio profuderit animam.—Ammian. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 2.—See alſo note iii. to Robertſon's Hiſtory, ch. 5. vol. i.

† Herodot. Melpomene.

‡ Diodor. lib. ii.

|| Protinus, æquato ſiccis aquilonibus Iſtro,
Invehitur celeri barbarus hoſtis equo:
Hoſtis equo pollens, longeque volante ſagitta,
Vicinam late depopulatur humum.
Diffugiunt alii; longeque tuentibus agros
Incuſtoditæ diripiuntur opes.
Ruris opes parvæ pecus et ſtridentia plauſtra,
Et quas divitias incola pauper habet.
Pars agitur vinctis poſt tergum capta lacertis,
Reſpiciens fruſtra rura laremque ſuum.
Pars cadit hamatis miſerè confixa ſagittis:
Nam volucri ferro tinctile virus ineſt.

Quæ

particularly in their uſage of priſoners. The Goths, when they invaded Thrace, cut off the hands of all whom they found in arms againſt them, and deſtroyed all the huſbandmen. The Vandals, when they invaded Africa, were, if poſſible, ſtill more * extravagant in their cruelties and devaſtations, and ſimilar inſtances of a deſtructive diſpoſition were ſhewn by the † Hunns and ‡ Saracens. The Tartars have followed ſimilar maxims. When they take cities, they put the inhabitants to the ſword, and imagine they act humanely, when they only ſell the people, or diſtribute them among their ſoldiers. They have deſtroyed Aſia, from India even to the Mediterranean; and all the country that lies to the Eaſt of Perſia they have rendered a deſert. This conduct is, indeed, in ſome meaſure owing to their law of nations: of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

A people in this ſtate, although attached to their country as a body of men, have little more local attachment than in the condition firſt ſpoken of. Something of this roving diſpoſition appears in the firſt ages of mankind. In the diviſion of the land between Lot || and Abraham, the choice ſeems to have been made without

Quæ nequeunt ſecum ferre aut abducere, perdunt:
Et cremat inſontes hoſtica flamma caſas.
Ovid. Triſtium, lib. iii. eleg. 10.

The Cimbri deſtroyed their priſoners.—Strabo.

* See note V to Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles the Vth.

† Ammian Marcell. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

‡ Ibidem, lib. xiv. cap 2.

|| And Abraham ſaid unto Lot, Let there be no ſtrife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyſelf, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the Lord deſtroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comeſt unto Zoar. And Lot choſe him all the plain of Jordan: and Lot journeyed eaſt: and they ſeparated themſelves the one from the other.—Geneſis, xiii. 8, 9, 10, 11.

regard

regard to any other circumſtance than the fertility of the ſoil, without any conſideration of the place formerly inhabited by their anceſtors. This was ſomewhat extraordinary of the Jews, whoſe local attachment afterwards became ſo remarkable.

The Arabs * ſeem to have had no regard, originally, to any place or ſituation; and the ſame was the caſe with the † Saracens and ‡ Alans. It was, and is I believe at preſent, a religious maxim among the || Tartars, never to reſide long in any one place; in conſequence of which they have a proverbial imprecation, that their enemies ſhould be confined, like Chriſtians, to one ſpot, and breathe the effluvia of their own bodies.

SECT. II. *Influence of the paſtoral ſtate upon the manners.*

The manners of nations in this ſtate are the next ſubject of enquiry.

The introduction and knowledge of property, whilſt it aſſiſts civiliſation, and in ſeveral reſpects improves ſociety, has alſo a conſiderable effect in corrupting the moral character. The idea of property affords new and particular motives of action, dependent

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 95, 96.

† Sine lare, ſine ſedibus fixis, aut legibus, nec idem perferunt diutius cœlum, aut tractus unius ſoli illis unquam placet. Vita illis ſemper in fugâ eſt.—Amm. Marcellin. lib. xiv. cap. 5. Deſcript. Saracenorum.

‡ Cumque ad graminea venerint in orbiculatam figuram locatis Sarracis ferino ritu veſcuntur, abſumptiſque pabulis velut carpentis civitates compoſitas vehunt, mareſque ſupra cum fœminis coeunt, et naſcuntur in his et educantur infantes, et habitacula ſunt hæc illis perpetua, et quocunque ierint illic genuinum exiſtimant larem. —Ammian. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 2. Deſcript. Alanorum.

Salluſt and Lucan give ſimilar accounts of the Numidians.

——"Vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat ſedes habebant."—Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

Et ſolitus vacuis errare maſſalibus Afer.—Lucan. lib. iv. l. 6c04.

|| Cluverii Geograph. lib. iv. cap. 20.

upon

upon it, and entirely unconnected with thoſe qualities upon which men have moſt reaſon to value themſelves. It gives different cauſes of attachment among mankind, and eſtabliſhes an influence independent of the perſonal character, and thus produces an inequality of rank and eminence unconnected with merit, which lays the firſt foundation of ſubordination. Conſequently it inſpires people with an unbounded paſſion for the acquiſition of it, and prompts them to the neglect and diſregard of every thing unconnected with it. Hence the ſenſe of juſtice, ſo natural to the human mind and underſtanding, ſoon becomes perverted by the deſire of gain; and covetouſneſs, with all its train of attendant vices, is introduced. Several of theſe effects are often produced among a people, whoſe knowledge of property is very imperfect. Thus the coaſts of the Ægean ſea, in the time of * Homer, were pillaged for no other reaſon but that the plunderers choſe to poſſeſs themſelves of the braſs, iron, cattle, ſlaves, and women, which were found among the adjacent nations. Piracy and robbery, ſays Thucydides †, were by no means employments of reproach, but of honour; and ſeveral of the Greek nations, even in his time, followed this practice as a means of ſubſiſtence. The Sicilian ſhepherds were, according to Strabo ‡, originally a band of robbers. The Arabs, from the earlieſt accounts, have been always eſteemed a nation of || thieves; and the ſame is the caſe both with them and the Tartars at preſent. The ancient Scythians ** were of a ſimi-

* See Neſtor's ſpeech to Telemachus, in Homer's Odyſſey.

† Lib. i.

‡ Lib. vi.

|| This is ſuppoſed to be implied in the prophecy concerning Iſhmael, who, it is imagined, peopled Arabia. "And he will be a wild man; his hand will be againſt every man, and every man's hand againſt him."—Geneſis, chap. xvi.

The life of the Arabs, ſays Diodorus Siculus, is a courſe of plunder; they make incurſions far and wide, and harraſs the adjacent nations with their robberies, lib. ii.

** Herodoti Melpomene.—Luciani Anacharſis.

lar

lar diſpoſition, as were their ſucceſſors, the † Saracens and the ‡ Alans.

Moſt of the northern nations were of a like character.

But although people in this ſtate are much corrupted in their political capacity—I mean with regard to political juſtice—and are ſubject to external rapine, violence, &c. the mere knowledge of property ſeldom produces much internal corruption among the members of the ſtate itſelf. For this they muſt advance one ſtep farther, and not only be acquainted with the nature and uſe of property in general, but alſo with the ſign of it, *money*. What is gained by hunting, fiſhing, or keeping herds of cattle, cannot be collected in quantity ſufficient, nor be ſufficiently preſerved, for one man to be in a condition to corrupt many others; but when, inſtead of this, a man has a ſign of riches, he may obtain a large quantity of theſe ſigns, and diſtribute them as he pleaſes. To the above remarks may be added, that money is better adapted to every perſon's wants than any ſpecific property can be, and therefore likely to be more univerſally acceptable, as there are ſcarce any which it will not ſupply. But, perhaps, the greateſt influence it poſſeſſes is from its being capable of being privately introduced. All corruption, at firſt at leaſt, is productive of ſhame, and fear of diſcovery; which is not the leaſt guard againſt its being practiſed: but when a method is offered of enjoying the fruits of villainy, and at the ſame time of concealing the ſhame of it, much of the ſecurity and defence of morality is removed. Were a man to be bribed with a herd of oxen, a flock of ſheep, a quantity of corn, proviſions, or ſuch like, a diſcovery would be unavoidable, not only from the bulk, and impracticability of concealment, but alſo from

† Quicquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vaſtabant milvorum rapacium ſimiles.—Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 4.

‡ Externâ aviditate prædandi flagrans immani.—Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. c. 2. —See the quotation from Ovid in the foregoing ſection, concerning the Getæ.

the ſpecific knowledge of the articles employed, which muſt be known to many: but money carries no ſpecific marks along with it, is eaſily conveyed, and eaſily concealed, and therefore the moſt convenient for that purpoſe.

Indeed, I am perſuaded that corruption has been greatly promoted, as well as expedited, by carrying matters a ſtep farther, viz. by means of *paper credit*; which has not only rendered a diſcovery more difficult, but alſo has cauſed ſuch an eaſy conveyance of the wages of corruption to diſtant places, as muſt have greatly increaſed its influence. Mr. * Pope's repreſentation of its effects in this way, though ludicrouſly deſcribed, is nevertheleſs founded in truth. The properties of money, above deſcribed, cauſe it to be an additional temptation to the robber, from the ſecurity it affords. In countries where there is no ſpecie, the robber takes only bare moveables, which have no mutual reſemblance: but where they

* Bleſt paper credit! laſt and beſt ſupply,
That lends corruption lighter wings to fly.
Gold, imp'd by thee, can compaſs hardeſt things,
Can pocket ſtates, or fetch and carry kings;
A ſingle leaf ſhall waft an army o'er,
Or ſhip off ſenates to ſome diſtant ſhore;
A leaf, like Sybils', ſcatter to and fro
Our fates and fortunes, as the winds ſhall blow.
Pregnant with thouſands flits the ſcrap unſeen,
And ſilent, ſells a king, or buys a queen.
Oh! that ſuch bulky bribes as all might ſee,
Still, as of old, encumber'd villainy:
Could France or Rome divert our brave deſigns
With all their brandies, or with all their wines?
What could they more than knights or ſquires confound,
Or water all the quorum ten miles round?
A ſtateſman's ſlumbers how this ſpeech would ſpoil;
" Sir, Spain has ſent a thouſand jars of oil;
" Huge bales of Britiſh cloth blockade the door;
" An hundred oxen at your levee roar."
Moral Eſſays, Epiſt. iii.

make

make uſe of money, the robber takes the ſigns, and theſe always reſemble one another. In the former caſe, nothing can be concealed, becauſe the robber carries with him the proofs of his conviction; but in the latter it is quite the contrary.

Avarice, likewiſe, is much encouraged by the invention of ſpecie. A man would find it difficult to accumulate moveable property to any great amount, as it is ſo bulky in general, and likewiſe in ſome meaſure periſhable. But money is liable to neither of theſe objections, and on that account very convenient for accumulation.

The ſame properties that render money convenient for the purpoſes of avarice, cauſe it to be equally ſo for thoſe of profuſion, as Mr. Pope * has, with great judgment and knowledge of human nature, as well as elegance, expreſſed. Such, among many others, are the corruptions introduced by money; and theſe ſometimes operate ſo powerfully in this ſtate of mankind, as to render it, perhaps, the moſt dreadful and melancholy condition that can be imagined. Human nature is in its moſt deplorable and calamitous

* Poor Avarice one torment more would find,
Nor could Profuſion ſquander all in kind.
Aſtride his cheeſe Sir Morgan we might meet,
And Worldly crying coals from ſtreet to ſtreet;
Whom, with a wig ſo wild, and mien ſo maz'd,
Pity miſtakes for ſome poor tradeſman craz'd.
Had Colepepper's whole wealth been hops and hogs,
Could he himſelf have ſent it to the dogs?
His Grace will game, to White's a bull be led,
With ſpurning heels, and with a butting head:
To White's be carried, as to ancient games,
Fair courſers, vaſes, and alluring dames.
Shall then Uxorio, if the ſtakes he ſweep,
Bear home ſix whores, and make his lady weep?
Or ſoft Adonis, ſo perfum'd and fine,
Drive to St. James's a whole herd of ſwine?
Pope's Moral Eſſays, Epiſt. iii.

ſituation, when men have acquired the knowledge of property and money, and thereby gained all the vices attendant thereon, without acquiring ſuch a degree of civiliſation as ſerves to temper and reſtrain their inordinate deſires, by a ſenſe of decorum, and conviction of the utility of juſtice, order, and regularity to ſociety in general. In this ſtate, people have all the ferocity, without the ſimplicity, of the ſavage; all his paſſions, without his reſtraints; and moreover an infinite number of artificial wants, which property and money ſo naturally create, joined with a habit of the moſt extenſive indulgence of * all their deſires, at all events.

Such was the character of the barbarous nations that ſubverted the Roman empire, and on that account, this † period of their gaining the aſcendancy is repreſented, with great juſtice, as that wherein the human race was in a ſituation the moſt calamitous and afflicted of any, of which we have an inſtance in the hiſtory of mankind.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that ſome circumſtances, that concurred about that time, tended to ſet the conduct of theſe people in a more unfavourable light than perhaps it might deſerve. The northern nations, coming from a cold climate, carried their original diet and way of life along with them, which, conſiſting principally of animal food, and this uniting with the ſenſibility inſpired by the hot climate, into which they penetrated, produced a degree of ferocity and cruelty, greater, probably, than what was natural to them. The vaſt treaſures, alſo, which they found, tended greatly to corrupt their manners, and to render them cruel and avaricious. The Roman wealth, collected from the ſpoils of the whole earth, during the courſe of many ages, fell at once into

* Externa prædandi aviditate flagrans immani.—Amm. Marc. Deſcr. Hunnorum. —Auri cupiditate immenſa flagrantes.—Ibidem.—Plutarch ſpeaks of the Gauls as the moſt covetous and inſatiable of men.—Life of Pyrrhus.

† From the death of Theodoſius the Great, to the eſtabliſhment of the Lombards in Italy, which contained the period from ann. dom. 395 to 571, or 176 years.

the

the poſſeſſion of a number of rude barbarians. So ſudden and ſo vaſt an acquiſition, inſtead of ſatisfying, did but ſtimulate their appetites, and induced them to be guilty of the moſt horrid cruelties, in order to force thoſe whom they had conquered to farther diſcoveries.

Indeed, a people in a much higher degree of civiliſation were equally liable to have their manners corrupted by the ſudden * acquiſition of enormous wealth. The Spaniards, who invaded America, practiſed cruelties and breaches of morality, at leaſt equally atrocious with any laid to the charge of theſe people.

Another cauſe of the ill treatment which the Romans received from their conquerors, aroſe from the mean opinion conceived by the latter of the degenerate character of the Romans. They found all the inhabitants of that empire ſunk in effeminacy and ſloth, and averſe to war. Such a character was an object of ſcorn ‡ to a high-ſpirited and gallant race of men, and produced naturally an opinion, that no uſage could be too bad for thoſe who by their own baſe conduct had reduced themſelves into ſo contemptible a ſtate.

* This formerly had the ſame effect upon the Romans, as is beautifully expreſſed by Ovid.

At poſtquam fortuna loci caput extulit hujus
Et tetigit ſummos vertice Roma Deos.
Creverunt & opes, & opum furioſa cupido,
Et cum poſſideant plurima, plura volunt.
Quærere ut abſumant, abſumpta requirere certant,
Atque ipſæ vitiis ſunt alimenta vices:
Sic quibus intumuit ſuffuſa venter ab unda,
Quo plus ſunt potæ, plus ſitiuntur aquæ.
Oratio Jani in libro primo Faſtor. Ovidii.

‡ —— hoc ſolo, id eſt Romani nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo, quicquid vitiorum eſt comprehendentes. — Luitprand Legat. apud Murator. Scriptor. Italic. vol. ii. p. 1, p. 481.

Such

Such a picture of this condition of life may ſeem extraordinary, to thoſe who have been accuſtomed to conſider the paſtoral character as a model of virtue and ſimplicity. It is, indeed, ſo repreſented in the writings of poets, and probably in a good meaſure with truth. But I apprehend, that thoſe who framed theſe deſcriptions, did not intend them of the paſtoral ſtate of mankind in general, but only of a particular rank of men in a civiliſed country. Theocritus and Virgil do not deſcribe a nation of ſhepherds, but a diſtinct order of people in ſociety, who, in moſt reſpects, were totally different. Their ſhepherds were a peaceable, learned ſet of men, humble in their deſires, virtuous in their manners, and polite in their behaviour. They were alſo moſtly confined to one ſpot, and had a great degree of local attachment *; all which were totally different from nations of the former deſcription.

It is difficult to ſay what manners or behaviour are peculiar to this ſtate of mankind. It is, however, remarkable of ſome of them, that although addicted to pillage ſtrangers, they practiſe hoſpitality to a great degree. This is the account given by Diodorus of the † Celtiberi, and is alſo true of the modern Arabs, among whom hoſpitality is not only a moral ‡ but a religious duty. This is, indeed, no more than what was practiſed in a ſavage ſtate; in both, the people are addicted to robbery, and plunder of foreigners, or of people beyond the limits of their own ſtate. But the ſolitary ſtranger, from whom they had nothing to fear, and whoſe conqueſt would yield neither glory nor profit, is

* Nos patriæ fines & dulcia linquimus arva
Nos patriam fugimus. Virgil. Eclog. i.

† Diodorus ſays of the Celtiberians, who appear to have been nearly in this ſtate, that they were mild and humane to ſtrangers, and that they readily offered protection to all foreigners, from whenceſoever they came, and emulate one another in ſhewing them marks of kindneſs and hoſpitality.—Lib. iv.

‡ See Shaw's Travels—and Travels up the Red-ſea, by Eyles Irwin, Eſq.

treated by them, not only with humanity, but even with ſplendid civility.

The condition of women, in this ſtate of ſociety, appears to be very reſpectable. The Gothic || women had a ſeat in the national councils. The Queens, among the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, had an active ſhare in the government. Women were eſteemed, by Auguſtus Cæſar, the moſt ſecure * hoſtages that he could take from the Barbarians; and they were alſo accounted ſo among the ancient † Germans. The Sarmatians paid the higheſt ‡ reſpect and obedience to their wives; and the ſame is true of ſome half-civiliſed nations, at preſent, in the Eaſt Indies.

SECT. III. *On the influence of a barbarous ſtate upon the intellects.*

This ſtate of life is little more favourable to improvement of the intellectual faculties than the former. Savages are only ignorant of letters, but Barbarians are not only ſo, but have alſo a ſettled averſion to them. The northern nations, who invaded Italy, deſtroyed all the monuments of literature they could meet with; a loſs which their poſterity now ſo much deplore: and the § Arabs

|| See Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 176, 177. & de inceps.

* Novum genus obſidum fæminas exigere tentaverit.—Sueton. l. ii.

† Adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obſides puellæ quoque nobiles imperantur.—Tacit. Germ. c. viii.

‡ Ariſtotle obſerves the great influence of women among a warlike people.—De Republica.

§ Strabo obſerves of the Arabs, in his time, that they made no improvements in the arts or ſciences, but continued in the ſame track with their predeceſſors.—Strabo, book xvii.

An account exactly ſimilar is given of them in Friend's Hiſtory of Medicine.

The roving and unſettled life of the Arabs, as Dr. Shaw well obſerves, will not permit them to enjoy that liberty, quiet, and ſecurity, which have at all times given birth and encouragement to learning.—Shaw's Travels, ch. iii. § 3.

at one time exerciſed a ſimilar devaſtation through the Eaſt. Thoſe Barbarians were probably jealous of any ſuperiority in thoſe nations to which they had proved themſelves ſuperior in arms, and deſirous to deſtroy every memorial of it. They were alſo of opinion, that literature and ſcience tended to corrupt ‡, enervate, and depreſs the mind. Like the Spartans, they looked upon every purſuit with contempt, that was not connected with the virtues of fortitude and military proweſs or ſkill.

The art of war was the only branch of knowledge generally cultivated among them; and in this, as their whole attention was directed to it, they had made ſome * advances; though their ſucceſs appears to have been more owing to the weak, effeminate, and corrupt ſtate of their opponents, than to their own military knowledge.

The mode of making war practiſed by people in this ſtate, is generally, though not always, of the deſultory kind; more reſembling the attacks of robbers or † banditti, than of a regular army. This

‡ Multum abeſſe a virtute literas, et ſenili inſtitutione dejici plerumque, et ad metum incurvari indolem. Theudericum ſolitum dicere, fieri non poſſe, ut qui didiciſſent flagra extimeſcere, ad contemtum enſium haſtarumque exſurgerent.—Procopii, Hiſt. Gothor. lib. i.

Marius, if the ſpeech aſſigned to him by Salluſt be genuine, as it is natural, ſeems to have had a ſimilar opinion of learning with the Barbarians.

Neque literas Græcas didici: parum placebat eas diſcere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuere. At illa multò optima reipublicæ doctus ſum; hoſtes ferire, præſidia agitare, nihil metuere niſi turpem famam; hiemem & æſtatem juxta pati; humi requieſcere; eodem tempore inopiam atque laborem tolerare. —Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

* Some of the arts which relate to war, and to military affairs, were brought to great perfection among ſome barbarous nations. Thus Pauſanias tells us, that the Scythians and Sarmatians had made great improvements in the art of making warlike weapons, inſomuch as to rival the Greeks; and Polybius gives a ſimilar account of the Spaniards.

† Many of the nations that have continued through a ſeries of generations in a barbarous ſtate, have inhabited plain countries; and, on that account, placed their chief

This was the way of fighting practiſed by the ancient ‡ Scythians and ‖ Parthians; and in later times by the § Alans, and at preſent by the Arabs and Tartars.

This mode of making war is beſt adapted to the prædatory diſpoſition of that people. Moreover, as they have little regular diſcipline, large bodies would be uſeleſs and unmanageable; and if defeated, would endanger the whole nation. Beſides, a country which is not cultivated, could not maintain a large body of people, if aſſembled for any length of time in one place. For theſe reaſons, the barbarous people, when they made their incurſions in order to plunder, as they did when they firſt invaded the Roman empire, marched in ſmall parties or detachments; but when, after acquiring experience and diſcipline, they attempted conqueſts, and transferred the ſeat of war, for any length of time, into the enemy's country, they aſſembled in large bodies.

But although Barbarians are, in general, averſe from ſcience and literature, yet ſome branches of it have in ſome meaſure engaged their attention. People who ſpend moſt of their time in the open air, and who paſs the nights in the care of their flocks and cattle, and who, in general, inhabit a plain country, which exhibits an extenſive view of the heavens, and where the ſky is moſtly clear and ſerene, are naturally led to pay ſome attention to the * celeſtial bodies. For theſe reaſons the Egyptians

chief dependance in war on cavalry; which might render this way of making war more likely to be choſen, as being in ſome meaſure natural.

‡ Herodoti Melpomene.—and Ovidii Triſt. l. iii. ep. 10.

‖ Juſtin. lib. xli. cap. 2.—Plutarch. Vita Craſſ.—Dion. Caſſii, lib. xl.

§ —— Ita ſubitò de induſtriâ diſperſi vigeſcunt & incompoſita acie cum cæde vaſta diſcurrunt, nec invadentes vallum nec caſtra inimica pilantes præ nimia rapiditate cernuntur.—Amm. Marcell. l. xxxi. cap. 2.

Athenæus tells us, that a man preſented Seuthes, the Thracian king, with a horſe, which was, he ſaid, equally ſuited to fly from, or to purſue an enemy.—Lib. iv.

* Varro obſerves, that ſeveral of the ſigns of the zodiac, and of the ſtars, were called after the objects that belong to or occur in a paſtoral life.

tians † cultivated aſtronomy in the early ages; and afterwards the ſame was much in uſe among the Aſſyrians ‡, who applied it to the purpoſes of divination, or the foretelling of future events. The Arabs ‖, however, made uſe of their knowledge to a better purpoſe, that of directing their courſe over the ſandy deſerts; which is alſo practiſed at preſent by that people, and by the § Tartars. It appears, however, that the knowledge they had acquired in this way was always, and ſtill is, very confined.

Some barbarous nations, however, have not been altogether deſtitute of a taſte even for ſome branches of elegant knowledge. The Germans had their poems, the Gauls the ſongs of their bards; which laſt, as has been before remarked, were adapted and ſet to muſical accompaniments. Even * Attila the Hunn, as we are

Quod ſi apud antiquos non magnæ dignitatis pecus eſſet, in cælo deſcribendo aſtrologi non appellaſſent eorum vocabulis ſigna, quæ non modo non dubitabant ponere, ſed etiam ab his principibus duodecim ſigna multi numerant, ut ab Ariete & Tauro cum ea proponerent Apollini & Herculi, hi enim dii ea ſequuntur & appellantur Gemini. Nec ſatis putarunt de duodecim ſignis ſextam partem obtinere pecudum nomina, niſi adjeciſſent ut quartam tenerent Capricornum. Præterea a pecuariis addiderunt capram, hædos, canes.—Varro de re ruſtica.

† The Egyptians, ſays Diodorus Siculus, make the moſt accurate obſervations on the nature and motion of the heavenly bodies, and have preſerved the deſcriptions of each of them for an incredible number of years back, as this ſtudy was in great vogue among them in the earlieſt ages.—Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

‡ Principio Aſſyrii, ut ab ultimis auctoritatem repetam, propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, quum cælum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motuſque ſtellarum obſervaverunt. — Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i.

‖ Thoſe parts of Arabia that lie towards the weſt, are a ſandy plain, of an immenſe extent. For this reaſon, the Arabs, who are to travel acroſs them, direct their courſe by obſervation of the Bear-ſtar, in the ſame manner as is done at ſea.—Diod. Sic. lib. ii.

§ Et quoniam Tartari incertis omnes fere vagantur ſedibus, ſtellarum (imprimis vero poli Arctici quem ipſi ſua lingua Seleſnikoll, hoc eſt ferreum clavum, vocant) aſpectu curſum ſuum dirigere ſolent.—Cluverii Geogr. lib. iv. cap. 20.

* Priſc. p. 67, 68.

told

told by Priſcus, had conſtantly his poets in waiting; and their verſes, in honour of his exploits, were part of the entertainment of his court.

SECT. IV. *Effects of a barbarous or paſtoral way of life upon the laws and cuſtoms of mankind.*

The law of nations, in this condition of mankind, is but little improved from the former ſtate of it. The * ancient Greeks, according to the beſt accounts, were no other than a nation of robbers and pirates, who attacked and plundered, indiſcriminately, all who fell in their way; and this conduct, ſo far from being thought cenſurable, was highly applauded.

The Illyrians † thought that plunder and robbery were no breaches of the laws of nations, unleſs publicly authorized by the ſtate; and the like maxim was held formerly among the ‡ Arabs, and is alſo at preſent among them and the Tartars.

Another difference between the law of nations among Barbarians, and that among civiliſed people, conſiſts in the different treatment they uſe to thoſe whom they conquer. I have before ſpoken of the cruelty of ſavages, which in a great meaſure ariſes from political motives; but the cruelty of ‖ Barbarians ſprings, in ſome meaſure, from a miſtaken law of nations.

Theſe people having no towns, all their wars are carried on with eagerneſs and impetuoſity; they fight whenever they hope to con-

* Thucydides, lib. i.

† Teuta, queen of Illyricum, told the Roman embaſſadors, that ſhe would take care that no public injury ſhould be offered to the Romans; but that it was not the cuſtom of princes to hinder their ſubjects from making what private advantage they could by plunder. On the embaſſadors repreſenting the heinouſneſs of ſuch a proceeding, the queen took this freedom ſo ill, as to kill one of them, who had expreſſed himſelf with moſt warmth.—Polyb. book. ii. ch. 1.

‡ Irwin's Voyage up the Red-ſea, p. 301.

‖ See note ‖, p. 325, quoted from Ovid.

quer; and when they have loſt hopes of that, they join the prevailing party. With ſuch cuſtoms, it is contrary to their law of nations, that a city, incapable of repelling their attack, ſhould ſtop their progreſs. They regard cities, not as aſſociations of inhabitants, but as places made to bid defiance to their power. They beſiege them without military ſkill, and expoſe themſelves greatly in the attack; and therefore revenge themſelves on all thoſe who have ſpilt their * blood.

So much for the law of nations. Let us now examine the effects of this way of life upon the civil or municipal laws.

Theſe, among Barbarians, as well as among ſavages, can be but † few in number, and are rather to be eſteemed uſages or practices, than what we ſtrictly mean by ‡ laws.

It is doubtful if the laws or uſages in this ſtate of ſociety have any general object or intention whatever, or whether they are not made rather to obviate particular inconveniences. Some of them, however, appear evidently to be derived from the ſituation and condition of people in this ſtate of ſociety.

Thus the courſe of inheritance by deſcent varies, in ſome of the people, who lead a paſtoral life, from that in uſe among us, both with regard to perſonal and landed property; the lands here neither deſcending to the eldeſt ſon, as in the feudal ſyſtem, nor being equally divided among the ſons in general, as among the Greeks and Romans, but deſcending to the youngeſt ſon, to the

* Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 20.

† There being ſcarcely any laws for the ſecurity either of the perſon or of the property of any one, is aſſigned, in Lucian's Dialogue between Solon and Anacharſis, as the reaſon why the Scythians went conſtantly armed. You live in fear of each other, ſays Solon to Anacharſis; every man acts as he pleaſes, and there are no laws to reſtrain you; the ſword, therefore, muſt be always drawn, and ready to defend you againſt violence and rapine. — Lucian's Anacharſis, Franklin's Tranſlation.

‡ " Sine ſedibus fixis aut legibus."—Amm. Marcell. Deſcr. Saracenorum.

Omnes ſine ſedibus fixis, abſque lare vel lege.—Ibidem, Deſcr. Alanorum.

excluſion

excluſion of all the other children. This uſage prevailed in ſeveral * parts of Germany, and was by the Saxons introduced into our own country, in many parts of which it ſtill ſubſiſts.

This cuſtom is, by a learned † writer of our own country, derived from the practice of the Tartars; who, according to Du Halde, have adopted this mode of ſucceſſion. That nation is compoſed entirely of ſhepherds and herdſmen; and the elder ſons, as ſoon as they are capable of leading a paſtoral life, migrate from the father with a certain proportion of cattle, and go to ſeek a new habitation. The youngeſt ſon, therefore, who continues with the father, is naturally the heir of the houſe, the reſt being all provided for abroad. And thus we find, that among many other of the northern nations, it was the cuſtom ‡ for all the ſons but one to migrate from the father, which one became his heir.

I apprehend, however, that this inheritance of the youngeſt ſon originally took place only when the other ſons had a proviſion elſewhere, or in ſome other manner, during the life of the father, or, as it was then called, ‖ *foriſfamiliated*.

Another

* It ſubſiſts ſtill, as is ſaid, in the dutchy of Rohan in Bretagne.

It ſubſiſted even in families, as in that of Hocſtrat, in Flanders. — Vide Du Cange, Vox Burghenghiſh.

† Blackſtone's Comm. book ii. ch. 6.—See too Sp. of Laws.

‡ Pater cunctos filios adultos a ſe pellebat præter unum quem hæredem ſui juris relinquebat.—Walſingham, Upodigm. Neuſt. c. i.

‖ Dicitur propriè filius foriſfamiliari, cum partem hæreditatis a patre vivente accipit, eâque contentus eſt ita ut amplius petere non poſſit.—Regiam Majeſtatem, lib. ii. cap. 33. § 7, 8.——Poteſt ſiquidem filius in vita patris ſui foriſfamiliari, ſi pater quandam partem terræ ſuæ ſibi aſſignet & ſaſinam faciat, indè ſibi in vita ſua ad petitionem & bonam voluptatem ipſius filii, ita quod de tanta parte terræ, ſit ei ſatisfactum. Tunc non poterit hæres ipſius filii de corpore ſuo genitus aliquid amplius petere contra patruum ſuum de reſidua parte hæreditatis avi ſui quam partem patris ſui.—Vide Leges Burgor. Scoticor. c. cxxiv, cxxv. § 4.—Bracton. lib. ii. cap. 10. § 1. & Skenæum de Verborum ſignificatione. — Du Cange Vox Foriſfamiliare.

William

Another law, which prevails in ſome countries in this ſtate of ſociety, and which is relative to ſucceſſion, is the preference given to the brother, rather than to the children, of the laſt poſſeſſor. This regulation prevailed in ſeveral parts of * Africa, and appears to be at preſent in uſe among the † Arabs. The ſame rule of ſucceſſion, with reſpect to the crown, took place among the Anglo ‡ Saxons; though, I believe, it was only allowed in this, and poſſibly in the other caſes, when the ſon or heir was of too early an age to be truſted with the government. Probably for the ſame reaſon, viz. of non-age, it is ſaid in the Conſtumier ‖ of Normandy, that many were of opinion that the younger ſon of the father ought to ſucceed, even in common inheritances, before the grandſon by the eldeſt ſon, if the latter died during his father's life-time; and it was upon a claim of the former kind that Richard the Third laid ſome ſtreſs, when he claimed the crown in preference to his infant nephews, ſons of Edward the Fourth, his elder brother.

The reaſons of this are not inobvious. The poſſeſſion of flocks and herds could not be of any uſe to children who were not in a capacity to attend to them, and were therefore more properly conſigned to the elder branches of the family, who were in a condition to make a right uſe of them.

William Rufus alledged, that his brother Robert, by having the dutchy of Normandy conferred upon him, was forisfamiliated, and diſabled to claim any part of the remaining inheritance.

* Militante Maſſiniſſa pro Carthaginenſibus in Hiſpania, pater ejus moritur, Galæ nomen erat, regnum ad fratrem ejus Oeſaliem pergrandem natu (mos ita apud Numidas eſt) pervenit.—Livii, l. xxix. § 29.—Vide etiam, Strabon. xvii.

† Shaw's Travels, ch. iv. § 1.

‡ Hume's Hiſtory of England, Appendix i.

‖ In ſucceſſione tantummodo patris ad filium afferentes quod profilius avo ſuo non debet ſuccedere, licet primogeniti fuerit filius qui avi ſui tempore jam deceſſit. Sed ipſi avo debet ſuccedere filius ejus; dum tamen aliquis filiorum ſuperſtiterit.—De Succeſſione, c. xxv.

Another circumſtance, alſo, which made this regulation partake leſs of hardſhip, was, that in this ſtate of ſociety the bond of conſanguinity is uſually very powerful, eſpecially between the uncles and the nephews, and particularly the ſons of the ſiſter. Thus * Tacitus tells us, that among the ancient Germans the ſiſter's children were as dear to their uncle as to their own father. Some, he ſays, regarded the former connection as the more ſacred and binding.

Exactly the ſame ideas prevailed among the † Franks.

The influence, therefore, of ſuch a regard, made the apparent injuſtice leſs conſiderable, as it was little more than a ſubſtitution of another parent in the room of that which they had loſt.

This way of life, alſo, in ſome meaſure influenced the penal or criminal law. Thus theft ‡ was, among ſeveral of theſe nations, a capital crime; which was not the caſe with murder, &c. The reaſon why this crime was ſo ſeverely animadverted is obvious. Property, in that ſtate of life, conſiſted almoſt altogether in flocks and herds, which, from the roving diſpoſition of the people, muſt frequently be ‖ intermixed with one another. Thefts of that kind then muſt be eaſy to be committed, and very difficult of de-

* Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum quam apud patrem honor. Quidam ſanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum ſanguinis arbitrantur, & in accipiendis obſidibus magis exigunt, tanquam ii & animum firmius & domum latius teneant.—Taciti Germania.

† Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 22.

‡ Thefts of cattle were puniſhed with death, among the Goths.—Stiernhook, cap. v. de furtis, p. 371.——The modern laws of Sweden puniſh this offence by hanging, as formerly. — Loccen Titul. de furto, cap. ii. & xviii. —— The Daniſh laws are alſo very ſevere on this head.—Jur. Danic. lib. vi. cap. 17. § 36, 37.—— By the Salic law, thoſe who concealed a theft, or made any private compoſition for the recovery of their effects, were puniſhed as the thief himſelf.—Stiernhook, l. iii. c. 5.

‖ Nullum ſcelus apud eos furto gravius: quippe ſine tecto munimentoque pecora & armenta inter ſilvas habentibus quid ſalvum eſſet ſi furari liceret?—Juſtin deſcript. Scytharum.

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tection. They therefore endeavoured to guard againſt them by the || ſevereſt penalties.

The mode of trial moſt natural to this condition of mankind is difficult to be aſcertained.

Perhaps the trial by the body of the people, or the nation in general, may be the moſt natural, as being moſt obvious, as well as the method moſt in uſe. Indeed, the trial by jury, which prevailed ſo univerſally among the northern nations, when in this ſtate of civiliſation, ſeems to be of this kind, and was probably originally only a delegation from the people at large. The trials, however, by * battle, by the oath of the party, and by ſuperſtitious modes of deciſion, have been all in uſe in their turn.

There is, nevertheleſs, one tribunal which appears to be naturally connected with this ſtate of ſociety, and which deſerves to be particularly noticed; I allude here to the domeſtic tribunal for the inſpection of the manners and conduct of married women. This was inſtituted at † Rome in the moſt early ages, when the people really were in this ſtate of life. It was alſo in uſe among

|| In furti reum ſecuri, furcâ, defoſſione, vivicomburio animadverti poſſe, nec eo nomine vel hæredibus vel eccleſiæ, vel regi ullam ſatisfactionem deberi.—Stiernhook, de jure Goth. p. 366.

* The trial by battle ſubſiſted among the Getæ in the time of Ovid.

Non metuunt leges, ſed cedit viribus æquum;
Victaque pugnaci jura ſub enſe jacent.
Triſtium, lib. v. Eleg. 7.

Adde quod injuſtum rigido jus dicitur enſe,
Dantur & in medio vulnera ſæpe foro.
Triſt. lib. v. Eleg. 10.

† It was inſtituted by Romulus; and the form of proceeding was, that in ordinary caſes the huſband ſhould ſit as judge, in the preſence of the wife's relations; but that in heinous crimes he ſhould determine in conjunction with them.—Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ii. ch. 25.

the German nations, in the time of Tacitus †, and continued long in force amongſt the ‡ Viſigoths and Lombards, and is ſtill practiſed among ſome ſavage || nations.

When the authority of the magiſtrate is very imperfectly acknowledged, ſuch a juriſdiction is naturally ſuggeſted; and appears, in the caſes above mentioned, to have been managed in a manner as little exceptionable as any that could be contrived.

The puniſhments moſt uſual or natural to people in this ſtate are next to be noticed.

Capital puniſhments are, for the reaſons given above *, very rare, and corporal puniſhments little uſed ††, on account of the diſgrace they inflict, which would be †† intolerable among a people of a brave and military diſpoſition, and endued with a high ſenſe of honour.

Fines, however, and amerciaments, being liable to neither of theſe objections, were accordingly ſo much in uſe among them, as to comprehend, in many inſtances, nearly their whole ‡‡ ſyſtem of criminal juriſprudence.

With regard to cuſtoms, there are few of a ſettled kind, that I know |||, that can probably be derived from, or that, indeed, accompany this way of life.

† Taciti Germania, cap. xviii, xix.

‡ LL. Wiſigoth, lib. iii. tit. 4.—LL. Burgund. tit. lxviii. lib. 1.

|| Laſitau Mœurs de Savage, tom. i. p. 588.—European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 180.

* See book iv. on Population.

†† The Arabs, ſays Dr. Shaw, ſeldom inflict any puniſhment, except baniſhment, even for the moſt enormous crimes.—Shaw's Travels, chap. i. § 4.

‡‡ The laws of the Franks, the Ripuarians, the Burgundians, and the Viſigoths, and moſt of the other barbarous nations, were all founded upon this principle.

||| Hi neque moribus, neque lege aut imperio cujuſquam regebantur.—Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth. Deſcr. Numidarum.——Abſque ritu ſtabili diſpalantur.—Amm. Marcell. lib. xxxi. cap. 2. Deſcr. Alanorum.

The being conſtantly * armed, however, which I before mentioned as being a cuſtom among ſavages, is equally prevalent among barbarians; as a military ſpirit is cultivated with at leaſt equal ardour, and with more regularity and ſteadineſs.

Another cuſtom of the military kind, which prevails among ſeveral nations in this ſtate, and may be ſaid to be partly derived from their way of life, is that of ſcalping, or of tearing off the ſkin of the back part of the head, where the hair grows, of thoſe whom they kill in battle. This is related by † Herodotus, as a practice of the Scythians, and by Ammianus Marcellinus as a cuſtom of the ‡ Hunns, and is well known to be at preſent in uſe among the American Indians. The cauſe of this cuſtom appears from Herodotus. Thoſe who did not bring a teſtimony of their proweſs, in having killed an enemy, by producing his || head, were excluded from any ſhare in the ſpoil: but as the head of a

* Thucydides, lib. i. Luciani Anacharſis.

In quibus eſt nemo, qui non coryton, et arcum,
Telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat.
Vox fera, trux vultus, veriſſima martis imago:
Non coma, non ulla barba reſecta manu.
Dextera non ſegnis fixo dare vulnera cultro,
Quem vinctum lateri barbarus omnis habet.
Ovidii Triſtium, lib. v. elegia 7.

The Arabs, in the preſent age, always go armed, as for battle.—Irwin's Voyage up the Red Sea, p. 135.

† Every Scythian preſents the king with the heads of thoſe enemies he has killed in fight: for if he brings a head, he is entitled to a ſhare of the booty, otherwiſe not. They flay theſe heads, by cutting a circle round the neck, juſt under the ears. Then they ſoften the ſkin with their hands; and the ſkins thus prepared ſerve inſtead of napkins, hanging on the bridles of their horſes when they ride.—Littlebury's Herodotus Melpomene.

‡ ——Proque exuviis glorioſis interfectorum avulſis capitibus detractas pelles prophaleris jumentis accommodant bellatoriis.—Amm. Marcell. l. xxxi. cap. 2.

|| Strabo ſays, that in Carmania no one was ſuffered to marry, unleſs he had firſt brought the head of an enemy.—Strabon. lib. xv.

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man was troubleſome and inconvenient to carry about, eſpecially in the heat of action, and alſo by a people whoſe way of life neceſſarily required frequent removals, the ſkin was allowed as a ſubſtitute, as bearing the ſame teſtimony of the fact, and as being much more portable.

Perhaps, * too, the cuſtom of making drinking-cups of the ſkulls of their enemies might contribute to promote the cuſtom of ſcalping. This laſt, however, does not appear to have had any cruelty in it, as they never ſcalped any without firſt cutting off the head; contrary to the practice in North America, which, it is greatly to be feared, was but too much encouraged by civiliſed nations.

The wearing long hair, I am apt to think a cuſtom generally, though not univerſally, prevailing among barbarians. Thus † Strabo tells us, that the Belgæ wore long hair; ‡ Diodorus ſays the ſame of the Gauls; and in later times, among the Franks, the Burgundians ||, and the Viſigoths, it was a mark of royal diſtinction. The § Tapyrii alſo, a barbarous nation on the Caſpian ſea, wore their hair very long; and the American Indians do ſo at preſent, inſomuch that ſeveral of thoſe people uſe it as a quiver for their arrows; which, perhaps, may be the original foundation of its uſe among people in this ſtate.

* Herodotus and Strabo both mention this as a cuſtom of the Scythians.—Herodoti Melpomene, et Strabon. lib. 7.

Alboin king of the Lombards, having defeated and ſlain in battle Cunimond king of the Gepidæ, made a drinking-cup of his ſkull, out of which he compelled his wife Roſomond, the daughter of Cunimond, to drink at a public entertainment. The horror of this action, and the barbarous triumph over the misfortunes of her family, prompted Roſomond to aſſaſſinate her huſband, which ſhe ſhortly after effected.

† Strabon. p. 196.

‡ Diodor. p. 212.—Gallia Comata was ſo called from the long hair worn by the people.—Dion. Caſſ. lib. xlvii.

|| Sp. of Laws, book xviii. ch. 23.

§ Strabon. p. 520.

Some of the uſages or practices that prevail in this way of life appear to be very permanent. Thus the account of the Scythian Nomades, by † Herodotus, ‡ Hippocrates, and || Strabo, agrees almoſt exactly with the modern deſcription * of the Tartars, even in ſome very minute circumſtances.

SECT. V. *Effects of the paſtoral ſtate of mankind on the form of government.*

What form of government this way of life tends moſt naturally to produce, is difficult to determine.

It is ſometimes, in its external form, regal § or monarchical, but at the ſame time intermixed with a great degree of liberty.

Tacitus tells us, that the kings, among the ancient Germans, had but a very limited authority. The Hunns ‡‡ lived under a free government, as did alſo the Franks, and, indeed, moſt of the northern nations. Even the kings of Rome—a title which the

† Herodoti Melpomene.

‡ The Scythian Nomades paſs their lives in this manner, as they have no houſes, but dwell in waggons, ſome of which run upon ſix, and others upon four, wheels. Theſe are ſmeared over with clay, and faſhioned like houſes; ſome of them with a ſingle outſide of planks, and others with a double or triple, by which they have ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt external injuries, and to keep out the ſnow, rain, and inclemency of the weather. The women paſs their lives in theſe waggons, and the men ride on horſeback. They live upon dreſſed fleſh meat, and drink mares milk, and ſometimes eat cheeſe made of the ſame milk.—De Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis.

|| Strabon. lib. xi.

* Guagnini Deſcr. Tartariæ.

§ Kings, in alluſion to this ſtate of life, are often called the ſhepherds of the people. This expreſſion often occurs in the ſacred writings, and is alſo made uſe of by Xenophon, in the Cyropædia; who remarks, "that the duties of a good king, and of a good ſhepherd, were nearly alike." A ſtrong preſumption of the mildneſs of the government.

‡‡ Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxxi.

Romans

Romans afterwards abhorred ſo much, as being adverſe to freedom—were very limited in their power.

The Tartars, indeed, who are undoubtedly in this ſtate of civiliſation, are ſaid to be ſlaves to a deſpotic government: but the reaſon of this peculiarity has been before ‖ explained. But though a regal form of government is, I believe, more general than any other, yet it is far from being univerſal. In ſeveral of the paſtoral ſtates, an ariſtocratical form appears to have prevailed. Polybius * relates, that the great men amongſt the Gauls were uſed to procure a numerous train of followers, all ready to ſupport their intereſts and execute their commands; and that every one of them was ſtrong only in proportion to the number of his dependants.

Cæſar † ſays expreſsly, that the nobility had the ſole direction of public affairs among the Gauls, the common people being eſteemed no better than ſlaves, and never admitted to the public councils, but living in a ſtate of villenage or ſubjection to their maſters. The nobility alſo had conſiderable weight among the ancient ‡ Germans, the ‖‖ Hunns, and the ** Franks.

In ſeveral, however, even of thoſe laſt mentioned, the government was really in the people at large, which was the caſe with the ‡‡ Hunns, the § Franks, and the people of ancient †† Germany.

‖ Book iii. chap. 2. of this work.

* Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 2.

† Cæſar Comm. lib. vi. cap. 8.

‡ Taciti Germania, cap. xi. xiii.

‖‖ Aguntur enim nulla ſeveritate regali, ſed tumultuario optimatum ductu contenti, perrumpunt quicquid inciderit.—Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

** Sp. of Laws, book xxx. cap. 25.

‡‡ Et deliberatione ſuper rebus propoſita feriis hoc habitu omnes in commune conſultant.—Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxxi. cap. 2.

§ Sp. of Laws. See alſo note vii. § 1. to Dr. Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V.

†† Taciti Germ. cap. vii, xi, xii, xiii.

SECT. VI. *Effects of a paſtoral life on religion.*

Several nations in this ſtate of civiliſation have but * ſlight notions of religion. Atheiſm, however, or the denial of the being of a God, is ſcarce † ever to be found.

A Divinity of the warlike kind appears natural to a people in this ſtate, as well as the foregoing. Thus Mars, and weapons as his emblem, were, as has been before obſerved, worſhipped by the Scythians, the Goths, and the Alans. The ancient Arabs paid divine honours to ‡ Bacchus, on account of his military exploits in India; and Mahomet found it agreeable to the diſpoſition of the ſame people to ſay, that he was not ſent with miracles, but with arms; and to make ſucceſs in war the criterion of the truth or falſity of his religious doctrines. The principles of religion are, in this ſtate of life, in ſome inſtances, very erroneous and perverted, a great ſtreſs being laid upon matters of the moſt frivolous and indifferent nature, whilſt others of the moſt material importance are neglected. Thus the Tartars, under Jenghiz Khan, held it a great ſin to put a knife into the fire; to lean againſt a whip; to ſtrike a horſe with his bridle; or to break one bone with another: but thought it no breach of any religious duty to break their word; to ſeize on another man's goods; to do an injury to his perſon; or to commit murder. Theſe facts naturally ſuggeſt the reflection, of what vaſt importance it is to mankind, that thoſe reſtraints, which our nature is capable of bearing, be directed to proper objects. In this light || Chriſtianity appears with true luſtre and dignity.

* Guagnini Hiſt. Tartaror.

† This is remarked by Ælian, Variæ Hiſtor. lib. ii. cap. 31.

‡ Arrian. lib. vii.

|| Chriſtianity, however, although its native and genuine precepts are principally relative to morality, has been ſo much corrupted in times of barbariſm, as to be reduced to a mere artificial ſyſtem of certain obſervances, that bear little or no reference to moral conduct.—See note xi. ſect. 1. [L] to Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V.

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I am inclined to think, though not without ſome doubt, that people in this condition of life are not inclined to idolatry, or to artificial or material repreſentations of a Deity. The ancient * Arabs ſeem to have had no viſible image † of the divinity; and probably the averſion ſhewn by the Mahommedan religion to idolatry was agreeable to the ancient diſpoſition of that people. Herodotus ſays, that the Scythians had no images or repreſentations of any deity, Mars only excepted; and the emblems of him, which were ſwords and warlike inſtruments, were not, perhaps, ſo much an object of adoration, as an allegorical expreſſion of their wiſhes for military ſucceſs and glory. The ancient Germans were, as has been before mentioned, averſe to images of the Deity; and the Tartars, under Jenghiz Khan, were probably no idolaters.

Idolatry, indeed, appears to be by no means ſuited to this way of life. A people continually changing their quarters, and compelled often to make the moſt rapid migrations from one place to another, would be encumbered with ſtatues and religious ornaments, which would retard their motion, and, if accidentally taken by the enemy, ſerve to diſpirit their people.

Another circumſtance that prevents their having any gods of this kind is, that they have no ‡ temples; which ſeem almoſt neceſſarily connected with this ſpecies of religion. Sacrifices, however, appear to be much in uſe in this ſtate of ſociety, as well as in the former. Indeed, animals ſeem to be the moſt obvious preſent to the Gods of any, from a nation who either lived by hunting, or rearing beaſts in the way of paſturage.

People in this way of life, as well as the former, have no temples or habitations for their deities. Thus the Scythians, as I

* Arrian. Hiſt. Indic. liber.

† Arrian ſays, indeed, that the Arabs had a religious veneration for the ſky or heaven.—Exped. Alexand. lib. vii.

‡ Herodoti Melpomene.

have

have before mentioned *, had no temples: and the ſame was a religious maxim with the † Alans, and other barbarous nations. The people of ‡ India, likewiſe—who, according to Arrian, led, before the time of Bacchus, a paſtoral life like the Scythians—had no temples or public places of worſhip. The reaſon of this is obvious. As their wandering, tranſitory way of life, would not allow them to erect any permanent dwellings for themſelves, they could have no idea of erecting any for the Deity. People in this ſtate ſeem to have but a moderate attachment to religion in general, or any particular form or ſpecies of it. As they have few ceremonies, and no temples, they have no religious veneration derived from viſible objects or local attachments. Hence the eaſe with which Mohammedaniſm was propagated among the Arabs and Tartars; and hence too the little ſcruple which many of the barbarous nations, that invaded the Roman empire, had in embracing Chriſtianity.

CHAP. III.

ON THE EFFECTS OF A LIFE OF AGRICULTURE UPON MANKIND.

SO far on the effects of a paſtoral life. We muſt now advance a ſtep farther, and conſider the effect of the next ſtage, when men betake themſelves to agriculture as a way of life, and general mode of ſubſiſtence.

* Book vi. ch. i. ſect. 6.

† Amm. Marcell. De Morib. Alanorum.

‡ The Indians, ſays Arrian, were formerly ſhepherds, like the Scythians, who do not practiſe agriculture, but paſs their lives in their waggons, travelling from place to place, and neither inhabit cities, nor reſpect temples of the Deity. In like manner the Indians had neither built towns for themſelves, nor temples for the Gods.—Hiſt. Indic. liber.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Effect of a life of agriculture on the diſpoſition.*

One of the moſt immediate effects of this alteration of the way of life is, that it imparts a ſettled diſpoſition, and a great degree of local attachment. People that follow this occupation muſt neceſſarily erect fixed and ſtable habitations, and conſequently are likely to contract a regard for what they have raiſed themſelves. The very method, alſo, of procuring ſubſiſtence from the earth, renders the ſpot, which is the ſubject of cultivation, familiar; and a kind of natural gratitude for the increaſe, tends to endear it to the mind. The idea, likewiſe, of permanent and valuable * property, that is almoſt always annexed to this mode of living, tends greatly to fix people to a ſettled habitation, and to give them notions of local attachment and regard. Poſterity look upon the ſame places with a degree of prejudice in their favour, and even with a kind of religious veneration, as having been the dwellings and favourite ſeats of their anceſtors; to which ideas, family pride does not a little contribute.

It appears to have been a favourite piece of policy with the Romans, and that founded on the beſt principles, to inſtil a notion of local attachment as early as poſſible after the commencement of the ſtate.

Hence the ceremonies uſed by Romulus at the foundation of his city, particularly the marking out of the boundaries by the ‡ plough, which ſeemed to indicate a connection between agricul-

* The poſſeſſion and the enjoyment of property are the pledges that bind civiliſed people to an improved country.—Gibbon's Hiſt. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. ix. p. 227.

‡ Roma vocata erat *urbs* ab urbo ſive urvuo, id eſt aratro, ſic aratri curvatura dicitur, quia antiqui locum ædificiis condendis aratro deſignabant; ut Virgilius,

Interea Æneas urbem deſignat aratro.

Craig. Jur. feudal. lib. i. Dieges, i. § 4.

Plutarch alſo mentions, that Romulus yoked a bull and a cow to a plough with a brazen ploughſhare, with which he marked out the bounds of his city.

ture and a permanent eſtabliſhment: add to this, the ſacred eſtimation in which the walls of the city were held, and the ſevere penalty which there was on their being paſſed over. Religion, alſo, was made to concur in the ſame idea; and the Penates, which were buried beneath the fire-hearth, gave no ſmall ſtrength to theſe ſuggeſtions. The magnificent buildings, alſo, which were erected ſo early after the commencement of the ſtate, were probably intended for the ſame purpoſe. Of this, the aquæducts and drains, as well as the temples of Tarquin, ſome of which remain * entire to this day, are remarkable inſtances. The motives of local attachment of this people, are finely recited in the ſpeech of the dictator † Camillus, when he endeavoured to perſuade the people not

* Intentus perficiendo templo, ex fabris undiquè Etruriâ accitis, non pecunia ſolum ad id publica eſt uſus; ſed operis etiam ex plebe qui quum haud parvus, & ipſe militiæ adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur ſe templa Deum exædificare manibus ſuis: quæ poſthac & ad alia, ut ſpecie minora, ſic laboris aliquanto majoris traducebatur opera; foros in Circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis ſub terram agendam: quibus duobus operibus vix nova hæc magnificentia quicquam adæquare potuerit.—Livii, l. i. ſect. 56.—Vide etiam, Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ.

† Urbem auſpicato inauguratoque conditam habemus. Nullus *locus* in ea non religionum deorumque eſt plenus. Sacrificiis ſolennibus non dies magis ſtati quam *loca* ſunt in quibus fiant. Hos omnes Deos publicos privatoſque Quirites deſerturi eſtis? Quod quum ita ſit quæ (malum) ratio eſt expertis alia experiri! Quum jam ut virtus veſtra tranſire alio poſſit fortuna certè *loci hujus* transferri non poſſit. Hic capitolium eſt: ubi quondam capite humano invento reſponſum eſt, eo loco caput rerum ſummamque imperii fore; hic quum augurato liberaretur capitolium juventas terminuſque maximo gaudio patrum noſtrorum moveri ſe non paſſi: hic Veſtæ ignes, hic ancilia cælo demiſſa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dii.—Titi Livii, lib. v.

Forſitan aliquis dicat aut Veiis nos facturos, aut huc inde miſſuros ſacerdotes noſtros qui faciant: quorum neutrum fieri ſalvis cæremoniis poteſt. Et ne omne generatim ſacra omneſque percenſeam Deos, in Jovis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio pulvinar ſuſcipi poteſt. Quid de æternis Veſtæ ignibus ſignoque quod imperii pignus cuſtodia ejus templi tenetur loquar? Quid de ancilibus veſtris Mars Gradive, tuque Quirine

not to quit the city and remove to Veii, as ſome of them had propoſed.

But the ſtrongeſt inſtance, perhaps, of any, is to be found in the conduct of the above-mentioned great man, who (as Plutarch tells us) when the Romans who had eſcaped to Ardea, from the battle of Allia, propoſed to him to return to the aſſiſtance of his country, refuſed to take any part before his baniſhment was repealed, and proper authority conferred upon him by the Romans, who ſtill remained at Rome, and defended the Capitol, as he conſidered them only as the State and Commonwealth. Even the moſt ſacred expreſſion among the Romans, of defending and fighting for what was moſt dear to them, and what included their country †, was of a local nature; which plainly denoted the great influence which motives of that kind had upon them.

It appears to me probable, though I ſpeak here with diffidence, that the Greeks poſſeſſed much leſs local attachment than the Romans. No marks of any thing of this kind are, I believe, to be found among the inſtitutions of Sparta. The Athenians were perſuaded, without much difficulty, to quit their city on the invaſion of Xerxes; and * Themiſtocles told Euribiades, the Lacedæmonian, that the Athenians, who were then embarked aboard their fleet, could eaſily find as good a country as that which they had

Quirine pater? Hæc omnia in profano deſeri placet ſacra—æqualia urbi, quædam vetuſtiora origine urbis,—Veſtalibus? Nempe illa una ſedes eſt ex qua eas nihil unquam præterquam urbs capta movit. Flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas eſt. Hos Veientes pro Romanis facturi eſtis ſacerdotes, & Veſtales tuæ te deſerent Veſta. Et flamen peregrè habitando in ſingulas noctes tantum ſibi reique publicæ piaculi contrahet? Quid alia, quæ auſpicatò agimus, omnia ferè intra pomærium, cui oblivioni, aut cui negligentiæ damus? Comitia curiata quæ rem militarem continent, comitia centuriata quibus conſules tribunoſque militares creatis, ubi auſpicato niſi ubi adſolent fieri poſſent? Veioſne hæc transferemus?—Livii, lib. v. Orat. Camilli.

† *Pro aris & focis.*

* Plutarch's Life of Themiſtocles.

quitted. † Pericles, alſo, in the ſpeech aſſigned to him by Thucydides, makes little account of the loſs of places or territory; but expreſſes great concern for the ſafety of the people: quite contrary to the ſentiments of the Roman leader, who thought that the quitting the city of Rome would be a greater misfortune than the battle of Allia.

The ſame ideas ſeem to have prevailed in the oratorical performances of the reſpective nations. Demoſthenes invokes the ſhades of the heroes that fought at Marathon and Platæa; ‡ Cicero calls to witneſs the tombs, the groves, and the altars; and it appears, from the work on oratory aſcribed to || Tacitus, that this kind of perſonification of ſuch objects, was a favourite figure of ſpeech among the Romans. Agriculture appears to have been in the higheſt eſteem in the Roman ſtate; and probably, in ſome meaſure, for this reaſon, of inſpiring a local attachment to their country. Indeed, as they neglected, and even deſpiſed commerce, they had ſcarcely any other domeſtic employment, except war; to the ſupport of which agriculture is extremely well adapted, by furniſhing a ſupply of ſtrong and healthy men. The elder Cato thought it not beneath him to write a treatiſe concerning agricul-

† We ought not to wail for our houſes and lands, but for the lives of our people; becauſe lands and houſes can never acquire men, but are by them acquired.—Smith's Thucydides, book i.

‡ Vos enim jam Albani tumuli atque luci, vos inquam imploro atque obteſtor, voſque Albanorum obrutæ aræ, ſacrorum populi Romani ſociæ & æquales, quas ille præceps amentia cæſis proſtratiſque ſanctiſſimis lucis ſubſtructionum inſanis molibus oppreſſerat! veſtræ tum aræ, veſtræ religiones viguerunt, veſtra vis valuit, quam ille omni ſcelere polluerat. Tuque ex tuo edito monte Latiali, ſancte Jupiter, cujus ille lacus, nemora, fineſque, ſæpe omni nefario ſtupro & ſcelere macularat, aliquando ad eum puniendum oculos aperuiſti. Vobis illæ vobis, veſtro in conſpectu, feræ, ſed juſtæ tamen & debitæ pœnæ ſolutæ ſunt.—Ciceron. Orat. pro Milone.

|| Nemora vero & luci & ſecretum ipſum quod Aper increpabat tantam mihi afferunt voluptatem ut inter præcipuos carminum fructus numerem.—Taciti Oratores, cap. xii.

ture,

ture, wherein he ſpeaks of its importance * in the moſt favourable terms. Terentius Varro, likewiſe, eſteemed to be the moſt learned of the Romans, employed his pen upon the ſame ſubject. Even † Cicero every where beſtows the higheſt encomiums on agriculture, which he ſeems to think the only occupation ſuited to a freeman; and ‡ Columella profeſſes an opinion of a like nature.

But the moſt remarkable example, perhaps, of any, is to be found in the elegant and poliſhed Virgil, who, although the favourite of a ſplendid court, and at the ſummit of poetical reputation, did not think it beneath him to employ his talents on the ſubject of agriculture; and it is remarkable, that his works in this way, are no leſs diſtinguiſhed and excellent, than thoſe written on a ſublimer ſubject.

Agriculture, on the other hand, was regarded in a very mean light by the Greeks. Plato ‖ requires, in his republic, ſlaves to till the land; and § Ariſtotle, though with ſome reſerve, expreſſes a deſire that agriculture ſhould be left to people in that rank of life; though he at the ſame time confeſſes, that thoſe were the beſt-ordered republics wherein the citizens themſelves tilled the land.

* Et virum bonum cum laudabant, ita laudabant bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Ampliſſimè laudari exiſtimabatur, qui ita laudabatur. Mercatorem autem ſtrenuum ſtudioſumque rei quærendæ exiſtimo, verum ut ſupra dixi periculoſum & calamitoſum; at ex agricolis & viri fortiſſimi & milites ſtrenuiſſimi gignuntur. — Marci Caton. de re ruſtica, lib. i.

† Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur nihil eſt agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil homine libero dignius.—De Officiis, lib. i.

‡ Unum genus liberale & ingenuum rei familiaris augendæ quod ex agricolatione contingit.—Columell. lib. i.

Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Manius Curius, and the greateſt men among the Romans, worked perſonally at the labours of agriculture. — See Livy and Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ.

‖ De Legibus, lib. v.

§ Ariſtotle, de Republica, lib. ii. cap. 5.

Purſuant

Purſuant to this idea, the Spartans made uſe of the * helotes in cultivating the land of Laconia, the Cretans of the † Periæci, and the Theſſalians of the ‡ Peneſtes. Theſe were the original inhabitants of the country, who were ſubdued by the conquering people. The Athenians ||, likewiſe, were divided into two parts, the ευπατριδαι or well born, and the αγροικοι or huſbandmen. The former had the adminiſtration of all the offices in the ſtate; the latter were eſteemed of an inferior degree.

I am inclined to believe, that the encouragement of agriculture among the Romans was a refined piece of policy, and what contributed greatly to raiſe that ſtate to a pitch far exceeding the Grecian republics, and at the ſame time rendered it more ſtable and durable.

My reaſons for this opinion are as follows:

The agricultural employment of the Romans was more conſtant and healthy than the gymnaſtic exerciſes of the Greeks, which were ſubſtituted in place of it. The former, alſo, employed a much greater number of people.

It alſo, when joined to an Agrarian law, tended greatly to preſerve an equality of fortune among the members of the ſtate.

It gave the ſtate an opportunity of employing all the people, and united them all in one common intereſt; whereas, in Greece, a part of the force was always neceſſary to be retained at home, in

* Pauſanias, l. iii.—Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.—Xenoph. de Lacedæmon. Republic—et Ariſtotle de Republic.

† Ariſt. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10.

‡ Strabon. lib. xii.

|| Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. book ii. ch. 8.—Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 17.

Every man, ſays Xenophon, may be a farmer; no art or ſkill is requiſite; all conſiſts in induſtry, and attention to the execution; a ſtrong proof, as Columella hints, that agriculture was but little underſtood in the time of Xenophon.—Indeed, the ſoil of Attica, as managed by the Athenians, did not admit of much agricultural improvement.— Vide Xenophont. de Proventibus.

order to be a check on that part of the community which was in a ſervile ſtate, and which was always, as might well be expected, ripe for a revolt.

It gave an additional motive of attachment to the ſtate, not only from perſonal §, but alſo from local regard; and in this way bound them more cloſely to its intereſts, than thoſe whoſe concern was merely perſonal. Agriculture, likewiſe, by diſperſing the people through the country, and by providing them with conſtant employment, rendered them leſs factious and licentious than when they were aſſembled in towns, and gave a greater ſteadineſs and uniformity to their political conduct; a thing much wanted at Athens, where every thing was governed by the populace, which was as mutable and uncertain, as violent and impetuous. But at Rome, the people ſcarcely * interfered at all in foreign political affairs; which were all managed by the ſenate and conſuls, and were, on that account, ſteadily and uniformly conducted, and the intereſts of the ſtate more regularly purſued than at Athens.

Agriculture, likewiſe, is much more favourable to modeſty and purity of manners, than the gymnaſtic exerciſes of the Greeks. The latter had the moſt odious effects in promoting a deteſtable paſſion, that ought to be proſcribed by all nations. This was authoriſed by a ſhameful law among the Thebans † and the ‡ Cre-

§ On this account, ſays Xenophon, a country life is very much to be preferred to that of a town, as one that ſupplies a people whoſe qualities are more excellent, and their attachments to the ſtate much ſtronger. — Xenophont Oeconom. ch. v. ſect. 10.

The Romans employed both theſe motives, with great ſucceſs, in ſtrengthening the bond of union between individuals and the ſtate. One of the terms by which the love of our country was expreſſed, was perſonal (pro patria;) and another of a local nature (pro aris & focis.)

* Polybii, lib. vi. extr. 1.

† Plutarch's Life of Pelopidas.

‡ Ariſtot. de Republic. lib. ii. cap. 10.—Strabon. lib. x.

tans,

tans, under a pretence of ſoftening the manners of the youth, which the ferocity of an athletic life was likely to render ſavage. This paſſion, however, was far from being encouraged among the || Romans, but always held infamous and deteſtable.

But to return from this digreſſion.—I am inclined to think, though not without ſome doubt, that although the local regard and attachment is increaſed by this change in the way of life, the perſonal attachment to individuals is rather diminiſhed. Thus inſtances of friendſhip occurred, I am apt to think, more commonly among the * Greeks than the Romans, as the former of theſe people approached nearer to a paſtoral ſtate. Homer is every where full of the moſt devoted attachment of this kind, which he deſcribes ſo naturally, and at the ſame time with ſuch force and energy, and ſeems to take ſuch pleaſure in dwelling upon it, as ſtrongly intimates it to be a deſcription of the manners of the age in which he lived, and of the eſtimation in which theſe regards were then held.

Virgil has, indeed, given us a picture of a ſimilar connection, which, on many accounts, can hardly be too much admired; but it is evidently an imitation of Homer, and that ſo exact, as indicates that this paſſion was originally little felt or encouraged among that people with whom Virgil lived.

Even Cicero, although he has written a moſt elegant and valuable work on this ſpecies of regard, had, I am apt to think, no very high idea of it, at leaſt in that degree which was ſo much cultivated among the Greeks.

|| Thoſe who committed it were called *corpore infames*.—Taciti Germ. cap. xii.

Virgil has, indeed, deſcribed the criminal paſſion of Corydon for Alexis, in his ſecond Eclogue; but this is thought to be an imitation of the third paſtoral of Theocritus, called *Comaſtes*, or perhaps of the twelfth, called *Aites*.

Salluſt likewiſe ſpeaks of this crime with great abhorrence, and ſcarcely credible even of Catiline.—Bell. Catilinar.

It was death by the civil law.—C. ix. 9, 31.

* See the Sympoſium of Plato, Speech of Phædrus.

His

His accurate deſcriptions of this paſſion and its ſeveral ſpecies, the bounds to which it ſhould extend, the means whereby it may be diſſolved, and the circumſtances of life beſt adapted to it, argue, indeed, a philoſophical knowledge of the ſubject, but not a ſenſibility and feeling of the emotions it produces; and, in my opinion, we are not only more entertained, but alſo more inſtructed in the nature of friendſhip, by reading the deſcription of the connection of Achilles and Patroclus in Homer, than by all Cicero's elaborate, and, indeed, excellent performance. I am, indeed, apt to think, that Cicero's fondneſs for the Grecian philoſophy and literature, not only cauſed him to chuſe this as a ſubject of diſquiſition, but alſo influenced his ſtyle and manner of writing concerning it.

Another alteration which the change of the way of life, as I apprehend, produces, is the rendering the people leſs addicted to war, and a life of warfare *. I do not, however, mean to inſinuate, that the practice of agriculture tends to abate courage; only that, by employing the time and diverting the attention, it forms another object of purſuit, and conſequently leaves leſs leiſure and opportunity for warlike employment. The different methods, alſo, of procuring ſuſtenance, as well as the nature of the food itſelf gained by agriculture, from that got by hunting, or in a paſtoral life—both which laſt have been before obſerved to be nearly altogether of the animal kind—render the people who live by agriculture, and who, of conſequence, feed much on vegetables, much leſs ferocious and cruel, and of conſequence leſs daring, than thoſe who live either by hunting or paſturage.

The northern nations, who invaded the Roman empire, had their ferocity greatly abated by ſettling in the countries they had ſeized, and thus changing their way of life; and ſome of them

* Strabo tells us, that the Romans compelled the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonenſis to follow the profeſſion of agriculture, in order to abate their warlike diſpoſition.—Strabon. lib. iv.

were ſucceſſively expelled by others, as they altered their diſpoſition, and became leſs warlike.

The Romans, however, appear to be a notable exception to the poſition here laid down, as that people were the greateſt encouragers of agriculture, and at the ſame time the moſt ſucceſsful in *military affairs, of any nation that ever was known; to which ſucceſs

* Romulus, ſays Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, being ſenſible that the means by which a whole people (the greateſt part of whom are hard to govern) can be induced to embrace a life of ſociety, to prefer juſtice to gain, to cultivate a perſeverance in labour, and to look upon nothing more valuable than virtue, is not inſtruction, but the habitual practice of ſuch employments as lead to every thing that is virtuous; and that thoſe who practiſe them from neceſſity rather than choice, as ſoon as they are freed from that reſtraint, return to their natural diſpoſition. For theſe reaſons he appointed ſlaves and foreigners to exerciſe thoſe trades that are ſedentary and mechanical, and promote ſhameful appetites, looking upon them as the deſtroyers and corruptors both of the bodies and minds of all who practiſe them; and theſe trades were for a long time held ignominious by the Romans, and exerciſed by none of them. The only employments he left to freemen were theſe two, agriculture and warfare: for he obſerved, that the men ſo employed are temperate, leſs intangled in the purſuits of forbidden love, and ſubject to that kind of avarice only, which leads them not to injure one another, but to enrich themſelves at the expence of the enemy. But finding that each of theſe occupations, ſeparate from the other, is imperfect, and produces murmurs; inſtead of appointing one part of the men to till the earth, and the other to lay waſte the enemies country, according to the inſtitution of the Lacedæmonians, he ordered the ſame perſons to exerciſe the employments both of huſbandmen and ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them, in time of peace, to live in the country, and cultivate the land, except when it was neceſſary for them to come to market; upon which occaſions they were to meet in the city, in order to traffic; and to that end he appointed a market to be held every ninth day: and in time of war, he taught them the duty of ſoldiers, and not to yield to any, either in the fatigues or advantages which attend it; for by dividing equally among them the ſlaves, lands, and money they had taken from the enemy, he inſpired them with a chearfulneſs to engage in his military expeditions.—Dionyſ. Halic. b. ii. ch. 28. Spelman's Tranſlat.

Ancus Martius likewiſe adviſed the people to apply to agriculture.—Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ii. ch. 27.

Several of the military rewards, at that period, were relative to agriculture. Horatius Cocles received as a reward, as much land as he could incircle with a plough in one day.—Livii, lib. ii. cap. 10.—Dionyſ. Halicarn. b. v. ch. 25.

The

ſucceſs their attention to agriculture is juſtly thought to have not a little contributed. Had the northern nations, who ſettled in Lombardy and Italy, not only purſued the ſame method of life, but alſo preſerved their military temper and occupation, like the Romans, inſtead of ſinking into luxury, ſloth, and effeminacy, their adopting the profeſſion of agriculture would only have rendered them more formidable, by affording them a ſupply and recruit for their armies, an advantage of which they had the greateſt need. All, therefore, that I mean ſhould be here underſtood is, that the change from a paſtoral ſtate to a life of agriculture renders the profeſſion of arms leſs univerſal among the people; not that it abates their military ſtrength or power, but, when well regulated, rather increaſes it *. Agriculture, I apprehend, is much more favourable to induſtry than either of the foregoing ways of life. Among a people who ſubſiſt in a great meaſure by hunting, great part of the time is ſpent in † idleneſs; and although a paſtoral life is rather more active, it requires attention rather than labour. But the cultivation of the ſoil, and the reaping its fruits, demand a regular and unceaſing toil, which fully occupies the time, although it does not need any violent exertions of ſtrength. However, this conſtant

The ſame reward was given to Mucius Scævola.—Dionyſ. Halic. b. v. ch. 25.

Several of the puniſhments, as well as rewards, about that period, had a reference to agriculture. Thus the Romans, in the conſulſhip of Menenius, ſon to Menenius Agrippa, aboliſhed all pecuniary fines, and changed them to payments in ſheep and oxen.—Dionyſ. b. ix. c. 28.

* It is only civiliſed nations that make war. The conteſts of ſavages and barbarians are only robbery. Strabo ſays, that Maſſiniſſa civiliſed the Numidians, and taught them agriculture, and inſtructed how to make war, inſtead of robbery and plundering. Tacitus gives a like account of the Catti, whom he repreſents as the moſt knowing and intelligent of any of the German nations; that the other nations went out to battle, but the Catti only made war.—Strabon. lib. xvii.—Taciti Germ. cap. xxx.

† Multum venatibus, plus per otium tranſigunt.—Taciti Germaniæ, cap. xv.

laborious employment imparts great power and ‡ firmneſs to the body, and by that means renders thoſe who practiſe it extremely well ſuited to any || warlike buſineſs. Another effect of an agricultural or ruſtic life, is that of exhibiting characters in their original and native form. In mixed ſociety, people are obliged to conceal or diſſemble their ſentiments, and aſſume a behaviour and ſtyle of action often foreign to their real opinions and inclinations.

The prevalence of faſhion, the influence of example, the deſire of applauſe, and the dread of cenſure, obſtruct the natural tendency of the mind, and, in place of the character formed by nature, ſubſtitute a creature of art. But the ſolitude of a country life, which removes people at once from the immediate example, advice, or cenſure of their neighbours, renders every man in ſome meaſure independent of another, and encourages him to give a looſe to his inclinations, and to acknowledge no other director, in matters of moral * indifference, than his own will or caprice.

‡ Nations who practiſe agriculture are much ſtronger in body than thoſe who live by hunting, or paſturage at leaſt; they are more capable of perſevering and continued labour. Thus it appears from Tacitus and Dion Caſſius, that the Germans were incapable of any long endurance of fatigue and labour; and the ſame is true of the American Indians.—Taciti German. cap. iv.—Dion. Caſſ. lib. xxxviii.—Robertſon's Hiſt. of America.

|| At ex agricolis et viri fortiſſimi et milites ſtrenuiſſimi gignuntur.—Cato de Re Ruſticâ.

At mehercule vera illa Romana proles aſſiduis venatibus, nec minus agreſtibus operibus exercita, firmiſſimis prævaluit corporibus, ac militiam belli cum res poſtulavit facile ſuſtinuit, durata pacis laboribus, ſemperque ruſticam plebem præpoſuit urbanæ.—Columellæ, lib. i.

Vide etiam Xenophont. Œconom. cap. v. § 4.

Oliver Cromwell adviſed the parliament to enliſt into their ſervice farmers ſons, and men bred to agriculture.—Hume's Hiſt. of England.

Machiavel was of the ſame opinion.—Art of War, book i. ch. 8.

* See Rambler, No. 138.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Effects of a life of agriculture upon the Manners.*

First, as to the moral part. I am apt to believe that the change of the way of life, from pasturage to agriculture, contributes, in several respects, to the improvement of the moral character.

It has been before observed, that, at the first introduction of the knowledge of property, the desire of obtaining it is more violent than in the subsequent stages. Men are at that time not only influenced by the power and respect it bestows, and the gratifications it purchases, but are also attracted by it as a novelty, and consequently their thirst after it is * immense, especially the signs of it, as the precious metals. Hence the violent avidity for gold, shewn by the northern nations who invaded the Roman empire, and in some measure by the Spaniards who invaded Peru and Mexico; to which last the quantity of riches discovered was at least as new and unexpected as what was acquired by the former.

People, too, who are but newly acquainted with property, and who, from their way of life, possess a great degree of ferocity of disposition, except at no means, however violent, to attain it. Hence the horrible † depredations of the northern nations, on their invasion of the southern parts of Europe; who at first sight seem to have had no other end in view than the utter destruction of the countries into which they penetrated. But when these very people began to settle in the parts they had subdued, their ferocity and cruelty abated; they became just and regular in their dealings, and enacted the most equitable ‡ laws. Property, at their first being acquainted with it, excited only a desire of procuring it, which they gratified at all events; but afterwards they considered that a

* Auri cupidine immensâ flagrantes.—Amm. Marcell. Desc. Hunnor.

† Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. vol. i. note E.

‡ This was the character of the laws of the Burgundians, Saxons, and Lombards.

different

different mode of conduct was neceſſary for the preſervation and enjoyment of it, and to repreſs the ſame || violence to themſelves, which they had employed in obtaining it. Agriculture had likewiſe a great effect in repreſſing violence, by communicating a mode of obtaining property by labour and induſtry; which were ſoon found to be more ſecure and permanent, as well as more regular, methods of acquiſition, than force and rapine, and which quickly imparted notions of * juſtneſs and honeſty in all their dealings and tranſactions. The mixture of vegetable diet, which a life of agriculture neceſſarily introduced, contributed likewiſe, I imagine, to abate their ferocity.

Agriculture alſo, I believe, improves the morals of the people, by diſperſing them over the country. A paſtoral life naturally collects great numbers of people together; which always tends to corrupt their manners, eſpecially when ſo much time is unemployed, as is the caſe in that way of life. But agriculture requires that the people ſhould be ſcattered, and likewiſe it ſupplies them with conſtant employment, and by that means removes two great ſources of corruption. Thus the Romans, who were at firſt collected from ſhepherds, robbers, and outlaws, ſoon became, by

|| Arrian tells us, that Alexander built cities for the Indian nations, that they might no longer lead a wandering life, but betake themſelves to the works of agriculture, in order that being poſſeſſed of property, which naturally imparted ſome concern for its preſervation, they might on that account be more cautious of offering violence and injury to others.—Hiſtory of India.

* The earth, ſays Xenophon, which is itſelf a Deity, teaches juſtice to all who are capable of conſidering its nature, as it makes the moſt ample recompence to thoſe who duly attend to its cultivation.—Œcon. ch. v. § 12.

———maxime pius quæſtus ſtabiliſſimuſque conſequitur, minimeque invidioſus. minimeque malè cogitantes ſunt, qui in eo ſtudio occupati ſunt.—Cato de Re Ruſticâ, lib. i.

Cicero had a great opinion of the good effects of an agricultural life on the manners and conduct.—See his work De Senectute & pro L. Roſcio Amerino.

Strabo ſays, that thoſe who practiſed agriculture in India were the moſt moral and juſt of any of the ranks of people.—Deſcr. Indiæ.

ſettling

ſettling in a fixed habitation, and by application to agriculture, a people highly moral and religious; and the barbarous nations that invaded Europe, abated much of their ferocity, violence, and rapacity, on ſettling in the countries they had conquered. Agriculture likewiſe may, I think, be conſidered as favourable to morals, as it is an advance towards civiliſation. This always introduces a ſenſe of decorum and propriety into our conduct, adverſe to the commiſſion of flagitious actions; which ſerves as a conſiderable check on thoſe diſpoſed to perpetrate them.

As to internal corruption, or that which ariſes from the influence of money, I am inclined to think that this alſo is diminiſhed by the change of the way of life. The nations who live in a paſtoral ſtate at preſent, are the moſt venal and corrupt of any in the world. The Arabs and Tartars will do any thing for money; and it ſeems to have been held in equal eſtimation by the northern nations. It appears, from all accounts, that the ancient Gauls were exceſſively fond of gold. Brennus offered to raiſe the ſiege of Rome for a thouſand pounds weight of gold. The Gaſatæ were ſo called, from ſerving under any people for pay. The † Inſubrians and Boians bribed the kings of the Gauls to make war upon the Romans. Livy ‡ alſo tells us of the ſame people, that although Hannibal had gained their alliance and good-will, he could not keep them ſteady to his intereſt, without making preſents of this metal to their chiefs. But the nations who have encouraged agriculture, have in general preſerved a greater degree of independence and dignity of character. The Romans, in the early ages of the republic, were highly diſintereſted and public-ſpirited. Manius Curius, Fabricius, Cincinnatus, Regulus, all of whom led a life of agri-

† Polyb. b. ii. ch. 2.

‡ Præoccupatos jam ab Annibale Gallorum animos eſſe, ſed ne illi quidem ipſi ſatis mitem gentem fore, adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia eſſe, ni ſubinde auro, cujus avidiſſima gens eſt, principum animi concilientur.—Livii, lib. xxi.

culture,

culture, afford inſtances that they then poſſeſſed theſe virtues in the moſt eminent degree; and theſe examples were highly reſpected, and quoted with admiration by that people, even in the moſt * degenerate times.

I am inclined to believe, that the manners, as far as relates to the behaviour, are leſs poliſhed in this ſtate of life than in the foregoing, though perhaps this may not always hold true.

Tacitus tells us, that the behaviour of the Germans was † courteous and obliging to ſtrangers; and the manners of the people during the middle ages, when the nations of Europe in general were little removed from a ſtate of barbariſm, were in a high degree ‡ reſpectful, polite, and elegant. Where nearly every man in a ſtate is of the ſame profeſſion, it introduces a kind of equality, and renders each of them an object of reſpect to the other; conſequently no tyrannical or oppreſſive aſcendency is gained by any particular ſet or rank of people, which often takes place in ſtates where there are a variety of functions and occupations. Where men, alſo, are conſtantly aſſembled in great numbers, neceſſity

* Regulum, et Scauros, animæque magnæ
Prodigum Paulum, ſuperante Pœno,
Gratus inſigni referam Camœnâ,
Fabriciumque.
Hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
Sæva paupertas, et avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.
Horatii Odar. l. i. od. 12.

——————parvoque potentem
Fabricium, vel te ſulco Serrane ſerentem.
Virgil. Æneid. l. vi. l. 844, 845.

Vide etiam Silii Italic. lib. xiii. l. 720.—Valerii Maxim. lib. iv. c. 4.—Claudian. lib. iv. l. 412. Conſ. Honor.—et in Rufinum, lib. i. l. 100.

† Victus inter hoſpites comis.—Tacit. German. ç. xxii.

‡ Stuart's View of Society in Europe, ch. ii. ſect. 5.

compels them to attend to the formalities of behaviour; which are the more ſtrictly obſerved, not only to keep up the reſpect of the people for each other—on which military courage ſo much depends—but alſo from the conſideration that each individual has conſtantly by his ſide a weapon, ready to revenge inſults and chaſtiſe neglects. But an agricultural ſtate is nearly, in every reſpect, the reverſe of that juſt deſcribed. There is a neceſſity for different ranks, as well as functions and occupations, in ſuch a ſociety; the nature of their employment being local, precludes them from variety of acquaintance; and their ſenſe of honour is ſeldom ſo nice as to render tranſgreſſions in point of behaviour, unleſs accompanied with ſome ſubſtantial injury, great objects of concern. In ſhort, the politeneſs of agricultural nations, like what Mr. * Monteſquieu has obſerved of the Engliſh, is rather in their morals than in their behaviour.

How this way of life influences the condition of women, is difficult to determine; and perhaps it may be different in different countries. Among the Romans †, the ſituation of women was highly reſpectable. Romulus ordained, that the wife ſhould be an equal partaker of the fortune with her huſband; and ſhe was even aſſociated with him in the office of ‡ prieſthood. The coalition of the Romans and Sabines was brought about by the interceſſion of women, which were alſo thought the moſt ſecure || hoſtages that could be given to Porſena. Cloelia, one of theſe, had an ** equeſtrian ſtatue erected to her honour at the public charge. The injury offered to Lucretia procured the expulſion of the Tarquins, and that

* Sp. of Laws, book xix. c. 27.

† Perhaps the warlike turn of the Romans might make the women more regarded. It is an obſervation of Ariſtotle, which is verified by experience, that women have the moſt power among a warlike people.—De Republica, lib. ii. cap. 9.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ii.

|| Livii, lib. ii. cap. 13.

** Livii, lib. ii. cap. 13, 14.—Dionyſ. Halic. b. v.

to Virginia produced the reſtoration of the ancient form of government. But the moſt remarkable inſtance, perhaps, of any, is to be found in the hiſtory of Coriolanus; who, although deaf to the intreaties of the ſenate in general, and his moſt intimate friends, the greateſt perſons in the ſtate, yielded, notwithſtanding, to female ſupplication, and ſpared his country from the deſtruction * he was about to inflict.

I am apt to think, that an agricultural way of life is extremely favourable to paternal authority.

The power of a father over his ſon, in the Roman republic, was very great, and nearly unbounded. He might, at any period of the life of the latter, inflict upon him † any corporal puniſhment, however diſgraceful; might confine him, reduce him to the condition of a ſlave, and even put him ‡ to death. Parricide was, for a long time, eſteemed a crime impoſſible to be perpetrated; and when, at laſt, experience taught them the neceſſity of enacting a law for its puniſhment, the penalty of death was inflicted in the moſt odious || and diſgraceful manner.

* A temple was built on this occaſion, and dedicated to the fortune of women, fortunæ muliebri.—Livii, lib. 2.—Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. book viii.

† By virtue of this law, ſays Dionyſius, men of diſtinction, whilſt they were haranguing from the roſtra, in oppoſition to the ſenate, and in favour of the people, and on that account gaining great popularity, have been pulled down from thence, and carried away by their fathers, to undergo ſuch puniſhment as they thought fit; and whilſt they were leading away through the Forum, none preſent, neither conſul, nor tribune, nor the people themſelves—who were flattered by them, and thought all power inferior to their own—durſt give them any aſſiſtance.—Dionyſ. Halic. book ii. § 26.

‡ Aulus Fulvius ſet out to join Catiline; his father called him back, and put him to death.—Salluſt. Bell. Cat.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the Romans did not exerciſe the power of life and death over their children, without the formality of a trial, at which the friends and relations were preſent, and according to their ſentence the puniſhment was inflicted.—Valer. Maxim. l. v. c. 8. § 2, 3, 5.—See alſo Puffendorf, b. iv. c. 2.

|| They were tied up in a ſack, with a dog, an ape, a cock, and a fox, and thrown into the ſea.

The

The Roman ſenate, to whom the government of the ſtate was originally intruſted, were called fathers, from the reſemblance of their authority to that of parents, and perhaps in order to preſerve the reſpect for that connection. The country itſelf was named Patria on a ſimilar account, and was ſuppoſed to mean the * ſenate and magiſtrates. It was a maxim amongſt them, that parental authority was to be moderated by † patience and ſubmiſſion only. No man could hold any public office, or be a magiſtrate, whilſt his father was a priſoner among ‡ the enemy. Perhaps, too, the cuſtom of adoption, ſo frequent among this people, might be inſtituted in order to extend paternal authority.

Egypt ‖, alſo, where agriculture was carried to a high pitch, was remarkable for the great reſpect paid to parents.—Children gave their parents honourable burial; they pledged their bodies for large ſums, and thoſe who did not redeem them, were themſelves denied interment. A father, in Egypt, was not put to death for killing his ſon; but a ſon, who killed his father, was executed with the moſt horrid tortures.

In China, likewiſe, where agriculture is the main object of the ſtate, great regard is paid to the connection between children and their parents.

Father Le Comte § tells us, that if a ſon ſhould be ſo inſolent as to ſhew any diſreſpect to his parents, or to lay violent hands upon them, no puniſhment is thought too ſevere for ſuch a crime. The emperor himſelf performs the office of judge. All the Man-

* Livii, lib. xxv.

† Parentum ſævitiam patiendo & ferendo leniendam eſſe.—Livii, lib. xxvii.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ii.

The only law of Romulus that remains, reſpects filial obedience.—" Sci Parentem puer verberit, aſt oloe ploraſſint, puer diveis parentum ſacer eſto; ſi nurus, ſacra diveis parentum eſto.—Roſini, Antiq. p. 559.

‖ Diodor, Sicul. lib. i.

§ Le Comte, on the Policy and Government of the Chineſe.

darins, near the place, are turned out, eſpecially thoſe of that town who have been ſo negligent in their inſtructions. They deſtroy the houſe of the offender, and even thoſe adjacent, and ſet up monuments and memorials of ſo flagitious an action.

Obedience to parents, and reſpect to ſuperiors, is likewiſe the characteriſtic of the Japaneſe nation, according to a late account ‡; which alſo remarks, that agriculture is ſo well underſtood there, that the whole country, even to the tops of the hills, is cultivated.

No people encouraged agriculture more than the Jews; and among none was paternal authority † more reſpected. The only promiſe of reward, at leaſt of a temporal kind, mentioned in the ten commandments, is annexed to the condition of honour and reſpect to parents.

I do not, however, mean to ſay, that an agricultural life was, in theſe inſtances, the ſole cauſe of this reſpect, but only that it concurred to produce this effect.

On the other hand, I apprehend, that where little or no attention is paid to the cultivation of the land, the parental authority is but little regarded. Thus the American Indians *, who live by hunting, pay no reſpect to their parents, and often treat them with harſhneſs and inſolence; nor do the parents expect any peculiar attention or duty from their children.

Barbarous nations, likewiſe, I am apt to think, have but ſlight notions of this connection. Tacitus does not preciſely inform us what force it had among the ancient Germans, whilſt it ſubſiſted; but we know that it was diſſolved at that period of life ‖ when

‡ Thunberg's Journal of a Voyage to Japan.—Philoſoph. Tranſactions, vol. lxx. p. 1.

† Agriculture was an honourable employment among the Jews, concerning which their legiſlator had entered much into detail. (See Leviticus, chap. xxv. and many other places.) By the municipal law of the Jews, he that curſed his father or mother were put to death.—Levit. xx.

* Robertſon's America, book iv.

‖ Ante hoc domûs pars videtur; mox reipublicæ.—Taciti German. cap. xiii.

they

they were able to carry arms. From the way of life, alſo, of the barbarous nations deſcribed by Ammianus Marcellinus ‡, it is probable that this obligation could not be very powerful; as the children were bred up to the age of puberty by women; were never perſonally acquainted with their fathers, being brought up promiſcuouſly, and at a diſtance from their native connections, and conſequently could not be much under their controul.

In the Greek republics, where agriculture was but little in eſteem, the power of a father over his children was neither ſo great, or of ſo long duration, as in the Roman ſtate. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis || remarks, "that thoſe laws which Romulus enacted to inſpire children with piety and reverence towards their parents, and to oblige them to honour and to obey their fathers in all things, both words and actions, are much ſuperior to the Grecian laws; for the Greek legiſlators limited a very ſhort time for the ſon to be under the government of his father; ſome, until the expiration of the third year after he was arrived to manhood; others, as long as he continued unmarried; and ſome, till their names were regiſtered in the colleges of magiſtrates; as they had learned from the laws of Solon, Pittacus, and Charondas, in which there is acknowledged to be great wiſdom. The puniſh-

‡ Vita eſt illis ſemper in fugâ: uxoreſque mercenariæ conductæ ad tempus ex pacto: ut ſit ſpecies matrimonii, dotis nomine futura conjunx has tam & tabernaculum offert marito, poſt ſtatum diem ſi id elegerit, diſceſſura: & incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque ſolvatur ſexus. Ita autem quoad vixerint late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberoſque procul educat, nulla copiâ quieſcendi permiſſâ.—Amm. Marc. l. xiv. cap. 5. Deſcr. Saracenor.

Omnes enim ſine ſedibus fixis, abſque lare vel lege aut ritu ſtabili diſpalantur, ſemper fugientium ſimiles, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi conjuges tetra illis veſtimenta contexunt, & coeunt cum maritis, & pariunt, & ad uſque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nulluſque apud eos interrogatus, reſpondere unde oritur poteſt, alibi conceptus, natuſque procul, & longius educatus. — Ammian. Marc. l. xiv. c. v. Deſcript. Hunn. & Alanor.

|| Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. ii. Spelman's Tranſlation.

ments;

ments, alſo, which they ordained for diſobedience in children were not grievous—allowing their fathers to turn them out of doors, and to diſinherit them, but no farther. Whereas gentle puniſhments are not ſufficient to reſtrain the folly and inſolence of youth, or to reſtore thoſe, who deſpiſe their duty, to a ſenſe of it; for which reaſon, among the Greeks, great indecencies are committed by children againſt their parents."

To theſe obſervations of Dionyſius we may add, that even in the Spartan republic, wherein * obedience was ſo carefully inculcated, and made a principle of government, no great uſe was made of paternal authority. Fathers had there, indeed, a degree of power over children; but this power was common to all fathers over all children, whether their own or not, and was probably exerciſed more in the light of general inſpectors of the education of youth, than in a private † paternal capacity. Every child, at Sparta, whether male or female, was accounted to be the property of the ſtate; their education was public, and in a ſettled manner; nor was it in the power of the parents to alter it even in the moſt minute article. Some of the moſt ‡ reſpectable perſons

* Every one knows, ſays Xenophon, that the Spartans are firſt inſtructed to obey the magiſtrates and the laws.—On the Lacedæmonian Republic.

† "In this reſpect he judged differently from moſt others. For, in other ſtates, every individual is maſter of his own children, ſervants, and poſſeſſions. But Lycurgus—who was deſirous to bring it about that the citizens, without injuring any one, ſhould enjoy all their advantages in common—ordained that every father ſhould have a command, not over his own children only, but of thoſe of others alſo."—Xenophon on the Lacedæmonian Republic, ch. vi. § 1.

‡ "Lycurgus, conſidering that people often ſet ſlaves over children as their governors and tutors, choſe rather to elect a man for their preceptor who had paſſed the principal magiſtracies in the ſtate. To this perſon, from his employment, they gave the title of governor of the youth. To him was intruſted the power of aſſembling the youth, and of puniſhing them ſeverely, if any one, on ſtrict examination, appeared to deſerve it. He had, as an attendant, one of the young men, who carried the rods, that he might have the inſtruments of puniſhment

ſons in the ſtate ſuperintended the education of the youth, directed their actions and conduct, and puniſhed them at their diſcretion; conſequently, there was little room for domeſtic diſcipline or authority.

It is not, perhaps, very difficult to account, in a good meaſure at leaſt, for the influence of an agricultural life in extending paternal authority. People, who follow this way of life, are obliged to live, in a good meaſure, ſeparate and detached from others, and conſequently leſs expoſed to the contagion of a turbulent, factious ſpirit. The children are bred up with their parents from their birth; they are always in their ſight, are their aſſiſtants and ſervants in the buſineſs, and accuſtomed to obedience and a habit of induſtry from their early youth. Their father is the firſt, and perhaps the only perſon they are taught to reſpect; and this attachment does not abate as they grow up, but rather increaſes with their ſtrength and ability to become ſerviceable.

SECT. III. *Influence of an agricultural way of life upon the intellects.*

I am inclined to think that a life of this kind is more favourable to the improvement of the underſtanding in general, eſpecially in uſeful knowledge, than either of the foregoing.

Firſt, it is an advance towards civiliſation and improvement of manners; circumſtances always favourable to ſcience, at leaſt when carried to a certain degree only.

Next, agriculture itſelf requires ſome ſtudy and attention of mind, at leaſt of thoſe who carry it on with a view to its improvement—which is always the caſe with many perſons, where it

in readineſs when it was neceſſary to employ them. From hence it comes, that the Spartan youth are endued with great modeſty and reſpectfulneſs of behaviour; and, at the ſame time, a ſenſe of obedience and due ſubordination." — Xenophon on the Lacedæm. Republic. chap. ii. § 6.

is managed by the higher ranks of people—and of conſequence tends to introduce a habit of reaſoning and reflection *, joined with experiment and obſervation.

Next, a life of agriculture, although a conſtant employment, is favourable to knowledge, and exertion of the faculties, from the very habit of induſtry which it tends to introduce. Idleneſs is no friend to knowledge; and, whatever ſpeculative moraliſts may have ſaid of the connection between ſcience and leiſure, it is certain that our beſt information, in almoſt every branch of knowledge, has been received from thoſe who have had their time the moſt occupied.

A life of agriculture is alſo, I think, favourable, in a national view, to the mental faculties, by affording a ſubject for their employment to every rank of people. In the other ſtates of life there was little that occurred, in the uſual courſe, to ſtimulate curioſity and to promote enquiry; but in this, where an object is preſented that is a conſtant ſubject of attention, and at the ſame time ſuſceptible of great variety, and capable of much improvement, the mind thus urged, and naturally active, preſſes forward, and calls the faculties into action.

This way of life is alſo, in my opinion, more favourable to the powers of the underſtanding than the former, as it is more ſtationary, and attached to a fixed place or ſituation; a circumſtance certainly better adapted to the advancement of knowledge, than the wandering and tranſitory life of a hunter or a ſhepherd.

In confirmation of theſe arguments, we may obſerve, that thoſe countries where agriculture was much encouraged, generally made great progreſs in the uſeful ‡ arts. The buildings at Rome, which were

* Mr. Hume remarks of agriculture, that it is a profeſſion, which, of all mechanical employments, requires the moſt reflection and experience. — Hume's Hiſt. of England, ch. xxxv.

‡ It is a true obſervation, ſays Xenophon, that agriculture is the nurſing-mother of the arts. For where agriculture ſucceeds proſperouſly, there the arts thrive; but

were erected in the early days of that people, even when under a regal government, and which ſtill remain the admiration of poſterity, evidently demonſtrate that the practical arts of that kind were arrived at a high degree of perfection.

Their progreſs in military knowledge was no leſs remarkable. In this indeed they had great experience, as they were almoſt conſtantly engaged in war; but it was not in military reſolution and courage only that they excelled. They ſtruck the ‡ Grecian invader, at an early period of their hiſtory, with the regularity of their encampments, and the excellence of their diſcipline and arms, in all of which they ſoon arrived to ſuch a pitch of perfection, as far to ſurpaſs ‖ thoſe from whom their knowledge was derived.

But although this ſtage of civiliſation be favourable to the exertions of the mind and underſtanding, in the promotion of uſeful knowledge, or ſuch as is accommodated to ſupply the wants or neceſſities of mankind, I doubt whether it be adapted to the increaſe of elegant or ornamental accompliſhment, or the efforts of fancy and genius.

Some of theſe, particularly the talents for oratory and poetry, have been obſerved to prevail in great force, in the rudeſt ſitua-

but where the earth neceſſarily lies uncultivated, there the other arts, relative both to land and ſea, are deſtroyed.—Oeconom. ch. v. § 17.

Strabo mentions, that when the nations of Gaul had betaken themſelves to agriculture, they ſoon ſurpaſſed the people of Marſeilles in the arts of life.—Strabon. lib. iv.

‡ Pyrrhus advanced, and encamped in the plain between the cities of Pandoſia and Heraclea, and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other ſide of the river Siris, he rode up to take a view of them; and ſeeing the order, the appointment of the watches, the excellent form, and, in a word, the whole ſcheme of their encampment, he was amazed, and, calling to one of his friends next to him, "This order," ſays he, "Megacles, of a barbarous nation, is not at all barbarous; we ſhall ſoon ſee what they can do:" and, growing a little more doubtful of the event, reſolved to expect the arrival of the confederates.—Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus.

‖ See Polyb. book xvii. Ext. 3.

tions of mankind; and although the next ſtage, of which we have treated in the laſt chapter, appeared at one period highly adverſe to literature, and the improvement of the mental powers, yet this violence ſoon abated, and a degree of taſte for ſome of the polite arts appeared again, in the very days of the * ſame people that contributed ſo much to their deſtruction. But a people, whoſe diſpoſition leads to agriculture, have, I apprehend, little taſte for entertainments of the more elegant kind. The Romans ſhewed ſcarcely any marks of poetical genius for many ages after the foundation of the city, and, perhaps, would never have attempted that ſpecies of writing, had it not been for their intercourſe with Greece.

China and India, though highly poliſhed, have produced neither poets nor orators of much conſideration; and the like is, I believe, true of Egypt. Greece, on the contrary, even at a period when civiliſation and arts were at a low ebb, exhibited many marks of genius in this way.

Nor is the reaſon of this difference hard to be conceived. A people who were engaged in a conſtant employment, ſuch as agriculture afforded, had no leiſure for abſtract ſpeculation, or the indulgence of fancy and invention, on ſubjects which promiſed no immediate uſe or advantage to ſociety.

The habit, alſo, of a domeſtic life, ſuch as agriculture induced, together with the local nature of the employment, were not favourable to interchange of ſentiment and general information, nor to the diſpoſition, character, and knowledge of mankind: for the acquiſition of which a larger and more varied ſcene of ſociety is requiſite.

I am likewiſe apt to think, that a life of agriculture is rather unfavourable to taſte and refinement, from the tenſe and firm fibre

* Attila the Hunn had conſtantly poets in waiting, and their verſes in honour of his exploits were part of the entertainment of his court. The Arabs, almoſt immediately after they had deſtroyed moſt of the monuments of literature, ſet themſelves on their reſtoration.

which

which a habit of labour naturally produces. This, however well ſuited it may be to the common buſineſs of life, is inconſiſtent with the delicacy † of ſenſation, and quickneſs of apprehenſion, which are neceſſary to form an elegant taſte and reliſh for works of genius, and poetical or lively invention, and even for that accurate and diſcriminating obſervation, which is ſo characteriſtic of ſenſibility of feeling joined with exquiſite judgment.

It is found, even by anatomical obſervation, that a certain tone of fibre, which to us bears the appearance of laxity, is neceſſary for nicety of ſenſation and apprehenſion. This is inconſiſtent with a habit of great muſcular exertion: which probably, by the ſtrong and repeated impulſes it occaſions upon the nerves, renders them inſenſible to ſlight irritations, and has alſo, as we find by experience, the power of inducing a great degree of calloſity, or approach towards oſſification, on the muſcular fibres themſelves.

This I take to be one reaſon of the inſenſibility of the people in northern latitudes, in compariſon with thoſe of warmer climates. The habit of labour, and exertion of the bodily powers, which is cuſtomary and neceſſary there, co-operates with the climate in inducing a greater degree of inſenſibility upon the more delicate organs.

The ſame cauſe probably operates in inducing a difference of a ſimilar kind between the higher and lower ranks of people, the latter of whom appear to be inferior to the other in this reſpect, not only from difference of education, but alſo from natural cauſes.

† The truth of this obſervation appears notoriouſly exemplified in the difference of character between the modern Italians, and their predeceſſors, the ancient Romans; the former of whom excel the latter in ſenſibility, refinement, and taſte for the delicate, yet frivolous accompliſhments, as much as they fall ſhort of them in the ſuperior qualities of fortitude, patriotiſm, and the love of liberty. This change is probably owing to the difference of the way of life; and it is obſervable, that the Romans themſelves, when agriculture came to be diſregarded, ſoon acquired a taſte for elegance and the fine arts, not very different from the modern Italians.

SECT. IV. *Effects of a life of agriculture upon the laws.*

I ſhall ſpeak firſt with reſpect to the law of nations.

The advance towards civiliſation, introduced by agriculture, and poſſibly the nature of the employment itſelf, cauſes a great attention to be paid to the law of nations.

This was, or at leaſt pretended to be, carried to a great height among the ‡ Romans, who made it a conſiderable inſtrument of their glory and influence. No war was commenced by them, unleſs the juſtice of it had been previouſly examined by the Feciales || or Heralds; and no act of hoſtility was committed, unleſs a public and previous declaration of war had been made. Nay, to ſuch a length was their nicety carried, that it was eſteemed a breach of the law of nations for any one to commit acts of hoſtility, even in time of war, except one in the military profeſſion *, and who had taken the

‡ To good men, ſaid Camillus, there are laws even in war itſelf; and victory is not to be ſo greedily hunted after as not to avoid the reproach of having gained it by baſe and unworthy actions. For it becomes a great general to rely on his own virtue, and not on the deceit and treachery of others.—Plutarch's Life of Camillus.

Sunt et bella ſicut pacis jura, juſteque non minus quam fortiter didicimus gerere. —Livii, l. v. cap. 27.

Atque in republica maxime conſervanda ſunt jura belli.—Cicero de Officiis.

|| See Dionyſ. Halicarn. b. ii.—Livii, l. i. ch. 24, 32.

* Popillius imperator tenebat provinciam in cujus exercitu Catonis filius tiro militabat. Cum autem Popillio videretur unam dimittere legionem, Catonis quoque filium qui in eadem legione militabat, dimiſit. Sed cum amore pugnandi in exercitu remanſiſſet, Cato ad Popilium ſcripſit, ut ſi eum pateretur in exercitu remanere, ſecundo eum obligaret militiæ ſacramento, quia priore amiſſo, jure cum hoſtibus pugnare non poterat. Adeo ſumma erat obſervatio in bello movendo. Marci quidem Catonis ſenis epiſtola eſt ad Marcum filium, in qua ſcripſit ſe audiſſe eum miſſum factum eſſe a conſule, cum in Macedonia Perſico bello miles eſſet: monet igitur ut caveat ne prœlium ineat; negat enim jus eſſe qui miles non ſit, pugnare cum hoſte.—Cicero de Offic. lib. i. c. 11.

Livy ſays, that Quintus Fabius was impeached by Caius Marcius the tribune, for having

the ſacramentum, or military oath. The ſame people alſo profeſſed to be remarkably tenacious of their faith and promiſe, even to an enemy. Thus Regulus † returned back from Rome to Carthage; and the Romans, who were diſpatched by Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, to Rome, to treat of the exchange of priſoners, were all ſent back by the ſenate.

I am moreover inclined to believe, that the laws of war are more mild and humane among a people that practiſe agriculture, than one of the former deſcription. The ancient Romans were very gentle in the treatment of the nations which they ſubdued, incorporating them with their own people, and giving them the ſame ‡ privileges. Indeed, the maxims of this kind, which were publicly profeſſed and recommended, even in the later times of the republic, were || humane and generous.

Savages and barbarians, on the contrary, are, as has been before remarked, very cruel in the treatment of thoſe whom they conquer; and even the Greeks were far from mild on ſimilar occaſions.

having committed hoſtilities againſt the Gauls, to whom he was ſent ambaſſador.—Livii, l. v. cap. 36. lib. vi. cap. 1.—See alſo Plutarch's Life of Camillus.

Craſſus's expedition againſt the Parthians was alſo execrated, and held impious, by the Feciales.—Plutarch's Life of Craſſus.

† See many other inſtances of this kind in Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. ch. 2. et lib. iii. c. 29, 30, 31, 32.

‡ Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i.

|| Quare ſuſcipienda quidem bella ſunt, ob eam cauſam ut ſine injuria in pace vivatur: parta autem victoria conſervandi ſunt ei qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt; ut majores noſtri, Tuſculanos, Æquos, Volſcos, Sabinos, Hernicos, in civitatem etiam acceperunt.

Meâ quidem ſententiâ paci, quæ nihil habitura ſit inſidiarum ſemper eſt conſulendum. In quo ſi mihi eſſet obtemperatum etſi non optimam at aliquam rempublicam, quæ nunc nulla eſt, haberemus. Et cum iis quos vi deviceris conſulendum eſt, tum ii qui armis poſitis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percuſſerit, recipiendi ſunt: in quo tantoperè apud noſtros juſtitia culta eſt, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepiſſent, earum patroni eſſent more majorum.—Cicero de Offic. l. i.

The

The polite Athenians * ordered the crews of two gallies they had taken to be thrown down a precipice, or overboard, into the ſea, and reſolved, in full aſſembly, to cut off the right hands of all the priſoners they ſhould take.

In retaliation of this cruelty, the Spartans and confederates, after the battle of Ægos Potamos, put all the Athenian priſoners to death, except Adimantus †, who had oppoſed the firſt reſolution.

The ſame ‡ Athenians alſo, by a public decree, voted to deſtroy all the people of Scione that were above the age of puberty, and to murder all the inhabitants, without exception, of Melos, and the city of Mitylene.

The people of || Corcyra, upon taking Epidamnum, put all the priſoners, except the Corinthians, to death.

The Romans, indeed, in ſome inſtances, ſhewed a great degree of ſeverity towards thoſe whom they conquered, as in the inſtances of Carthage, Numantia, Corinth, and ſome other places.

But even in theſe inſtances, though they deſtroyed the cities, they did not murder the inhabitants; and the deſtruction of the cities was more upon a political § principle, than to gratify revenge.

It is not, I think, difficult to account for this difference of treatment in the ſeveral ſtates of life above deſcribed. Savages, who ſubſiſt by hunting, cannot admit of any great addition to their

* Diodorus ſays, that the Athenians were eminent for humanity above the reſt of the Greeks.—Diod. l. iv.

† Xenophont. Hiſt. lib. ii.

‡ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.—Thucydid. lib. iii.

|| Thucydid. lib. i.

§ Cicero ſays that they deſtroyed Corinth on a political account, becauſe of its ſituation.—De Officiis, lib. i. § 2.

Polybius gives ſeveral inſtances of the humanity of the Romans to thoſe whom they had conquered, particularly the people of New Carthage.—Book x. Extr. 2.—Dionyſius Halicarnaſſ. makes the ſame remark.

number, as their means of ſubſiſtence muſt diminiſh in proportion; and this not only from the greater conſumption occaſioned by numbers, but alſo from the withdrawing of the game from places, as they become more frequented.

People, alſo, that live by paſturage, are limited in their numbers, as the ground and country will maintain a certain proportion only. All, therefore, that exceed this number, muſt be an incumbrance, and even dangerous. No wonder then, that people in theſe ſtates did not chooſe to be burdened with a great number of priſoners.

But in agricultural ſocieties the caſe is very different. Every new acceſſion of people, at leaſt to a certain number, is an addition of riches, and even contributes to provide the means of ſupport, more than proportionably to the increaſe of conſumption. It is not, then, extraordinary, that the Romans, who could, from their application to agriculture, eaſily maintain the additional numbers, ſhould receive them into their ſociety, in order to form their priſoners into the † inſtruments of their power and greatneſs.

The antient Greeks were, on the contrary, in ſeveral reſpects, in a ſituation ſimilar to the people formerly deſcribed. The ſmallneſs of the ſtates, the freedom of the government, and the ſecurity of property, made that country very populous; whilſt their inattention to agriculture rendered them ſcarce able to ſupport them.

Hence the readineſs with which ſome of theſe ſtates ſent out colonies, even to numbers which to us appear incredible, when we conſider the ſize of the mother country. The Trachinians received, at once, a colony of four thouſand ‡ men from Sparta, which

† The ancient Romans, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, never conſidered the vanquiſhed but as ſo many inſtruments for future triumphs; they made ſoldiers of the ſeveral people they had conquered; and the greater oppoſition they made, the more worthy they judged them of being incorporated into the republic.—Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire, chap. iv.

‡ Mr. Hume, in his diſſertation on the populouſneſs of ancient nations, ſays, ten thouſand;

which by no means abounded in numbers of people, at leaſt of freemen, who alone, we may preſume, were admitted into the number.

When Timoleon had driven Dionyſius from Syracuſe, he found that the neighbourhood was much depopulated by tyranny, war, and faction; and accordingly invited over from Greece ſome new inhabitants to repeople it. In conſequence of this invitation, fifty || thouſand men were ſent over, and ſettled there. It is highly probable, that if theſe people could have been maintained properly at home, they would ſcarcely have made ſuch emigrations, eſpecially as they appear to have been made with the conſent of the parent ſtates. Perhaps this difficulty of maintaining their people was one reaſon why the antient Greeks had but little local attachment.

The penal or criminal law of the country is alſo, I apprehend, influenced by this way of life.

The advance towards civiliſation cauſes the objects of the law to be better underſtood and purſued, and the laws themſelves to be better reſpected and obeyed. Crimes here begin to be conſidered as public offences, and not merely as private injuries to individuals.

The general character of the penal laws, in a ſtate of this kind, is, I believe, mild and gentle, and * capital puniſhment is rarely in-

thouſand; but Diodorus ſpeaks of only ſix thouſand in the whole; and of theſe four thouſand only were ſent by Sparta, and part of theſe were collected from the reſt of Peloponneſus. Thucydides mentions the fact of the emigration, but does not ſpecify the numbers. Diodorus, indeed, ſays, that they, in proceſs of time, increaſed Trachin or Heraclea to ſuch a ſize as to contain ten thouſand people, but never ſays the Spartans ſent ſo many.—Diodor. Sicul. b. xii.—Thucydid. b. iii.

|| Mr. Hume ſays forty thouſand; but Diodorus ſays that forty thouſand ſettled in the territory of Syracuſe, and ten thouſand in that of Argyrium. Plutarch ſays, ſixty thouſand were ſent from Greece, and ſettled in Sicily.—Life of Timoleon.

* A people of proprietors, ſays Mr. Helvetius, may be governed by gentle laws; confiſcations of property, partial or total, are there ſufficient to ſuppreſs crimes.—Helvetius on Man.

flicted.

flicted. Mankind, in a country wherein this way of life is purſued, ſeldom multiply beyond what the country can maintain; and in general, the more they increaſe the better they can be ſupported. Hence every individual is of value to ſociety, and of conſequence the laws are tender of his preſervation. This affords one reaſon why the antient Roman laws were ſo ſcrupulous in inflicting the puniſhment † of death. Nay, even in the political diſturbances at Rome, during the early periods, very little blood was ſpilt by the ‡ executioner, though the conteſts were very hot and frequent. Succeeding times, indeed, made ample amends for this forbearance of their anceſtors, when Marius and Sylla, and afterwards the triumvirs, were let looſe upon the ſtate. But at that period corruption had overturned the conſtitution; and it is probable, as Mr. Hume ‖, with great ingenuity, remarks, that the mildneſs of the original laws was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the ſucceeding cruelties. All capital puniſhments being aboliſhed by law, however criminal and dangerous any citizen might be, he could not regularly be puniſhed any otherwiſe than by baniſhment: it therefore became neceſſary, in the revolutions of party, to draw the ſword of private vengeance; nor was it eaſy, when laws were once violated, to ſet bounds to theſe ſanguinary proceedings. Had there been a legal method of reaching their enemies, it is probable that each party would have had recourſe to it, on account of the pretence it would afford. The proceeding and trials would then have been public, which is no ſmall check on the improper exerciſe of judicial authority; and the delay neceſſary upon ſuch occaſions would, by ſuffering the paſſions to cool, have preſerved the

† The Valerian law gave an appeal to the people in criminal caſes, and the Porcian law forbad the putting a citizen to death in any caſe whatſoever.

‡ The firſt blood that was ſpilt at Rome, in any public diſturbance, was in the ſedition of the Gracchi, in the ſix hundred and thirty-firſt year from the building of the city, and in the three hundred and eighty-ſixth year of the commonwealth.

‖ Eſſay ix.

lives of many who were not particularly obnoxious to the heads of the party. But when a looſe was given to private revenge, and the execution was ſudden, and without trial or examination, all pretences became ſufficient, and numbers were deſtroyed, not as enemies to the party, but from motives of * avarice, luſt, and the moſt deteſtable paſſions. Thus, as Mr. Hume obſerves, one extreme produces another. In the ſame manner as ſeverity in the laws is apt to beget great relaxation in their execution, ſo their exceſſive lenity naturally produces cruelty and barbarity. It is dangerous to force us, in any caſe, to paſs their ſacred boundaries. The character of the people, however, muſt be taken from the laws themſelves, not from the irregular proceedings above mentioned.

Some of the penal laws of Rome had a particular reference to an agricultural way of life. Thus the law † of Numa, as well as that of ‡ Moſes, denounced a very heavy penalty on the removal of boundaries or land-marks; and the law of the twelve tables was particularly ſevere on injuries done to the ſubjects of || agriculture.

Theft is a crime we might, at firſt ſight, expect would be ſeverely puniſhed in this ſtate of ſociety, when the rights of pro-

* Uti quiſque domum aut villam, poſtremò aut vas, aut veſtimentum alicujus conſuſſiverat, dabat operam, ut is in proſcriptorum numero eſſet.—Salluſt. Bell. Catil. Orat. Cæſaris.

† Quei terminom exaraſſit ipſus et boves ſacrei ſunto.—Lex Numæ de Terminis. —See alſo Plutarch's Life of Numa.

‡ Deuteronomy xxvii. 17.

|| Qui alienas ædes frumentive acervum, juxta poſitum, ſciens dolo malo uſſit, uſſeritve, prætoris arbitratu vinctus, verberatuſve igne necator. Aſt ſi imprudens enſi dolo malo damnum dederit, noxiam ſarcito aut prætoris arbitratu virgis cæſus pœnam luito.—Law of the Twelve Tables from Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, No. 15, de Jure privato.

Qui noctu frugem aratro quæſitam furtim paverit, ſecuerit, ſi puber ſit Cereri ſacer eſto. Impuber prætoris arbitratu verberatus noxiam duplione ſarcito.—Ibidem, No. 17.

perty

perty came to be defined and aſcertained. But this was by no means the caſe. A ſimple theft, unaccompanied with violence, was puniſhed, by the laws of the twelve tables, with reſtitution of double * the value only. The Jewiſh law puniſhed this offence in a ſimilar manner, ſaving that the penalty was rather more ſevere, that being in ſome caſes † four times, and in others five, of the value of the thing ſtolen.

The cauſe of this mildneſs I apprehend to have ariſen from the nature of property in ſuch a ſtate of ſociety; which muſt neceſſarily be, in a good meaſure, of a bulky kind, which could neither be carried away in any large quantity, nor eaſily eſcape detection, eſpecially as the two nations above mentioned had no foreign commerce or communication, whereby robbers might diſpoſe of the fruits of their villanies to foreigners.

This crime, therefore, being nearly ſufficiently guarded againſt by theſe circumſtances, there was no neceſſity to endeavour to prevent its being perpetrated by any extraordinary ſeverity of the laws. Another crime, however, of the deepeſt dye, which was lightly paſſed over, or at leaſt regarded only as a private offence, in the former ſtates of ſociety, in this is ſeverely and juſtly cenſured; I mean murder. This was puniſhed with death in the early ages of the Roman ‡ ſtate, and was alſo animadverted upon with equal ſeverity among the Jews, in the oldeſt ‖ law of which we have any account, and which proceeded immediately from the mouth of the Almighty. The value of each individual in this ſtate of ſociety

* Si adorat furtum quod nec manifeſtum eſt duplionem luito.—De Furtis, No. 16. —Vide etiam Caton. de Re Ruſtic. in Proemio.

Dionyſius Halicarn. mentions it as an inſtance of the tyranny of Romulus, that he ordered ſome perſons convicted of robbery to be put to death, lib. ii.

† Exodus xxii.

‡ Tullus Hoſtilius appointed judges, who condemned Horatius to death for the murder of his ſiſter.—Livii, lib. i.

‖ Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.—Geneſis ix.

(of which I have before ſpoken) may be regarded as one cauſe of the attention of the law to the puniſhment of this crime.

What mode of trial, eſpecially in criminal caſes, is moſt natural to this way of life, is difficult to determine. The oldeſt account we have of a trial for a capital offence, in the Roman ſtate, is that of Horatius, for the murder of his ſiſter, in the time of Tullus Hoſtilius, the third king of Rome.

Livy * tells us, that he was tried by judges appointed for that purpoſe, but with a liberty of appeal to the people.

The conſul Brutus, indeed, at a ſubſequent, though early, period, appears to have condemned his ſons himſelf; but in this caſe there was no denial of the fact, nor appeal to the people; and conſequently no † trial was neceſſary. This privilege of appeal, or, indeed, of being judged by the people, was confirmed by the law of the twelve tables, which ordained that theſe trials ſhould be only in the great aſſemblies of the people, or ‡ comitia centuriata; in which way, Livy ‖ tells us, that Manlius Capitolinus was tried and condemned.

I cannot, nevertheleſs, be of opinion, that a trial by the people at large is accommodated to this way of life, except where the territory is of very ſmall extent, as was the caſe with Rome in the

* Livii, lib. i. § 27.—Dionyſ. Halic. ſays, that he was tried in the firſt inſtance by the people.

† Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſays, that neither of the ſons of the conſul dared to have recourſe to an impudent denial of the fact, but both ſtood ſelf-condemned. Livy alſo mentions their being condemned and executed, but ſays nothing of a trial. Plutarch alſo, in the life of Valerius Poplicola ſays, that the ſons of Brutus did not deny the fact, and were, in conſequence, executed forthwith.

‡ De capite civis, niſi per maximum comitiatum ne ferunto.—This meant the comitia by centuries, as we are told by Cicero de Legibus, et pro Seſtio.

‖ In Campo Martio, quum centuriatim populus citaretur.—Livii, lib. vi.

Coriolanus was, however, tried by the Comitia Tributa, according to Plutarch and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. Livy ſays he was not tried at all, but condemned in his abſence.—Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus.—Dionyſ. Halic. b. vii.—Livii, l. ii.

infancy

infancy of the republic; ſince the people are neceſſarily diſperſed through the country, and difficult to be collected ſo often as would be neceſſary, conſidering the frequency of ſuch occaſions.

A delegation of the power of the whole to a ſelect body, like our juries, and the judices among the Romans, appears to be the moſt obvious method, and moſt likely to be practiſed. Indeed, the Comitia Centuriata at Rome, although they were termed the great aſſemblies of the people, were ſeldom attended by great numbers, and thoſe who voted at them were moſtly of conſiderable rank, or, at leaſt, property: ſo that their deciſions might be eſteemed the determinations of the principal perſons only, and not of the people at large.

Whether any puniſhments are peculiar to this way of life I cannot ſay. Some of thoſe in uſe among the ancient Romans were very cruel, but the genius of the nation appeared to favour humanity, if we may judge from the ſentiments of their hiſtorians * and philoſophers, and, indeed, from their own practice. The law of the Jews †, alſo, was humane in this reſpect, and averſe to giving more

* Several of the laws of the twelve tables contained the puniſhment of fire, and many that of death. One of the oldeſt of their puniſhments, if we may judge from the name (more majorum) was to faſten the head of the malefactor within the furca, and in that attitude whip him to death.—Livii, lib. i.—et Sueton. Vita Neronis.

Mettius Tuffelius, the Alban general, was torn in pieces by chariots, to which he was tied, running different ways. On this Livy makes the following remark:—Primum ultimumque illud ſupplicium exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit, in aliis gloriari licet; nulli gentium mitiores placuiſſe pœnas.—Livii, lib. i. cap. 28.

It muſt, however, be obſerved, that ſeveral of the cruel laws of the twelve tables, were produced by the tyranny of the Decemvirate, and were contrary to a republican ſpirit. They were all aboliſhed in the four hundred and fifty-fourth year of the city, by the Porcian law; which enacted, that no citizen ſhould be put to death: a law which the younger Cato, in his ſpeech on the Catilinarian conſpiracy, did not think himſelf bound to regard.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

† The Jews uſed to give to malefactors, at their execution, a cup of wine mingled with myrrh, in order to dull the ſenſation of pain. Hence the expreſſion in the New Teſtament,

more pain than neceſſarily accompanies the privation of life. This humanity, however, may perhaps be aſcribed as much to the greater civiliſation of theſe nations, as to any particular influence of agriculture.

The effects of this mode of living upon the civil law are in ſome inſtances diſcernible. It is well obſerved by Mr. * Monteſquieu, that in proportion as men approach to civiliſation, their code of laws is of a larger extent. Hence the laws are more numerous in an agricultural ſtate, than among a people that ſubſiſts by hunting or by paſturage.

The laws that eſtabliſh paternal authority, before alluded to, appear to have a peculiar connection with this way of life; and, I apprehend, that the law which eſtabliſhes the majority, or coming to age, of the ſon, not to commence until twenty-five years of age, is of the ſame kind, eſpecially as it was a particular advantage to the father to retain the ſon long in his family, on account of the domeſtic ſervice he might yield in agriculture.

In countries where the children are burdens for their maintenance, the time of coming to age is earlier, as among the Tartars, and even in many highly-civiliſed countries, particularly modern Italy.

From a ſimilar idea of the advantage of population in a ſtate of this kind, aroſe the law which gave ſuch exemptions and privileges to the parents of three children; which regulation was in force in the Roman ſtate.

The Agrarian laws, among the ſame people, were alſo, as I take it, connected with this way of life, in ſome meaſure, as well as with a republican form of government. In order to render the

Teſtament, "Let this cup paſs from me;" which is there taken metaphorically, to ſignify the puniſhment or pain of death itſelf.—The ſame cuſtom is in uſe in China, where torture and painful deaths are very rarely practiſed.—Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 160.

* Sp. of Laws, b. xviii. ch. 8.

profeſſion

profeſſion of agriculture reſpectable, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be practiſed by the principal perſons in the ſtate; which can never happen, unleſs there be in ſome meaſure an equality of poſſeſſion. Probably it was with this view, among others, that Romulus made an equal diviſion of the lands among the citizens; and hence aroſe the idea of Manius Curius, that no portion of land ſhould be eſteemed ſmall, that was ſufficient to maintain a man. From the ſame idea of preſerving an equality among the poſſeſſions, aroſe the law for dividing the inheritance equally * among all the children, which was inſerted into the laws of the twelve tables, and in later times into the † inſtitutes of Juſtinian. This, however, like our ſtatute of diſtributions, only took place when no diſpoſition by will had been made by the ‡ father of the family.

For a ſimilar reaſon, probably, it was ordained by the Jewiſh law, that every fiftieth year, which was the year of jubilee, all the land eſtates, which were ſold, ſhould revert to the former poſſeſſors, or their heirs: which was well calculated to preſerve an equality of property among the people.

The law, likewiſe, in force among the ‖ Romans, which conſidered a prodigal in the ſame light with one deprived of reaſon, was probably inſtituted to prevent that inequality of fortune that ariſes from extravagance. This, indeed, and ſome of the foregoing, were connected with republican principles, but coincided alſo with the preſent way of life, which is incompatible with the vices of profuſion and extravagance.

* Utique filii filiæque familias bonorum ſui ſuæque hæredes eſſent.—Leg. xii. Tabular.

† Inſtitut. lib. ii. Titul. 19.—Novell. cxviii. c. 1—22. c. 29.

‡ Paterfamilias uti legaſſit ſuper pecunia tutelâve ſuâ rei ita jus eſto.—Leg. xii. Tabular.

‖ Ut qui prodigus exiſteret ei prætor cauſa cognita bonis ſuis interdiceret, inque ipſius pecuniâ agnatorum gentilitiumque poteſtas eſſet.—Lex xii. Tabular.—Vide etiam Digeſt. xxvii. 10. 1.—Inſt. i. 8. 2.

Some cuſtoms, likewiſe, are peculiar to this way of life. Thus the ſupper among the Romans * was the principal meal, as the dinner is at preſent; and this I take to be owing to the convenience of finiſhing the day's work before they left off: and the ſame cuſtom is now in uſe among us, with thoſe employed in agricultural buſineſs, and is taken nearly, in proportion to the difference of climate, about the ſame time with the cœna, or ſupper, of the old Romans.

SECT. V. *Influence of an agricultural life upon the form of government.*

To what form of government this way of life leads moſt naturally, I cannot, with any preciſion, determine. I think, however,

* Dinners, or *prandia*, were not much in uſe among the Romans in ancient times. "In uſu non erant prandia."—Servius on Virgil.

"Eſt autem cœna veſpertinus cibus quam veſpertinam antiqui dicebant, in uſu enim non erant prandia."—Iſidor. Etym. lib. ii. c. 20.

"Nunquid parcam illam tunc agreſtemque vitam cum gemitu et dolore tolerabant, cum viles et ruſticos cibos ante ipſos quibus coxerant focos ſumerant, eoſque ipſos capere, niſi ad veſperam, licet."—Salvian. Maſſil. de Providentia et Judicio Dei, lib. i.——Celſus alſo appears to conſider the dinner, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, as a matter of indifference, and to conſiſt only of ſome ſlight thing juſt to ſtay the appetite. "Hyeme, ſi prandet aliquis, utilius eſt exiguum aliquid et ipſum ſiccum ſine carne, ſine potione, ſumere."—Lib. i. c. 3.——Pliny alſo ſeems to regard dinner not as a ſet meal. "Panis deinde ſiccus et ſine menſa prandium, poſt quod non lavandæ ſunt manus."

People employed in ploughing the ground generally leave off work about four in the afternoon, which is not far from the time of ſupper among the ancient Romans. This, afterwards, in the times of luxury, grew later, ſo that the hour of dinner came to be that of the ancient ſupper, as we are told by Feſtus. "Cœna apud antiquos dicebatur, quod nunc eſt prandium," lib. iii; and again, "Scenſas Sabini cœnas dicebant, quæ autem nunc prandia ſunt cœnas habebant, et pro cœnas veſpernas appellabant," lib. 17.——Cato alſo, Varro, and Columella, ſpeak of the ſupper as the only meal in uſe with perſons employed in agriculture.

that

that it is pretty clear, that in any country where agriculture is particularly encouraged, and made, as it were, an object of ſtate, that the government, if not free, muſt at leaſt be moderate, and a great regard paid to private property. This appears from the hiſtory of thoſe nations, amongſt which agriculture has been particularly regarded. Thus the ancient government of the Jews was juſt, mild, and equitable, and the property of the people eſtabliſhed by laws; that of the Egyptians, it has been formerly obſerved, was regulated by the ſtricteſt and juſteſt rules and ordinances; and the ancient Perſian government was very circumſcribed, and reſembled more a domeſtic * than a civil eſtabliſhment.

The people of the Eaſt Indies, likewiſe, although their government be, to appearance, deſpotical, live under a very mild adminiſtration; and the Chineſe, although by no means free, are ſtill protected from arbitrary invaſions of property. The government of Peru, alſo, where agriculture ſeemed to be one of the great national objects, was mild and gentle: the mind there was not humbled and depreſſed by forced ſubmiſſion to the will of a ſuperior, but a free obedience was willingly yielded to a monarch believed to be of divine original; which laſt circumſtance continually reminded the ſovereign to imitate that beneficent Power he was ſuppoſed to repreſent. Theſe ideas had ſo great effect, that, in the whole ſucceſſion of their kings, which were no leſs than twelve in number, they had not one tyrant; a fact unparalleled in the hiſtory of mankind. The Roman government, likewiſe, although liable to ſome objections, was undoubtedly free, in a great meaſure, even at its firſt inſtitution, and became ſtill more ſo afterwards, and eſpecially at the time when this way of life was held in the higheſt eſtimation. The cauſes why a degree of freedom in the government is neceſſary in thoſe ſtates where agriculture is made a

* They think, ſays Xenophon, that the duties of a good king, and of a good ſhepherd, are alike.—Xenophont. Cyropædia, lib. vii.

national object, are sufficiently obvious. Cultivation of land requires constant and unremitting industry; which will never be practised universally, except where those who labour have a security for enjoying the fruits of their toil: which cannot be the case under a despotic administration, whose effect upon the mind is to render it timid, idle, servile, and corrupt. I know not, however, if any peculiar form of government is specifically adapted to this mode of life. It has flourished when united with the government of a single person, as in some parts of the East, and in South America; with an aristocratical government, as in Holland, Switzerland, and the territory of Genoa; with a democratical one, as among the Romans; and with a mixed government, as among us in England. Wherever property is safe, and no tyrannical authority exercised upon the person, there agriculture, if not particularly discouraged by other circumstances, will probably flourish.

SECT. VI. *Influence of an agricultural life upon religion.*

The object of worship among such a people is generally a Deity that bears some reference to agriculture. The national Deities, among the old Romans, were of this kind. Thus Janus *, the most ancient of the Gods, was respected as being the inventor of the use of wine, bread-corn, flour, and sacrifices. Saturn †, likewise, was highly in request among them upon the same account.

Faunus ‡, likewise, and Pilumnus, were indigenous Deities, and both of them presided over some branches of the cultivation of

* Janus was an ancient king of Latium, and esteemed the father of the other Deities. Hence he is called Pater, and Deus Deorum.—Rosini Antiquit. p. 93.—et Fastor. Ovidii, lib. i.

† Saturn was also an ancient king of the Aborigines, or people of Latium, said to be the son of Janus. He and his father taught that people agriculture, as we are told by Macrobius.—Saturn. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Rosini Antiq. p. 181.

land.

land. Some other deities, alſo, which were not, by other nations, ſuppoſed to have any connection * with agriculture, were, by the Romans, appropriated, in ſome meaſure, to this employment. Thus Jupiter, the Sun and Moon, Venus, Minerva, and Bonus Eventus, or Good Fortune, were held as agricultural deities, as well as Tellus, Ceres, Bacchus, Robigus or Flora; to which might be added, † Terminus, Segetia, and ſeveral others.

Agriculture was likewiſe much connected with religion, among the Jews. The Moſt High hath ordained huſbandry, ſays ‡ the Son of Sirach: and many of the feſtivals among that people, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently, had a peculiar reference to this employment. The ſame obſervation held at leaſt equally good of the Egyptian dei-

* Et quoniam, ut aiunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos: nec ut Homerus & Ennius Muſas, ſed duodecim Deos conſentes: neque tamen eos urbanos quorum imagines ad forum Auratæ ſtant, ſex mares & ſex fœminæ totidem, ſed illos duodecim Deos qui maxime agricolarum duces ſunt. Primum qui omnes fructus agriculturæ cœlo & terra continent, Jovem & Tellurem; itaque duo hi parentes magni dicuntur Jupiter, Pater; Tellus, vero mater. Secundò Solem & Lunam, quorum tempora obſervantur cum quædam ſerantur & condantur in terrâ. Tertio Cererem & Liberum, quod horum fructus maxime neceſſarii ad victum ſunt: Ab his etiam Cibus & Potio venit e fundo. Quarto Robigum & Floram, quibus propitiis nec rubigo frumenta atque arbores corrumpit neque non tempeſtive florent. Itaque publicæ Robigo feriæ, Robigalia, Floræ ludi florales inſtituti. Item, adveneror Minervam & Venerem, quarum unius procuratio oleti, alterius hortorum, quo nomine ruſtica vinalia inſtituta. Nec non etiam precor Lympham atque Bonum Eventum; quoniam ſine aqua omnis arida & miſera agricultura, ſine ſucceſſu atque Bono Eventu fruſtratio eſt, non cultura.—Varron. de Re Ruſticâ, lib. i. cap. 1.

Bonus Eventus is alſo reputed a deity of agriculture by Pliny, lib. xxxiv. cap. 8. Hiſt. Natur.

† Terminus Deus, quia in ejus tutela eſſent agrorum fines. *Feſtus.*—He was alſo, according to Ovid, accounted among the moſt ancient of the deities.

Termine ſive Lapis, ſive es deſertus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes.
Ovidii Faſtorum, lib. ii.

‡ Eccleſiaſticus, vii. 15.

ties. ‖ Oſiris, the ſupreme among them, was regarded as the inventor of agriculture; and Iſis, the ſecond deity, as the diſcoverer of the uſe of wheat and barley, which before grew wild, and were not applied to the purpoſes of food.

The divine honours, alſo, paid to Bacchus, in India, aroſe from the ſame ſource, as we are told by Diodorus * Siculus and † Arrian: he being there reſpected as the inventor of the arts attendant upon agriculture.

The Sun, among the people of Peru ‡, and probably among the ancient Perſians, owed no ſmall ſhare of the reſpect paid to him to the fertiliſing qualities wherewith they believed him endued.

Several religious precepts refer to this way of life.

Thus the fourth commandment, given to the Jews, implied that the people were much occupied in buſineſs of this kind; and various other precepts of the ‖ Moſaical law are relative to agriculture.

‖ Iſis diſcovered the method of making flour from wheat and barley, which before grew wild in the fields like other plants, and their uſes unknown; and Oſiris found out the method of cultivation of plants in general that ſerve for diet.—The Grecian (or rather Sicilian) Ceres, and the Egyptian Iſis, were held to be the ſame deity.—Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

* He firſt, as they report, trained oxen to the plough, and taught men to cultivate the land with their own hands; and diſcovered, alſo, many of the inſtruments and conveniences for agriculture, to the great eaſe and relief of the huſbandman. On account of theſe ſignal benefits, he became ſo much reſpected, that he was, by univerſal conſent, raiſed to the rank of a deity, and received divine worſhip and ſolemn ſacrifices.—Diodori Sicul. lib. iii.

† Bacchus furniſhed the people with ſeed, and inſtructed them in the art of ſowing it; whether becauſe Triptolemus, who was ſent by Ceres, did not reach that part of the country, or that Bacchus, going to the Indies before the time of Triptolemus, gave them the ſeeds of millet and of other fruits. Bacchus firſt yoked oxen to the plough, and made moſt of the Indian nations huſbandmen, who were before in a wandering ſtate.—Arriani Hiſt Indic.

‡ Robertſon's America, vol. ii.

‖ Levitic. xix. 9. xxiii. 10.

The

The precepts of the Magian religion, among the Perſians, were of a ſimilar nature. The ſaint, among them, was obliged to work out his ſalvation, by purſuing all the labours of agriculture. It is a maxim of the Zendaveſta †, that he who ſows the ground with care and diligence, acquires a greater ſtock of religious merit, than he could have gained by the repetition of ten thouſand prayers.

Ceremonies of the religious kind are very numerous among a people addicted to this way of life, and bear a particular reference to it. Thus ſeveral of the Jewiſh ceremonies and inſtitutions had an eſpecial regard to cultivation of the earth. Two of the ‡ three great feaſts in the year were inſtituted on account of collecting the fruits of agriculture; and the ceremony of the ‖ wave-offering, mentioned in the book of Leviticus, was evidently of the ſame tendency. Several of the ſubſtances, alſo, directed to be uſed in the § Jewiſh ſacrifices, ſuch as ears of corn, cakes of flour, and unleavened bread, were probably intended to point out the importance, and enforce the practice, of agriculture.

The ancient Perſians had ceremonies of a ſimilar intention. In the ſpring of every year a feſtival was celebrated, deſigned to repreſent the primitive equality and preſent connection of mankind.

† Zendaveſta, t. i. 224.—and Precis du Syſteme de Zoroaſtre, vol. iii.

‡ Three times thou ſhalt keep a feaſt to me in the year. Thou ſhalt keep the feaſt of unleavened bread; thou ſhalt eat unleavened bread ſeven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month of Abib; for in it thou cameſt out of Egypt: and none ſhall appear before me empty: And the feaſt of harveſt, the firſt fruits of thy labours, which thou haſt ſown in thy field: And the feaſt of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou haſt gathered in the labours of thy field.—Exodus, chap. xxiii.

‖ Speak unto the children of Iſrael, and ſay unto them, When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and ſhall reap the harveſt thereof, then ye ſhall bring a ſheaf of the firſt fruits of your harveſt unto the prieſt: and he ſhall wave the ſheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the ſabbath the prieſt ſhall wave it.—Levitic. ch. xxiii.

§ Levit. ch. ii.

The

The ſtately kings of Perſia, exchanging their vain pomp for more genuine greatneſs, freely mingled with the humbleſt but moſt uſeful of their ſubjects. On that day the huſbandmen were admitted, without diſtinction, to the table of the king and of his ſatraps. The monarch accepted their petitions, enquired into their grievances, and converſed with them upon the moſt equal terms. "From your labours," was he accuſtomed to ſay, "we receive our ſubſiſtence; you derive your tranquillity from our vigilance. Since, therefore, we are mutually neceſſary to each other, let us live together like brothers, in concord and in * love." The ancient Egyptians †, alſo, had ſeveral religious feſtivals and ceremonials in honour of agriculture and its inventors, as we are told by Diodorus, which nearly reſembled thoſe of the Jews, and were, in all probability, borrowed from them. The kings of India formerly, and the emperor of China at ‡ preſent, practiſe a religious ceremony annually, of opening the ground; and the Inca in Peru, who was reputed a deity, cultivated with his own hands a piece of land, which operation was dignified by being called, their triumph over the earth. Great numbers of ceremonies, relative to this way of life, were to be found among the Romans, as the || Cerealia, the Palitia, and ſeveral others.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman empire, chap. viii.

† They have a ceremonial in commemoration of the invention of bread-corn, which has been kept up from great antiquity. At the time of harveſt, and of offering the firſt fruits, the people are accuſtomed to make a plaintive noiſe among the ſhocks of corn, and to call upon the goddeſs Iſis. This they do with a view of paying honour and reſpect to the goddeſs, for the diſcoveries of theſe things which they chuſe to offer at this time of year, as then theſe inventions were made. In ſome cities, when the feaſt of Iſis is celebrated, veſſels filled with wheat and barley are carried about in pomp, in memory of their uſe being diſcovered by that goddeſs.—Diodor. Sicul. book i.

‡ There is an annual feſtival in China when the ſun enters the fifteenth degree of Aquarius, as the beginning of ſpring.—Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 82.

|| It was a precept of Numa, that no ſacrifice ſhould be performed without meal, in order to encourage agriculture.—Plutarch's Life of Numa.

Mr.

Mr. Monteſquieu *, indeed, is of opinion, that religious ceremonies are naturally but few, amongſt a people devoted to agriculture. But the Jews, the Egyptians, and the Perſians, had a multitude of ceremonies in their religion, and yet were great encouragers of agriculture. It is true, the clergy, with them, were a ſeparate body, but the remainder of the people were equally bound with the prieſts to the obſervance of a great number of ceremonies: at leaſt we know that this was the caſe with the Jews.

The Romans, likewiſe, encouraged agriculture, and made it a national object, as much as any of the nations before mentioned. Yet this people had a great number of ceremonies in their religion; and the clergy formed no diſtinct character or body of people among them. Livy calls Rome, expreſsly, a ſtate or † city full of religious ceremonies; and Salluſt ‡ expreſſes himſelf nearly to the ſame purpoſe. The Roman writers on || huſbandry every where recommend a ſtrict obſervance of numerous religious duties; and the connection between theſe and agriculture is ſtrongly pointed out by § Maximus Tyrius. Ovid, likewiſe, Feſtus, Macrobius, and other writers, ſhew that the Roman ritual was very full and extenſive. It is therefore probable, that the foregoing obſervation of Mr. Monteſquieu ſhould be underſtood to refer to the influence of this way of life on the nature, rather than the number, of religious ceremonies and obſervances.

The ancient feſtivals did not, I apprehend, all of them neceſſarily imply a ceſſation from labour, at leaſt thoſe among the Romans. Cato expreſsly ſpecifies the ** kinds of work proper to be

* Sp. of Laws, book xxv. ch. 4.

† Civitas Plena Religionum, lib. vi. ſect. 5.

‡ —— quæ noſtri majores religioſiſſimi mortales fecere.—Sall. Bell Catalin.

|| Script. de Re Ruſticâ.

§ Maxim. Tyrii, Diſſert. xiv.

** Per ferias verò, foſſas veteres tergeri, viam publicam muniri, vepres recidi, hortum fodiri, pratum purgari, virgas vinciri, ſpinas runcari cremarique, ex piſcina immunditias efferri, munditias fieri.—Caton. de Re Ruſtic. lib. i. c. 2.

done

done upon them; which it may be obſerved are none of them works of neceſſity, or what required to be immediately performed. Indeed theſe feſtivals occurred ſo frequently, that ſuch an injunction would have been highly inconvenient among an induſtrious people; and probably the poor ſtate of cultivation, in modern Italy, is owing to the waſte of time, and idle habit, induced by the multitude of feſtivals in the Romiſh religion. We are, however, told by * Cicero and Macrobius, that the Roman Feriæ implied a ceſſation from labour, as well as from the civil proceedings; but perhaps this might relate to the city only, elſe it could ſcarcely be imagined that Cato would have recommended an infringement of the laws. Varro allows, that works of neceſſity, or of great public utility, cauſed no pollution; and perhaps works of agriculture might be thought to come within the latter deſcription. This idea ſeems to be confirmed by a law made in a ſubſequent period by † Conſtantine the Great, which enjoined the people to reſt upon the Sabbath. This is underſtood to have had a reference to cities only, and not to the open country. He was ſenſible, as ‡ Mr. Monteſquieu remarks, that labour in cities was uſeful, but in the fields neceſſary. It does not appear clearly, I think, that any of the Jewiſh feſtivals, the ſabbath-day excepted, were attended with the prohibition of labour; and, it is probable, they were, like the Roman, rather ſcenes of joy and || chearfulneſs, than of idleneſs.

* Feriarum feſtorumque Dierum ratio in liberis requietem habet litium & jurgiorum, in ſervis operum & laborum, quia compoſitio anni conferre debet & ad perfectionem operum ruſticorum & ad remiſſionem animorum. — Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii.

Sacerdotes affirmabant ferias pollui quoties iis indictis conceptiſque opus aliud fieret.—Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i.

† Codic. de Feriis, leg. iii.—This law related to the Pagans only.

‡ Sp. of Laws, b. xxiv. ch. 23.

|| Hilaribus quibus omnia feſta & fieri debere ſcimus & dici impletis ſolennibus. —Vopiſci Divus Aurelianus.

Temples, likewiſe, or habitations for the Deity, I believe to be natural to this ſtate of mankind. Thus ‡ Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians, who cultivated agriculture from the greateſt antiquity, were the firſt who erected altars and temples to the Gods. The people of India, likewiſe, had temples, as the Chineſe have at preſent; and buildings of this kind were very numerous and magnificent in ‖ Peru.

The firſt accounts we have of the * Romans inform us of the foundation of temples; and the ruins of theſe edifices, that yet remain in all parts of Italy, are ſtanding monuments how favourite an idea this was with that people, even in ſucceeding periods. The cauſes of this diſpoſition of people in this ſtate are ſufficiently obvious. Agriculture requires people to have fixed and permanent habitations; and from hence naturally ſprung the notion of building a houſe for the Deity. But this natural idea never occurred to any but ſuch as cultivated the † land: thoſe who had no houſes of their own were never known to build temples.

Men in this ſtate are, I apprehend, more attached to religion, and more zealous for its propagation, than in either of the foregoing ſituations of life. The ceremonies attendant upon religion, the building of temples, and even their riches, give an attachment to that religion to which they belong, and impart an idea of local

‡ Euterpe.

‖ Robertſon's America, book vii.

* Simul cum (Romulus) dono deſignavit templo Jovis fines cognomenque addidit Deo. "Jupiter Feretri, inquit, hæc tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero templumque iis regionibus quas modo animo metatus ſum dedico: ſedem opimis ſpoliis quæ regibus ducibuſque hoſtium cæſis me auctorem ſequentes poſteri ferent." Hæc templi eſt origo quod primum omnium Romæ ſacratum eſt, ita deinde Diis viſum nec irritam conditoris templi vocem eſſe qua laturos eo ſpolia poſteros nuncupavit nec multitudine compotum ejus dono vulgari laudem.—Livii, lib. i. § 10. —See too Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. b. ii. ch. 34.——The temple here alluded to was repaired by Auguſtus Cæſar.—Corn. Nepos. Life of Atticus.

† Sp. of Laws, b. xxv. ch. 3.

regard, which is generally extremely potent in matters of this kind. The Romans, who underſtood perfectly the uſe of all political inſtruments, made great advantage of this circumſtance of local regard, among others, in order to attach their people to their religion; and the effect was ſuch, that ſcarcely any nations mentioned in hiſtory paid greater ‡ veneration to the objects of local worſhip. || Romulus himſelf

‡ Operæ pretium eſt cum domos atque villas in urbium modum exædificatas viſere templa deorum quæ noſtri majores religioſiſſimi mortales fecere. Verum illi delubra deorum pietate, domos ſuas gloria decorabant.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilinar.

Such a reſpect, ſays Plutarch, had the Romans for religion, making all their affairs depend ſolely on the pleaſure of the Gods, never ſuffering, no not in their greateſt proſperity, the leaſt neglect or contempt of their ancient rites or oracles; being fully perſuaded that it was of much greater importance to the public welfare, that their magiſtrates and generals ſhould reverence and obey the Gods, than if they conquered or ſubdued their enemies.—Plutarch's Life of Marcellus.

|| After Romulus therefore had, upon that occaſion, received the ſanction of Heaven, he called the people together, and, having given them an account of the auſpicious omens, he was choſen king by them; and inſtituted this cuſtom to be obſerved by all his ſucceſſors, that none of them ſhould accept the dignity of king, or any other magiſtracy, until even the Gods had given a ſign of their approbation. And this cuſtom, relating to the auſpices, continued to be long obſerved by the Romans, not only under their kings, but alſo after the diſſolution of monarchy, in the elections of their conſuls, prætors, and other legal magiſtrates; but it is diſuſed at this time, the appearance of it only being preſerved, for form ſake.—By which means (viz. the diſuſe of the auſpices) many armies of the Romans have been utterly deſtroyed at land; many fleets have been loſt, with all their people, at ſea; and other great and dreadful calamities have befallen the commonwealth, ſome in foreign wars, and others in civil diſſentions; but the moſt remarkable, and the greateſt, happened even in my time, when Licinius Craſſus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army againſt the Parthians, contrary to the will of Heaven, and in contempt of the innumerable omens that oppoſed his expedition. But much might be ſaid concerning the contempt of the Gods, which prevails among ſome people at this time.—Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. book ii. ch. 6.

I admire, therefore, theſe inſtitutions of the man; and thoſe alſo which I am going to relate. He was perſuaded that the good government of cities was owing to theſe cauſes, which all politicians boaſt, but few eſtabliſh. Firſt, the favour of the Gods, the enjoyment of which gives ſucceſs to every enterpriſe; next, temperance and juſtice, by which the citizens, being leſs diſpoſed to injure one another, are more inclinable

himſelf declined the acceptance of the regal office, before he had obtained the ſanction of the Gods; and none of the ſucceeding magiſtrates ever entered upon their functions without the approbation of the Auſpices; the diſuſe of which, and the contempt of the Gods which accompanied it, are eſteemed by their own hiſtorians as the great cauſes of their misfortunes and downfall. The ſame wiſe legiſlator paid, in every other inſtance, the higheſt regard to religion; which, according to the ſyſtem adopted by him, was much more rational, both in its doctrines and fable, than the Grecian mythology, from which it was derived, and of conſequence more likely to conciliate a permanent and ſteady regard. The Jews alſo, the * Egyptians, the † Indians, ‡ Chineſe, and || Peruvians, who were all agricultural nations, were all extremely attached to their religion.

inclinable to unanimity, and make virtue, not ſhameful pleaſures, the object of their happineſs; and laſtly, military courage, which renders even the other virtues uſeful to their poſſeſſors. He was ſenſible that none of theſe advantages are the effects of chance; but that good laws, and the emulation of worthy purſuits, render a commonwealth pious, juſt, temperate, and warlike. He took great care, therefore, to encourage theſe, beginning with the worſhip both of the Gods and Genii; and, according to the moſt approved rites in uſe among the Greeks, he appointed temples, places conſecrated, altars, the erecting of images, the repreſentations and ſymbols of the Gods, and declared their power; the beneficent preſents they made to mankind; the particular holidays appropriated to each God or Genius; the ſacrifices which are moſt acceptable to them; the feſtivals, public games, and days of reſt, and every thing of that nature: but he rejected all ſuch traditional fables, concerning the Gods, as are mixed with blaſphemies or calumnies, looking upon them as wicked, uſeleſs, and indecent, and unworthy not only of the Gods, but even of good men; and accuſtomed his people to think and to ſpeak concerning the Gods with the greateſt reverence, and to attribute no paſſions to them unbecoming their happy nature.—Dionyſ. Halic. book ii. ch. 18.

* Diodor Sicul. l. i.

† No perſon, it is ſaid, was ever known to be converted from the Indian or Gentoo religion.

‡ The emperor of China, although abſolute in every other inſtance, pretends to no power over the religion of the country.

|| Robertſon's America.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE EFFECTS OF A COMMERCIAL LIFE UPON MANKIND.

THUS far I have ſpoken on the effects of an agricultural way of life, which I have conſidered as being the object of the government, and turn of the people, and what prevailed generally through the ſtate.

The next * ſtage of which I ſhall treat is that of commerce, which may in ſeveral reſpects be accounted a farther ſtep towards improvement and civiliſation, though ſome highly-poliſhed people were of a different opinion.

SECT. I. *Effects of a commercial life on the temper and diſpoſition.*

One of the firſt and principal effects of commerce is to render people induſtrious. This was remarked as taking place, in a good meaſure, in the preceding ſtage, but is greatly increaſed in that now under conſideration. In the former, it was little more than merely application to labour; but in the preſent one, the faculties, both of mind and body, are, of neceſſity, almoſt unremittingly employed.

* Commerce, however, muſt not be conſidered as ſuperſeding agriculture, as agriculture did a paſtoral life, and that a life of hunting. On the contrary, agriculture is often, though not conſtantly, cultivated to the higheſt degree in commercial ſtates. This was the caſe formerly in Egypt, and is at preſent in China and Holland. On the other hand, the people of Athens, and of Marſeilles, were but little addicted to agriculture; and the latter were even driven to trade by the barrenneſs of their country, which rendered it unapt for cultivation, as we are told by Strabo.

Thus

Thus the great induſtry of the †† Egyptians has been celebrated from the earlieſt ages; and the ſame obſervation has been made of all ſtates engaged to any great degree in commerce.

Another quality or diſpoſition incident, as I believe, to a trading ſtate, is frugality. Thus Juſtin remarks the parſimony as well as induſtry of the ‡ Tyrians; || Strabo and * Cicero give the ſame account of the people of Marſeilles; and Diodorus Siculus § makes a ſimilar repreſentation of the Carthaginians. The ſame qualities are at preſent highly remarkable, both among the Dutch and ** Chineſe. It ſhould, however, be conſidered, that there are two kinds of trade or commerce, one of which is founded on the mutual wants of other nations, and which is ſupported by carrying from one what is wanted by another. Of this kind was the trade of Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Marſeilles, Florence, and Venice, in former periods; and in our own times, that of Holland. The other kind of trade is founded upon luxury, and is calculated to procure whatever may adminiſter to the pride, pleaſure, or capricious whimſies of the people. Of this kind is the trade which Spain carries on with moſt nations; that of England with France, in a good meaſure; and that of all Europe with the Eaſt Indies. It is chiefly to a commerce † of the former kind that frugality is to be aſcribed.

†† Diodori Sicul. lib. i.

Letter of the Emperor Adrian, preſerved by Vopiſcus.—This reſembles much the preſent ſtate of Holland.—Du Halde gives nearly the ſame character of the Chineſe, vol. ii. p. 86.

‡ Juſtini, lib. xviii. cap. 4.

|| Strabon. lib. iv.

* Ciceron. Or. pro Flacco,

§ Diod. Siculi, lib. v.

** Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 63, 100.

† That œconomy in the government, which always attends the frugality of individuals, is, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, the ſoul of œconomical commerce.—Sp. of Laws, book xx. ch. 11.

Another

Another effect that commerce is, I am apt to believe, ſubject to produce upon the diſpoſition, is to render thoſe who practiſe it very * intereſted, and apt to aſcribe every thing to the account of mere profit and loſs, and to think that riches alone are the ſource of all happineſs, and ſole object of deſire. The contraſt between Rome and Carthage, in this reſpect, is finely remarked by Polybius. "In all things," ſays that judicious writer, "that regard the acquiſition of wealth, the manners and cuſtoms of the Romans are far preferable to thoſe of the Carthaginians. Among the latter, nothing is reputed infamous, that is joined with gain. But among the former, nothing is held more baſe than to be corrupted with gifts, or to covet an increaſe of wealth, by means that are unjuſt. For, as much as they eſteem the poſſeſſion of honeſt riches to be fair and honourable, ſo much, on the other hand, all thoſe that are amaſſed by unlawful arts, are viewed by them with horror and reproach. The truth of this fact is ſeen in the following inſtance:—Among the Carthaginians † money is openly employed to purchaſe the dignities of the ſtate; but all ſuch proceeding is a capital crime at Rome. As the rewards, therefore, that are propoſed to virtue in the two republics are ſo different, it cannot but happen, that the attention of the citizens to form their minds to virtuous actions muſt alſo be ‡ different."

The effects of this upon the moral character I ſhall conſider hereafter.

Another effect of a commercial life is, I believe, though not without ſeveral reſtrictions and exceptions, to render the people

* We ſee that in countries where people move only by the ſpirit of commerce, they make a traffic of all the humane, of all the moral virtues; the moſt trifling things, thoſe which humanity would demand, are there done or given only for money.—Sp. of Laws, b. xx. ch. 2.

† Ariſtotle ſpeaks in terms nearly ſimilar of the venality of the Carthaginians.—Lib. ii. cap. 11. De Republicâ.

‡ Polyb. b. vi. extr. 3.

timorous,

timorous, and averſe to warlike enterpriſe. Thus the Carthaginians were greatly inferior to the Romans in military courage, and ſeldom, indeed, expoſed themſelves in engagements, but relied on * mercenary troops for their defence; the bad effects of which conduct upon the ſtate and people are finely deſcribed by † Polybius. The people of Marſeilles are ſaid to have been of an effeminate and timid diſpoſition ‡, and to have depended on mercenaries ‖ for their ſupport. Livy **, likewiſe, ſeems to inſinuate, that they were of an unwarlike turn.

A ſimilar mode of defence appears to be at preſent adopted by the Dutch, whoſe attention, of late years, ſeems to have been ſo much taken up with increaſing their national reſources, and improving their commerce, that they have nearly become dependent upon others for the defence of what they have acquired. It cannot, however, be denied, that ſome trading ſtates, particularly thoſe laſt mentioned, have at times performed great military exploits: but moſt of theſe were nearly at the foundation of the ſtate, at leaſt during its freedom; and the remainder were principally atchieved by the †† riches, and other military reſources, which trade enabled them to furniſh.

* From hence (Spain) they drew their beſt troops, by means of whom they brought many great and important wars to a happy concluſion: for the Carthaginians always carried on war in that manner, never employing an army collected from their own citizens, or from their allies.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

† Book vi. extr. 3.——The ſame was done by the Tyrians.—Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

‡ Athenæus Caſauboni, p. 523.

‖ Cæſ. de Bell. Civil. lib. i. c. 18.——Cæſar ſays, that the Gauls were rendered effeminate and cowardly by the neighbourhood and commerce of Marſeilles, inſomuch that they who formerly always conquered the Germans, were now become inferior to them.—Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 10. § 24.

** Lib. xxxviii. Orat. Manlii ad Milites.

†† Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Carthaginians often brought the Romans, Sicilians, and Carthaginians, into great ſtraits and dangers, by means of the power and influence beſtowed by their wealth and riches.—Diod. Sicul. lib. v.

Why this way of life ſhould be unfavourable to courage and fortitude of mind, does not ſeem difficult to explain. Firſt, although a life of commerce requires thoſe who practiſe it to be induſtrious, yet it does not, in general, employ people in that kind of labour which tends to preſerve health, or increaſe the force and vigour of the mind or body. Moſt of the arts are ſedentary employments, practiſed in the houſe, or in ſome warm place; and conſequently, tending to diminiſh the ſtrength, and render the body leſs robuſt, and more ſubject to the action of external impreſſions, as heat, cold, &c. This effect upon the body influences the mind, and reduces it nearly into a ſimilar ſtate with that of the inhabitants of warm climates * before deſcribed.

For theſe reaſons, † Romulus, as we are informed by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis; and Lycurgus, as we are told by ‡ Xenophon and ‖ Plutarch, would not ſuffer their people to exerciſe any mechanic arts of the ſedentary kind, looking upon them as the deſtroyers both of the bodies and minds of thoſe who practiſe them; and theſe trades were, on that account, for a long period, held ignominious both at Rome and at Sparta.

Another cauſe, as I take it, why commercial people, artificers eſpecially, are, in general, of an unwarlike turn, is, that they are bred up in an uniform courſe of life, and moſtly unacquainted with perſonal hazard of any kind; and conſequently, leſs likely to meet it with courage, than thoſe to whom it was familiar. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that this obſervation is more applicable to thoſe who prepare the materials and manufactures,

* The very cloſe and confined air, which is alſo tainted with the breath of many people, as muſt neceſſarily be the caſe in manufactories, is apt to increaſe ſenſibility; and is, of conſequence, adverſe to courage and reſolution of mind.—See book i. on Climate.

† Dionyſ. Halicarn. book ii. ch. 27.

‡ On the Spartan Republic.

‖ Life of Lycurgus.

which

which ſerve as a ſubject of commerce, than to thoſe who perſonally carry it on. Sailors, whoſe way of life expoſes them to frequent dangers, are, in general, a brave ſet of men, in all countries; and conſequently the above remark, relative to the effects of commerce, relates more to thoſe nations who manufacture commodities, than thoſe who are merely the carriers of them from one country to another. I am, nevertheleſs, inclined to think, that a commercial life, merely as including a great deſire of gain, is, for that reaſon, unfavourable to the active powers of valour and fortitude. This was the opinion of a Roman * hiſtorian, whoſe obſervations on mankind have always been univerſally reſpected: nor is it difficult to account for it. Courage and valour are naturally connected with ideas of glory and honour. But the deſire of gain almoſt conſtantly abſorbs the other paſſions, and deſtroys their force and energy. A perſon, therefore, who contends for property, contends for that only, and is not ſtimulated by that variety of motives—ſuch as reputation, the love of liberty, and of the ſociety to which he belongs, &c.—which are ſuch powerful incentives to others. Another circumſtance, likewiſe, ſhould be conſidered, which, I imagine, muſt have conſiderable influence; which is, that the man who is valiant from motives of the latter kind, has not only a preſent intereſt in the glory he may acquire, but alſo a future one, in the reputation of his character, if he ſhould periſh in the ‡ conteſt; ſo that he may be ſaid to have an intereſt either in

* Avaritia pecuniæ ſtudium habet quam nemo ſapiens concupivit. Ea quaſi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque viritim effeminat.—Salluſtii Bell. Catilinar.

‡ Horatius Cocles, ſays Polybius, when the bridge was broken, and the city ſecured from inſult, threw himſelf into the river with his armour, and there loſt his life, as he had deſigned, having preferred the ſafety of his country, and the future fame that was ſure to follow ſuch an action, to his own preſent exiſtence, and the time remained for him to live. Such, obſerves the hiſtorian, is the ſpirit, and ſuch the emulation of atchieving glorious actions, which the Roman inſtitutions are fitted to infuſe into the minds of youth.—Hampton's Polybius, book vi. extr. 3.

ſurviving, or falling in battle. But the man who contends from motives of property, has no pretenſions to a reputation of this kind; which he would not value if it could be acquired. Moreover, his ſole concern lies in the preſervation of life, without which the property he maintains would not contribute to his pleaſure or enjoyment. A man, therefore, who contends upon principles of the latter kind, is not only excited to courage by fewer and leſs powerful motives, but the very motives which are to excite him counteract, in ſome meaſure, their own effects.

SECT. II. *Effects of a commercial life upon the moral conduct and manners.*

I have before obſerved, that commerce tended to render thoſe who follow it intereſted, and apt to conſider riches as the ſupreme good and end. From this it may be naturally inferred, that ſuch a way of life tends to corrupt and debaſe the moral character. This complaint has been made ever ſince the time of Plato *, and ſtill continues. This corruption is, however, partial only; as in ſome reſpects the contrary effect takes place, and the morals are even improved by commerce. But of this it will be proper to ſpeak more in detail.

Public ſpirit, or public virtue, is, I believe, rarely found in ſtates whoſe principal object is commerce.

Trade, as Mr. † Monteſquieu obſerves, whilſt it unites nations, does not, in the ſame manner, unite individuals. The acquiſition

* De Legibus, l. vi.

Carthaginenſes fraudulenti & mendaces non genere, ſed natura loci quod propter portus ſuos multis & variis mercatorum ſermonibus ad ſtudium fallendi ſtudio quæſtus vocabantur.—Cicer. de Leg. Agrar. in Rullum.

† Sp. of Laws, book xx. ch. 2.

of

of great riches and property—eſpecially when this is ‡ unequally diſtributed, as it is ſubject to be in trading countries—is apt to give to each individual a ſeparate intereſt diſtinct from that of the ſtate. Hence the factions in commercial countries generally run very || high. Even the common danger is not always ſufficient to unite them: ſo that they gratify their private intereſts and paſſions, they regard not the public. Thus the invaſion of Scipio irritated the feuds and diviſions § that prevailed among the Carthaginians, and ſhackled, as it were, the ſtrength of that city; for the common people now grew diffident of the generals, the ſenate, and the great men; and this made the populace more furious. On the other hand, the preſence of Hannibal in Italy put an end to all the diſputes which then ſubſiſted among the Romans, and united them all in the common defence of their country. In a ſimilar manner to the former of theſe inſtances, the factions in Holland were as outrageous during the invaſion of their country by Lewis XIV. as at any other period.

Another corruption of the mental kind, which prevails much in commercial countries, is the want of generoſity and private benevoleſice. Where money is in ſo high eſtimation, nothing is

‡ The fortunes of the people at Rome were nearly on a level; but at Carthage, ſome particular perſons poſſeſſed the wealth of kings.—Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire, ch. iv.

Plato obſerves, that in a ſtate wherein the inequality of fortune among the members is very conſiderable, there is but little union of intereſt; and that in reality they form two ſtates or communities, one of the poor, and another of the rich, and ſometimes more.—Platon. Op. l. xxxi. dialog. 4. de Republic.

|| The natural luſt of wealth, ſays Polybius, that prevails among the Cretans (a trading and naval power) gives birth continually to private conteſts, and to public diſſenſions and diviſions, and produces murders and inteſtine wars. — Book vi. extr. 3.

§ The two prevailing factions at Carthage were ſo divided, that the one was always for peace, and the other for war; by which means it was impoſſible for that city either to enjoy the one, or to carry on the other to advantage. — Monteſq. Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire.

done or given but with a view to its acquiſition; conſequently, diſintereſted kindneſs can there be but very ſparingly practiſed.

For a ſimilar reaſon, friendſhip, in the ſenſe it was underſtood by the Greeks and Romans, is very ſeldom ſeen in trading countries. Where intereſt is the leading principle, perſonal regard can be but faint, as ſuch a preference is quite contrary to that delicacy of ſentiment that always accompanies and is eſſential to this paſſion when in a pure ſtate. But the great regard that is paid to wealth in commercial ſtates, is not only negatively injurious to public virtue, but immediately produces a great degree of national corruption and depravation of manners. From this cauſe aroſe the vices that prevailed in the * Cretan republic. Hence ſprang the † venality of the Carthaginians, before noticed, their bad adminiſtration in providing ‡ for their armies, the oppreſſions they practiſed upon their || colonies, and the § plunder which they made of the ſtate. I believe, however, that corruptions of ſuch magnitude ſeldom take place in commercial ſtates until great

* When we perceive, therefore, ſays Polybius, that the laws and manners of the ſtate are ſuch as tend to promote the exerciſe of honeſty and virtue, as it is very reaſonable for us to conclude that the ſtate itſelf is virtuous, and the members of it free from all reproach; ſo, on the other hand, when an immoderate deſire of gain governs the life of every private citizen, and the public tranſactions of the ſtate are contrary to juſtice, we may ſafely venture to declare, that the laws of this community are bad, the manners of the people corrupt and vicious, and the whole government contemptible. Now, if we conſider the character and conduct of the Cretans, it is certain that ſcarcely an example can be found of any nation, in which the private manners of the citizens are more replete with artifice and fraud, or where the public enterpriſes are more unjuſt.—Polyb. book vi. extr. 3.

† See the laſt ſection.

‡ The Carthaginian army, and even the city itſelf, were nearly ſtarved in their own country; whilſt the Romans enjoyed great plenty.—Appian. Lybicus.

|| On Spain particularly.—Polybius, book x. extr. 6.

§ When Hannibal, on being elected prætor, endeavoured to hinder the magiſtrates plundering the republic, they complained of him to the Romans. — Appian. Lybic.

wealth

wealth has been already acquired, and perhaps ſome change made in the form of government; of which laſt I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Hitherto I have ſpoken of the *bad* effects of commerce upon the morals. Let us now look to the favourable ſide, and ſee in what reſpects the morals are improved by it.

And firſt, I believe it is acknowledged to be the general tendency of trade, to render thoſe who practiſe it juſt and honeſt in their private tranſactions. Mr. Monteſquieu remarks, that the Chineſe * are the only people that have withſtood this influence, and continue ſtill to be knaves in ſpite of their extenſive † commerce. This may ſeem incompatible with the character before deſcribed, as incident to this way of life; but is, in reality, very reconcileable with it. Trading nations are not honeſt upon principles of virtue, but upon thoſe of intereſt. Commercial buſineſs could never be tranſacted without a mutual confidence; and this would not be imparted without a belief that it would not be abuſed. As this credit, therefore, is the foundation of a man's trade, and means of raiſing his fortune, it is the intereſt of every man to retain it as entire as poſſible. So that in this reſpect, the deſire of gain, which in ſo many inſtances tempts people to forfeit their moral character, tends, in this inſtance, to make them preſerve it.

Sobriety, alſo, may, I believe, be accounted a national virtue amongſt trading ſtates. The Carthaginians were remarkably ſober; and although this might ariſe, in ſome meaſure, from the climate, it is probable that their commercial turn tended to encourage it, as ſome of the people, who inhabit that country at preſent, are much addicted to drunkenneſs.

* I have before mentioned, that this knavery of the Chineſe is, in general, confined to the lower ranks of people. The great trader among them, as with us, is juſt and equitable in his dealings.

† Sp. of Laws, b. xix. ch. 20.

Indeed,

Indeed, it is neceſſary that a trading people, who are obliged, from neceſſity, to be always on their guard, and on the watch to ſeize advantages, ſhould refrain from any vice which diſorders the underſtanding.

I imagine, likewiſe, that thoſe injuries that ariſe from or are accompanied with force and violence—which occur ſo frequently in the rude ſtates of mankind—are committed ſeldom here, or are at leaſt contrary to the diſpoſition of the people. The peaceful and timid turn which this way of life induces, the regular police which attends it, and the ſevere penalties annexed to ſuch offences, together with the other means of acquiring property which ſuch a way of life preſents; all concur to prevent crimes of this kind.

So far on the effects of commerce upon the morals. Let us now examine its effects upon the manners and behaviour.

The manners of a commercial ſtate are always, in a good meaſure, courteous and agreeable. This quality ſeems to have been aſcribed to the Carthaginians even by their enemies the Romans *. The people of Marſeilles † were remarkable for a ſimilar behaviour; and Diodorus Siculus obſerves, that the people of ‡ Cornwall, in England, were the moſt courteous and poliſhed of any of the inhabitants of that ‖ country; which difference he aſcribes entirely to their more extenſive commerce.

The ſame mode of behaviour has prevailed always, in a great meaſure, among the people of the Eaſt Indies ‡‡; and is at preſent carried to its utmoſt height in ‖‖ China.

* Virgil. Æneid. lib. i.

† Strabon. lib. iv. Cicer. pro Flacco.

Tacitus alſo calls Marſeilles, "Locum Græca comitate & provinciali parſimoniâ miſtum."

‡ Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.

‖ Julius Cæſar makes nearly the ſame remark with reſpect to the inhabitants of Kent.—Comm. book v. ch. 5. § 14.

‡‡ Strabo. lib. xv.—Diod. Sicul. lib. ii.

‖‖ Du Halde.

This

This effect is very naturally produced by commerce; as it cauſes a great degree of civiliſation in general, and as it opens an intercourſe with other nations, and thereby affords an opportunity of a mutual compariſon of the manners of ſtrangers with thoſe of the inhabitants.

SECT. III. *Influence of a commercial life upon the intellectual faculties.*

A commercial life may, in ſeveral reſpects, be accounted favourable to the intellectual faculties. Thus it tends to exerciſe, and conſequently to improve, the memory; it introduces a methodic arrangement into the buſineſs of life, which facilitates it greatly, by inſtructing us to apply our abilities ſeparately to their proper purpoſes. Commerce alſo enlarges the ideas, teaches nations their true intereſt, and is a cure for the moſt pernicious prejudices.

Science, likewiſe, conſidered in the light of the knowledge of arts, is indebted greatly to commerce. Thus aſtronomy, navigation, mathematics, mechanics, the ſcience of numbers, the arts of working metals, and many others, are connected with, and greatly promoted by, commerce. But although thoſe arts and ſciences that immediately conduce to uſe and convenience, flouriſh greatly in a commercial ſtate, I am apt to think that commerce, conſidered merely as ſuch, and not as a ſtep to further improvement, is not favourable to the polite and rather ornamental branches of ſcience.

Thus trade has always been thought rather inconſiſtent with ſome branches of literary compoſition of the more elegant kind. We read of ſcarcely any poetical performances among commercial ſtates; and hiſtory has ſcarcely proceeded farther than a detail of facts and events. Some ſtudies, however, which, although highly

uſeful to ſociety, are, nevertheleſs, dry and unentertaining, have been cultivated among them with great ſucceſs. Thus the Dutch have given us ſeveral excellent works on juriſprudence and the law of nations; and even medicine has received ſome of its greateſt improvements from the ſame quarter. In all branches, however, of taſte, or the faculty of diſtinguiſhing and reliſhing beauty, a trading people have in general been very defective. This is notably exemplified in the common affairs of life, as in what relates to buildings, furniture, laying out grounds, &c. Mr. Shenſtone remarks, "that the taſte of the citizen and of the mere peaſant are in all reſpects the ſame. The former gilds his balls, paints his ſtone-work and ſtatues white, plants his trees in lines or circles, cuts his yew-trees ſquare or conical, or gives them what he can of the reſemblance of birds, bears, or men; ſquirts up his rivulet in jets d'eau; in ſhort, admires no part of nature but her ductility; exhibits every thing that is glaring, that implies expence, or that effects a ſurpriſe becauſe it is unnatural: the peaſant is his admirer ‡." To this teſtimony we may add that of ſeveral of our beſt dramatic writers ||, with whom the bad taſte of commercial people has long been an object of ridicule. Some writers have, indeed, ſpoken of the taſte and elegance of the Chineſe in the above reſpects; and in particular a late publication, ſaid to be by Sir William Chambers, has deſcribed their performances in this way, in ſuch a manner as to give reaſon to doubt if he was ſerious in his repreſentation. But the accounts given by other writers of undoubted credit, deſcribe the taſte of the Chineſe to be very like what it is in other trading countries—heavy, glaring, loaded with ornament, and full of affectation of expence. The magnificence of a houſe in China, ſays Du Halde *, conſiſts in the large ſize of its beams and pillars, which are to be made of the moſt valuable

‡ Thoughts on Various Subjects, by William Shenſtone, Eſq.

|| See the character of Mr. Sterling, in the Clandeſtine Marriage.

* Vol. ii. p. 99.

woods,

woods, and in the ſculpture on the gates. As to gardens, it does not appear that they have any, but what ſerve for producing ſomewhat uſeful for diet.

The art of war, conſidered as an object of ſcience, has been greatly improved in commercial countries. The knowledge and uſe of weapons; the ſcience of fortification, of diſcipline, and of the other reſources of war, are there underſtood and practiſed in their utmoſt extent. But theſe, though highly important, are in reality, as Milton calls them, "arguments of human weakneſs, rather than of ſtrength," and are often carried to the higheſt degree of improvement, when the vigour of nations is beginning to decay. When perſonal courage abates, people often think to ſupply the deficiency by external means of this kind. Happy would it be for nations to reflect, that arms are only of conſequence in the hands of the brave; and that although the reſources of war, when other advantages are equal, may decide a ſingle conteſt, yet even theſe, unleſs properly and reſolutely employed, are of no avail, and often ſerve only to ſtrengthen thoſe, in oppoſition to whom they were prepared.

SECT. IV. *Effects of a commercial life upon the laws and cuſtoms.*

And firſt, with reſpect to the law of nations. As the occaſions to apply to the law of nations frequently occur in commercial affairs, this law is in general more regarded in trading countries than in thoſe not concerned in commerce. The former have, likewiſe, different ideas on this ſubject from the latter.

Thus the ſea, which at firſt view appears to be of common right, and no ſpecific property of any peculiar nation or people, has been parcelled out and divided, as well as land, by commercial nations. This is exemplified in ſeveral inſtances, in ancient as well

as modern hiſtory. It was one of the articles of Cimon's treaty with the Perſians, that they ſhould not ſail with any ſhips of war between the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſles. Hanno, in his negociation with the Romans, declared, that they ſhould not even be ſuffered to waſh their hands in the † ſea of Sicily; neither they nor their allies were allowed to ſail beyond the Fair promontory, unleſs compelled by bad weather, or an enemy; and in caſe that they were forced beyond it, they were not allowed to take or purchaſe any thing, except what was neceſſary for refitting their veſſels, or for ſacrifice, and were obliged to depart within five days. They were not permitted to trade in Sicily, Sardinia, or Africa, except at Carthage. Many ‡ other reſtrictions of a ſimilar nature are to be found in the treaties between the two nations. Modern hiſtory affords inſtances of the ſame kind. The Venetians formerly, in their ſtate of commercial greatneſs, laid claim to the dominion of the Adriatic Sea; and the Danes, in later times, have aſſumed a kind of ſovereignty over the Baltic.

The jealouſies, however, which ſome nations have adopted relative to particular branches of trade, have cauſed ſome ſtrange practices, which are neither conſonant to the laws of nations, the rules of humanity, or even the dictates of common ſenſe. Of this kind was the law that prevailed at Carthage, that all || ſtrangers who traded to Sardinia, and towards Hercules's pillars, ſhould be condemned to be drowned. Of a ſimilar nature is the jealouſy of the Spaniards relative to their trade to South America; and of the

† Frenſhemius Supplement to Livy, dec. ii.

‡ Polyb. book iii. chap. 3.

|| The ſpeech of Ilioneus to Dido, in Virgil, ſeems to allude to ſome law of this kind:

> Quod genus hoc hominum, quæve hunc tam barbara morem
> Permittit patria; hoſpitio prohibemur arenæ.
> Bella cient, primaque vetant conſiſtere terrâ.
>
> Æneid. l. i. l. 539, 540, 541.

Dutch,

Dutch, of the ſpice-trade in the Eaſt Indies. In the war of 1740, between Spain and England, the former made a law, which puniſhed with death thoſe who brought Engliſh manufactures into Spain; and the ſame penalty on thoſe who carried Spaniſh manufactures into England. An ordinance like this, Mr. * Monteſquieu obſerves, can ſcarcely find a precedent in any laws but thoſe of Japan. It equally ſhocks humanity, the ſpirit of commerce, and that harmony that ought to ſubſiſt in the proportion of penalties, making that a crime againſt the ſtate, which is only a violation of civil polity. This law was, however, of the commercial kind, though miſtaken in its object, and, indeed, in every other reſpect.

In ſome inſtances, however, commerce has infuſed into the law of nations a degree of tenderneſs and humanity. The northern nations of Europe, when in their barbarous ſtate, were accuſtomed to plunder the veſſels, and deſtroy or captivate the crew, † that were by misfortune thrown upon their coaſts; and the property acquired by ſuch a breach of humanity, in ſome countries, even in our own, formed a branch of the ‡ royal or public revenue. In later times, however, theſe ideas, which are in every ſenſe barbarous, have been diſcarded nearly every where, and more || humane ones adopted; and compaſſion and aſſiſtance to theſe unfortunate perſons is now eſteemed due, by the law of nations, in every part of Europe. This humanity is obviouſly owing to the extenſion and encouragement of commerce.

The ſpirit of trade has imparted to the law of nations a peculiar regard to the perſons and property of merchants. Thus, in Great Britain, it is ſpecifically provided, that the goods of foreign mer-

* Sp. of Laws, b. xx. ch. 14.

† In naufragorum miſeria et calamitate tanquam vultures ad prædam currere.—Stiernhook de Jure Sueconum, lib. iii. c. 5.

‡ Doctor and Student, d. ii. c. 51.

|| See Blackſtone's Comm. b. i. c. 8. § 11

chants, on the breaking out of a war, ſhall not be ſeized, but by way of repriſal. It is remarkable, that the Engliſh, even at a period when trade was little known, and leſs practiſed, made this one of the articles of their great charter of liberty; which proves, that, even in early times, they well underſtood the value of this highly important article.

The effect of commerce on the municipal law is more extenſive and more remarkable. And firſt, the penal or criminal law. Property being the object of the policy of the country, in commercial ſtates, the preſervation and ſecurity of it is the principal drift and intent of the laws, both criminal and civil; and the general ſpirit and tendency of them bears a particular reference thereto, eſpecially to property of the perſonal kind. Whatever crimes, therefore, attack ſuch property moſt directly, are moſt ſeverely animadverted.

Thus the crimen falſi, in ſeveral inſtances, forgery particularly, is a capital crime in Great Britain by modern acts of parliament, which was not ſo by the common law of England, nor indeed by the * civil law, except accompanied with peculiarly aggravating circumſtances. It is curious to trace the progreſs that the laws of this country † have made in fixing the puniſhment of this crime, as wealth and commerce have increaſed; ſo that now they are become ſo complete, that, as a learned judge remarks †, there is ſcarcely a caſe poſſible to be conceived, wherein forgery, with an intent to defraud, is not made a capital offence. Another ſpecies of the crimen falſi, that approaches nearly, in its nature, to forgery, is the falſifying of the coin of the kingdom; a circumſtance of the moſt eſpecial concern to commerce. This was eſteemed a heinous crime in very early times, among trading ſtates. Diodorus Siculus tells us ‡, that the

* Inſtitut. iv. 18. 7.

† Blackſtone's Comm. b. iv. ch. 17.

‡ Diod. Sic. lib. i.

ancient

ancient Egyptians punished both this and forgery with cutting off the hands; and by the law * of Athens the penalty was capital, as it was in after times by the † civil law. The last of these considered this crime as a species of the crimen læsæ majestatis, or high-treason, from a whimsical idea of an insult to the prince, by counterfeiting his image in the impression upon the coin. Others, indeed, considered it, with more plausibility, as an usurpation of the rights of sovereignty; but this construction, as well as the former, is now thought overstrained, and in consequence thereof, the later civilians have rejected this idea, and consider the crime, as it ought to be, a species of the crimen falsi; in which opinion they are followed by the oldest ‡ writers on the common law of England. Later statutes have, however, followed the old idea of the civil law; and this offence is now esteemed high-treason with us, as it is in France, and, I believe, most of the other countries of Europe. The punishment of it, however, in England, is both less terrible to the senses, and less injurious to the family. I do not, however, mean to say, that the severity of this law was originally dictated by commercial interest; but, as it has been greatly extended of late years, since commerce and property have so much increased, it is highly probable that a consideration of the consequences of this crime to trade has suggested the propriety of keeping up the ancient rigour, and putting the law into strict execution; so that, whatever it was formerly, it may now, in some measure, be deemed a commercial law. Another branch of the crimen falsi, perjury, is also, in some instances which relate more particularly to commerce, made a capital crime by the law of England. In this I allude principally to fraudulent bankruptcy, or the concealment of the effects of a bankrupt by himself, in violation of his oath, in

* Potter's Antiquit. l. i. c. 26.

† C. xxix. 24. 2. Cod. Theod. de falsâ.

‡ As Glanvil, Bracton, Fleta, &c.

order

order to defraud his creditors; which is puniſhed with death in moſt other countries, as well as in our own. I ſhall not here enquire into the neceſſity, juſtice, or propriety of theſe laws, but only remark, that it muſt appear to mankind, in general, very extraordinary in our ſyſtem of juriſprudence, that a perjury committed where property alone is concerned, ſhould be capital, when the ſame crime, not with the intent only, but the actual perpetration alſo, of depriving a fellow-creature of life, by a falſe accuſation, ſhould be deemed a miſdemeanor only. A learned judge, in excuſe for this rigour, has, indeed, alledged, that this offence being an atrocious ſpecies of the crimen falſi, ought to be put upon a level with forgery * and falſifying the coin. But the ſame gentleman had before remarked, that the latter of theſe offences was improperly arranged † under the head of high-treaſon; and, on that account, too rigorouſly puniſhed: conſequently, any defence of the preſent ſeverity, drawn from the analogy of the crimes, is improperly introduced, and of no weight in its vindication.

Smuggling is another ſpecies of the ſame crime, and what the laws of this country have, in ſome circumſtances, declared to be capital, though the moſt rigorous part of that law is now expired. This law is evidently of the commercial kind, ſince the ſame crime, in countries that have but little trade, as in ‡ Turkey, is ſcarcely regarded in a criminal light.

All other offences reſpecting property, are ſeverely cenſured in commercial countries. Thus, in England, numberleſs acts of parliament have been made of late years, ſince our wealth and commerce have ſo much increaſed, to puniſh invaſions upon property; which is now, I believe, nearly as well ſecured, as it is poſſible to be by penal laws. Many of theſe laws appear to be very rigorous: which proceeds, in ſome meaſure, from the adhering to the old denomina-

* Comm. book iv. ch. 12. ſect. 3.

† Ibid. ch. 6. ſect. 2.

‡ It is puniſhed only by doubling the duty.

tion

tion of the value of money, but more from the increaſe of property by trade. Nations that have had but little commerce, have puniſhed ſtealing, in general, very mildly. The penalty, among the Jews, was only reſtitution of the value, and a fine. The ſame was nearly the caſe with the Greeks and Romans, with the barbarous nations that invaded the Roman empire, and our Saxon * anceſtors in Britain.

This attention and regard for property has contributed to render the police, in commercial countries, extremely ſtrict and exact; and with great reaſon: trading people are ſeldom very warlike; they are maſters of great property, much of which muſt be of the moveable kind, and of courſe in a capacity of being ſeized; which is a great temptation to the indigent. The people in ſuch ſtates are very numerous; and when once a diſturbance breaks out, it is generally very difficult to appeaſe. This, we are told by Du Halde, is the caſe in China; and we know that it is alſo ſo in Holland. Hence the rigid attention to police in both theſe countries.

The neceſſity that there is for induſtry and frugality, in a trading country, cauſes ſome things to be eſteemed cenſurable there, with which laws in general do not interfere. Thus idleneſs is held criminal in China and in Holland.

The mode of trial, in criminal caſes, is, in ſome meaſure, influenced by commerce. The law of England, conſcious how much ſtrangers may ſuffer by the ſcrutiny of their conduct being ſubmitted to perſons only who belong to the country whoſe laws they are accuſed of infringing, has humanely provided, that the jury, in ſuch caſes, ſhould be compoſed of half aliens, and the remainder denizens, which is called a jury *de medietate linguæ*. But this privilege is not allowed in caſes of high-treaſon, aliens * be-

* Theft was firſt made capital in Henry III's time, in England.

‡ 2 Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, 420.—2 Hale's Pleas of the Crown, 271.

ing

ing very improper to decide on the breach of allegiance. This privilege is not, however, I believe, allowed in any other country except our own.

The effect of a commercial life on puniſhments is next to be conſidered.

Many criminal actions with reſpect to property, which, in ſtates whoſe trade is but ſmall, are looked upon as little more than treſpaſſes, or civil offences, are, in commercial countries, puniſhed with death. This is the caſe with ſeveral ſpecies of the crimen falſi before mentioned, and ſome other offences. Theſe ſeverities have, with great plauſibility, been aſcribed to the increaſing opulence of the country, produced by commerce, againſt which theſe crimes peculiarly militate; and indeed there ſeems ſufficient cauſe to believe that ſanguinary laws are but too often the conſequence of national proſperity and increaſe of wealth. Senſibility ſleeps in the lap of luxury; and the legiſlator is content to ſecure his own ſelfiſh enjoyment, by ſubjecting his fellow-creatures to the miſeries of a dungeon, and the horrors of an ignominious death. It is a melancholy truth, ſays a great writer on our law, that among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no leſs than an hundred and ſixty have been declared capital felonies by act of parliament, or, in other words, to be worthy of inſtant death *. It was ſhrewdly remarked by Sir Henry Spelman, above a century ago, that, whilſt every other thing had increaſed in value, the life of man was become cheaper, and leſs regarded †; a circumſtance, probably, even then, owing, in a good meaſure, to the increaſe of commerce and national wealth.

* Comm. book iv. ch. 1.

† Animadverte autem in quantam aſperitatem ex rerum temporumque viciſſitudine lex antiqua abripitur. Quod enim olim aliquando duodecim vænit denariis hodiè ſæpè viginti ſolidos imo quadraginta vel pluris eſt; nec vita hominis interea charior ſed abjectior.—Spelm. Gloſſar. Vox Latrocinium, p. 350.

So far on capital offences. Let us now ſpeak of the puniſhment of inferior crimes.

It appears at firſt view ſomewhat extraordinary, that fines and forfeitures ſhould be much in uſe among a people whoſe perſonal property was inconſiderable, whilſt corporal puniſhment was rarely inflicted; and, on the other hand, that forfeitures of property, where property was large, ſhould be ſeldom impoſed, and corporal puniſhment be there very common. Yet this was really the caſe. Among the ancient Germans, Franks, and other northern nations, it is well known that nearly all crimes were capable of being expiated by a pecuniary recompence, and corporal puniſhment was rarely uſed; whereas in ‡ China property is inviolable, but the branding-iron and baſtinado are applied very liberally, and on ſlight occaſions, to all orders of people. Nor are the reaſons of this ſeeming contradiction difficult to be inveſtigated. A fine implies no perſonal diſgrace, and is ſtill a reſtraining motive; conſequently, this mode of animadverſion was likely to be preferred by a brave and free people, endued with high notions of honour; to whom any perſonal affront, ſuch as a blow, even judicially inflicted, would be intolerable. Add to this, that perſonal property, at that period, was ſeldom conſiderable. This laſt circumſtance was one cauſe why, in the Engliſh law, the forfeiture of goods and chattels was ſo often inflicted for offences of no great enormity, and ſometimes, indeed, for what, in truth, could ſcarcely be called any offence at all, ſuch as excuſeable homicide, and ſeveral others.

But in a trading ſtate, where intereſt is the ruling paſſion, the point of honour is little regarded, and corporal puniſhments are only conſidered with reſpect to the injury they produce, or the pain they inflict; and not with regard to any diſhonour incurred from them. Theſe then are preferred to thoſe puniſhments that affect property, ſuch as fines and forfeitures, which might prove a very unequal mode of puniſhment, and alſo tend to diſcourage induſtry, by diminiſhing the ſecurity of property.

‡ Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 18, 159.

The effect of commerce on the civil law is next to be conſidered.

I do not mean here to treat of ſuch laws as concern particular branches of trade, or what are of a local kind, but only to mention ſome of the general effects of trade and commerce upon the civil law; in which, however, I fear this part of the work will be extremely defective.

Property, I have before obſerved, to be the main-ſpring or mover of the laws of commercial countries. This was diſcernible in the criminal law, and ſtill more in the civil. I ſhall conſider this under the following heads, all of them relative to property, and particularly of the commercial or perſonal kind; each of which may be eſteemed as a diſtinct object, though all concurring in the ſame general idea and intention.

The firſt of theſe is, to ſecure commercial property as much as poſſible.

Commercial property is expoſed to ſo many unavoidable hazards, from its own nature, that it is highly neceſſary that the laws ſhould pay a peculiar regard to it, in order to induce people to incur the riſque. That law is of this kind that permits the ſeizure of the body for civil debts. This, Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, would be improper in the generality of civil affairs, but is neceſſary in thoſe of commerce. For as merchants are obliged to intruſt large ſums (frequently for a very ſhort time) and to pay money, as well as to receive it, there is a neceſſity that the debtor ſhould conſtantly fulfil his engagements at the time prefixed; and hence it becomes neceſſary to lay a conſtraint on his perſon.

In affairs relating to common civil contracts, the law ought not to permit the ſeizure of the perſon, becauſe the liberty of one citizen is of greater importance to the public, than the eaſe or proſperity of another. But in conventions derived from commerce, the law ought to conſider the public proſperity as of greater importance than the liberty of a citizen; which, however, does not hinder the reſtrictions and limitations that humanity and good policy demand.

Some

Some commercial nations, indeed, have not allowed of this mode of ſatisfaction. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that it was not permitted in Egypt; and Du Halde ſays, it is not in uſe in China; and at preſent it is one of the principal ſubjects of complaint againſt the Engliſh laws being introduced into the Eaſt Indies. The peculiar nature of theſe countries, the two former eſpecially, has been, as I apprehend, the cauſe of this difference. The neceſſity there is for induſtry in every ſingle individual, in order to ſupport ſuch a multitude of people, makes it improper that any ſhould be reduced into a ſituation that renders them unable to contribute their labour to the common ſtock, cauſes them to remain an uſeleſs burden upon the community, and, moreover, engroſſes the time of others, in the care and attention neceſſary for their confinement. In this caſe, regard to the maintenance of the people ſuperſedes the concern for the ſecurity of property.

Another ſecurity afforded by the law to commercial property, in our country, is by the regard ſhewn to the contracts and obligations that regard trade. Bills of exchange are particularly favoured, and ſeveral advantages granted to them, which other perſonal ſecurities, and even ſome real ones, do not poſſeſs. Thus a bill of exchange, or promiſſory note, expreſſed to be for value received, is evidence of the debt in the hands of a third perſon, and compulſory on the perſon who drew, or accepted it to pay; nor can any evidence, even a receipt (unleſs upon the bill itſelf) be pleaded to avoid it, even though nothing was originally owing to the perſon who drew it, from the perſon upon whom the bill was drawn *.

Every

* But with reſpect to the perſonal eſtate, there is a difference between contracts that are negotiable and ſuch as are not, or where they are not negociated in a mercantile way, where the note paſſes as ready money, as if it was aſſigned as a collateral ſecurity for a debt already contracted; for there, if the note was fraudulently obtained, or by gaming, he has no remedy againſt the drawer; but if he actually negociates it for value, the indorſee ſhall, in all events, have his money of the drawer, though he has paid it before, or it was obtained by fraud, becauſe the in-

Every perſon who came honeſtly by ſuch a ſecurity, no matter from whom, has a right, by law, to the payment of it, from the drawer, the acceptor, or thoſe who have indorſed it. Now a bond ſecurity, though in ſome reſpects (as its remaining longer in force) more highly regarded by our law, is in others inferior to a bill of exchange, or promiſſory note; ſince a bond, though capable of being transferred or aſſigned to a third perſon, really ſtands as a ſecurity for ſo much only as may remain undiſcharged of the ſum for which it was originally given. Indeed, a bond is (properly ſpeaking) not aſſignable at law, like a bill of exchange or promiſſory note, and only equitably ſo.

An aſſignment of a bond is rather a letter of attorney to a third perſon, empowering him to ſue in the name of the perſon to whom the bond was given, and, conſequently, a diſcharge from that perſon may be adduced as a ſatisfaction for the whole, or any part of the ſum; but in a promiſſory note, or bill of exchange, the perſon to whom it is aſſigned becomes the principal himſelf, and entitled to demand the whole money on his own account; nor will any payment to the drawer avail the acceptor or indorſer in the leaſt, againſt the holder of the bill or promiſſory note.

Another inſtance of this kind, in the law of England, appears in the regulation of thoſe ſecurities called the ſtatute-ſtaple and ſtatute-merchant, which were originally permitted only among traders, for the benefit of commerce. They are, in reality, the higheſt and moſt extenſive ſecurities known to our laws, as by them the debtor may not only have his perſonal eſtate ſeized, but

dorſee has a legal right to the note, and a legal remedy at law, which the court of equity ought not to take away from him; and it would be the ruin of all commerce, if the original cauſe and conſideration of ſuch note was to be enquired into. But the aſſignee of a choſe in action has no remedy at law, or right to ſue in his own name, and has only an equitable remedy: and this fails when the bond or covenant is obtained by fraud, or the obligor has a legal diſcharge, as a releaſe, upon payment of the money.—Treatiſe of Equity, b. vi. c. 3. § 4.

his

his land and body alſo, by one proceſs; a thing not permitted under any other ſpecies of obligation known or acknowledged by our laws.

But although theſe ſecurities, granted to commercial tranſactions, may appear very ample, other nations have gone a ſtep farther, and endeavoured to entail the debts of the father upon the children, even though the latter received nothing by the inheritance. This is attempted to be done, in ſome degree, at Geneva; whoſe conſtitution of government excludes from the magiſtracy, and every branch of the legiſlature, the children of thoſe that have died inſolvent, unleſs they pay the debts of their fathers. This law, Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, had an admirable effect in giving a confidence in the merchants, in the magiſtrates, and in the city itſelf. There the private credit of the individual has, in a good meaſure, all the weight of public credit.

The laws of Rhodes went ſtill farther. With them, a perſon could not be releaſed from the abſolute obligation of paying his father's debts, even though he renounced the ſucceſſion.

This law, Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, was calculated for a republic founded upon commerce. He is, however, inclined to think, that reaſons drawn from commerce itſelf ought to make this limitation of the law *, that the debts contracted by the father, ſince the ſon's entering into trade, ſhould not affect the eſtate or property acquired by the latter. A merchant ought always to know his obligations, and to ſquare his conduct by his circumſtances and private fortune.

Another object of the laws of commercial countries is, as loſſes muſt neceſſarily ſometimes happen, that theſe be divided, as much as poſſible, among a number of perſons, and not be accumulated upon one † individual. This is done, in ſome meaſure, by the al-

* Sp. of Laws, b. xx. ch. 17.

† The moſt ancient law that I know of, that is made with this intent, is the Rhodian law De Jactu, which is inſerted into the laws of William the Conqueror.—Wilkins Leg. Saxon. p. 225.

lowance,

lowance, and even encouragement, given by the law to insurances of mercantile effects, and other things, especially naval insurances; which, although in reality only a species of gaming, founded on the proportional probability of the event of the loss happening or no, yet, as they afford a kind of security to commerce, and encourage people to engage in it—and also prevent, in some measure, the ill consequences of any unfortunate event, by dividing the loss amongst a number of persons—are countenanced by most of the European countries. The laws of England, however, in order to prevent this permission being perverted to a gambling intent, have declared all policies void, where the insurer has no interest in the thing insured. Another law tending to the same intention, which is almost universally embraced by people engaged in trade, is that whereby a man engaged in commerce is, under certain circumstances, declared a bankrupt, and by which his estate is equally divided among all his creditors, according to the proportion of their debts; a most equitable and wise method to prevent any undue or fraudulent preference of one creditor to another, and insure to each man such a share as the effects of the debtor will satisfy. Nor is this regulation less favourable to trade by the security it affords to the creditor, than by that it gives to the debtor; who, if he behaves justly and candidly by his creditors, is reinstated in his reputation, freed from his burthens of obligations, and at liberty to begin the world afresh upon a new footing. The law of England is particularly favourable to these unfortunate persons.

Another object of the laws of trading countries is, as money is absolutely necessary for the carrying on of commercial business, to supply this to trade upon as moderate and equitable terms as possible. Hence the laws to regulate the interest of money. This might, perhaps, be thought proper to be left to itself, to find its own value, as well as other commodities; but the necessity under which commercial people often are, of borrowing money at short warning, and at all events, being a great temptation to others to take

take advantage of their ſituation, by demanding exorbitant premiums—which would be highly detrimental or diſcouraging to trade—has induced commercial ſtates to regulate the extent of the ſum allowed to be taken for intereſt, which muſt not be exceeded; which regulation is taken from the proportion of current money in the ſtate exceeding that neceſſary to carry on the buſineſs of exchange, and the common concerns of life. The advantage of this regulation to trade is too obvious to be more largely explained.

It may appear a ſtrange poſition to lay down, that whilſt the fixing the price for the intereſt of money lent is eſteemed to be of ſuch ſervice to commerce, that a law allowing and encouraging a higher premium to be taken ſhould alſo be conducive to the ſame purpoſe. But this ſeeming paradox may be, I believe, eaſily explained. The price to be paid for the hire or uſe of money is calculated from two circumſtances; one, from the inconvenience which the lender ſuffers for want of his money; the other, from the hazard of his not receiving it again. When, therefore, we ſpeak of the intereſt of money in general, we mean ſo much, nearly, as is equivalent to make amends for the inconvenience which the lender ſuffers for want of his money, little, if any thing, being allowed for the hazard, which is ſuppoſed to be ſcarcely any. But it is not always in the power of merchants to give any ſecurity, that is not acknowledged to be hazardous in ſome meaſure; and if they were not allowed to compenſate for this hazard by the increaſe of the premium, no one would advance them money, and the law that was made for their benefit would, in reality, turn out to their detriment. To obviate, therefore, this inconvenience, trading nations have allowed the validity of contracts, where more is taken than the legal intereſt, when the ſecurity itſelf is precarious; as in the caſe of bottomry, in which the ſhip itſelf is pledged, and reſpondentia, where the cargo is made anſwerable, with theſe reſervations in both caſes, that the ſhip or cargo be not loſt in the voyage. There are other kinds of maritime uſury, on a footing nearly ſimilar.

Another object of the laws of commercial nations is, to prevent extravagance and diſſipation of fortune among the members. The ill effects of a diſpoſition of this kind are ſenſibly felt in a trading ſtate, where frugality and œconomy are, as it were, the life and ſupport of the community. Extravagance promotes idleneſs, luxury, gaming, and many other vices directly oppoſite to the intereſts of a commercial ſtate, and, what is moſt important of any, ſtrikes at the very root of all credit, without which trade could not even ſubſiſt.

To prevent this, therefore, ſeveral trading countries have enacted laws. Thus, in China, a man who is prodigal of his fortune is conſidered as one who has loſt his underſtanding, and is, in like manner, deprived of the management of his affairs; and the like practice is in uſe in Holland: the latter of which is borrowed from the civil law. In the laſt-mentioned country they carry the affair ſtill further, and even prevent a man's engaging in any expenſive undertaking, that does not bring ſome profit, or infer ſome proſpect of advantage, ſuch as the building of an expenſive houſe, &c. until he has ſettled a certain proportion of his ſubſtance upon his wife and children, which proportion is uſually one half of the whole. Excellent, this law! which at once prevents the ill conſequences of profuſion, without depriving a man of the power over his effects.

Another object of the laws of commercial countries is, to prevent too great accumulation of property in the hands of individuals. Although diſſipation and profuſion are of the worſt conſequences to commercial ſtates, it is not their intereſt, on the other hand, that enormous fortunes, eſpecially land eſtates, ſhould be accumulated by private perſons. Commerce requires a fluctuation of property, as a ſpur to induſtry, and as the means of preſerving a due equality among the members of the ſtate. Enormous fortunes, alſo, continued in families, would beget pride, idleneſs, and luxury, render perſonal diſtinction deſpiſed, and bring trade into contempt.

For

For theſe reaſons, in trading countries, a man's eſtate is divided equally amongſt his children, and does not go in different proportions to the elder ſon, as in ſome others. This is the courſe of deſcent in China and in Holland. For the ſame cauſe, entails, that ſettle eſtates to deſcend through a courſe of generations, without a poſſibility of alienation, are adverſe to the nature and genius of a trading people, and are accordingly now much retrenched in our own country; which is partly, though not altogether, owing to the increaſe of commerce.

Another object of the law of commercial countries, is the regulation of thoſe who are permitted to engage in commerce. Of this kind are the laws which provide that no perſon ſhall exerciſe any trade or employment, unleſs he ſhall firſt have received a certain degree of inſtruction in it, or at leaſt ſhall have ſerved a fixed period of time to one verſed in the art or buſineſs.

Theſe were probably at firſt intended to ſecure the goodneſs of the commodities, by providing that they ſhould not be manufactured, unleſs by ſuch as might be reaſonably deemed to be capable of it. But many of theſe regulations having been perverted into local reſtrictions, and formed a kind of a monopoly in a few hands, and thereby contributed to injure that which it was originally intended to improve, theſe ſorts of reſtraints—ſuch as of companies in corporate towns, &c. and all other excluſive privileges—have been much diſcouraged by the courts of law in this country; it having been found by experience, that emulation is the beſt means of exciting induſtry, and of inſuring the goodneſs of any commodity.

Another law of the ſame kind, is that which eſtabliſhes trading companies to different parts of the world, with privileges excluſive of any other perſon interfering in the trade. Of this kind is the Eaſt India Company in England, at preſent; and formerly the African, and ſome others. Theſe were of ſome ſervice in the infancy of trade, in order to induce people to run the riſque, by

inſuring to them the profit the trade yielded; but in the advanced ſtate of commerce, they are liable to the ſame objections as other monopolies.

Of the ſame nature are all excluſive patents, privileges, &c. granted to private perſons; which, in ſome inſtances, when reſtrained within proper bounds, are of great ſervice in exciting induſtry, by inſuring the profits of the invention to the diſcoverer; who is thereby rewarded according to the degree of his merit, whilſt the public is not deprived of the advantage it affords to general induſtry, as, after a limited time, the privilege ceaſes, and the invention becomes public property.

Another reſtriction, in ſome commercial ſtates, apparently related to the foregoing, is, in reality, more of the political kind, and relates to thoſe ranks or orders of people who are permitted or reſtrained from entering into trade.

It ſeems contrary to the principles of commerce, that the prince, or ſovereign power, ſhould perſonally engage in trade. We are told by the hiſtorians Cedrenus and Zonaras, that Theophilus, one of the few eminent characters among the Greek emperors, obſerving a ſhip of great burthen, and richly laden, entering the port of Conſtantinople, enquired to whom it belonged, and being told that it was the property of the empreſs Theodora, he ordered both ſhip and cargo to be burnt, ſaying, that he would have his wife know that he was an emperor, and not a merchant; and that it was not conſiſtent with his character to take the trade out of the hands of his ſubjects. He might have added, as * Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, "Who ſhall ſet bounds to us, if we monopolize all to ourſelves? Who ſhall oblige us to fulfil our engagements? Our courtiers will follow our example; they will be more rapacious and more unjuſt than we. The people have ſome confidence in our juſtice; they will have none in our opulence. All theſe

* Sp. of Laws, book xx. ch. 19,

numerous duties, which are the cauſes of their wants, are certain proofs of ours."

The ſame reaſons which ſuggeſt a law for prohibiting trade to the prince or ſovereign in a monarchy, prohibit trade, with equal reaſon, to the nobility in an ariſtocratical ſtate.

Thus the ancient laws of the commonwealth of Rome, which was partly ariſtocratical at that period, prohibited any of ſenatorial rank from having a ſhip at ſea that held above three hundred amphoræ *, or about forty buſhels; which was evidently calculated to prevent the nobility engaging in trade. The ſame prohibition is at preſent in force among the Venetian nobility; and at Genoa the bank is entirely managed by the people.

Mr. Monteſquieu carries the matter ſtill farther, and aſſerts, that even in a monarchical government, wherein the immediate power of the nobility is ſeldom very great, though their influence is often conſiderable, it is contrary to its ſpirit, that any of the nobility ſhould be † merchants. This, ſaid the emperors Honorius and Theodoſius, would be pernicious to cities, and would remove the facility of buying and ſelling between the merchants and plebeians.

I believe, however, that there are other reaſons for this prohibition, beſides thoſe that merely regard trade. Such a practice would degrade the nobility themſelves.

It is a maxim in trade, that the ſeller is under an obligation to the buyer, and in that reſpect inferior to him. As thoſe who

* Ne quis ſenator maritimam navem quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum eſſet haberet. Id ſatis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos: quæſtus omnis patribus indecorus viſus eſt.—Livii, lib. xxi.—Vide etiam Ciceron. in Verrem.

This law was transferred by Julius Cæſar into the Julian law de pecuniis repetandis.

† A prohibition of this nature is to be found in the civil law.

Nobiliores natalibus & honorum luce conſpicuos & patrimonio ditiores pernicioſum urbibus mercimonium exercere prohibemus.—C. iv. 63, 3.

purſue trade muſt have a variety of cuſtomers, how would ſuch a dependence on men of all ranks ſuit the high, haughty, and independent ſpirit of an hereditary nobility? In trade, alſo, gain is the prime object; with nobles, glory and honour: two incompatible ideas. Military glory is alſo a great object among an hereditary nobility; a circumſtance oppoſite to the ideas of a people engaged in commerce. Mr. Monteſquieu * is farther of opinion, that the cuſtom of ſuffering the nobility of England to trade, is one of thoſe things that has contributed to weaken the monarchical government. I cannot, however, imagine, how a permiſſion of which they ſcarcely ever avail themſelves, can have had much general effect in this way. Indeed, there is a particular reaſon why the nobility of England ſhould not engage in trade, which is, that they are the ſupreme court of juſtice, and laſt reſort in appeals, both from the courts of law and equity. Should the members of this court concern themſelves in trade, they might, perhaps, become too much intereſted to preſerve the impartiality requiſite in ſuch a ſituation. Indeed, the law of England, though I ſpeak here with diffidence, ſeems to have rather diſcouraged the nobility from entering into commerce, as they are not, I apprehend, ſubject to the bankrupt-laws.

Another object of the laws of commercial ſtates, is to make trade reſpectable and honourable. The only one I recollect of this kind, is that made in England by King Athelſtan ‡, which provided, that a merchant, who had made three long ſea-voyages on his own account, was entitled to the rank of Thane or Nobleman. This inſtitution appears to militate againſt the poſition laſt laid down, and was, indeed, made in times of great barbariſm, and ignorance of the nature of commerce, but ſtill evidently with a view towards its encouragement; and may, on that account, be eſteemed a commercial law.

* Sp. of Laws, book xx. ch. 21.

‡ Wilk. Leg. Saxon. p. 71.

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The effects of commerce upon the forms of civil juſtice, are next to be noticed.

Xenophon, in his book of Revenues, would have rewards given to thoſe overſeers of commerce who diſpatched the affairs brought before them with the greateſt expedition. Mr. Monteſquieu obſerves, that he ſeems to have been ſenſible of the utility of our modern juriſdiction of a conſul. "Indeed," as the ſame writer obſerves, "the laws of commerce are but little ſuſceptible of formalities *. They are the actions of a day, and are every day followed by actions of a like nature. Hence it becomes neceſſary, that they ſhould every day be decided. It is otherwiſe with thoſe actions which principally regard futurity. Few of us marry more than once; deeds and wills are not the work of every day; we are but once of age."

Plato ſays, that in a city where there is no maritime commerce, there ought not to be above half the number of civil laws. This is very true. Commerce brings into the ſame country different kinds of people; it introduces, alſo, a great number of contracts, and of ſpecies of wealth, with various ways of acquiring it. Thus, in a trading city, there are fewer judges and more laws. We may obſerve, in confirmation of this, that the legal proceedings in China are very ſhort, and the deciſion ſoon given; which probably ariſes, in ſome meaſure, from this conſideration. The law of England, alſo, appears to have been, even in early ages, of the ſame opinion. The moſt expeditious court of juſtice known to our laws, is one calculated altogether for the purpoſes of trade; I mean the court of Pie Poudre, a court of record incident to every fair or market, of which the ſteward of him who owns the fair

* The judges, ſays the author of the Commentaries, quickly perceived that the forms and delays of the old feodal actions, were ill ſuited to that more ſimple and commercial mode of property which ſucceeded the former, and required a more ſpeedy deciſion of right, to facilitate exchange and alienation.—Comm. book iii. ch. 17.

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or market is the judge. This court is of great antiquity, and calculated to administer justice for all commercial injuries whatever, done in that very fair or market, and not in any preceding one; so that the injury must be done, the complaint made, heard, and determined, within the compass of one and the same day, unless the fair continues longer. The reason of its institution is, as Sir * W. Blackstone observes, to render justice as *expeditiously* as possible.

The mode of trial in civil cases is next to be considered.

It is difficult to say what mode of trial is most natural, or best adapted to a commercial state. Two things are here of especial consequence; one, that justice be properly done; and another, that the proceedings be not long or tedious, as has been before mentioned. On this account, the trial by the oath of the party is frequently in use. Thus, in Egypt, it was a law of Boccoris, which Diodorus † Siculus expressly mentions to have been instituted for the purposes of trade, that commercial contracts, made without any specific written agreement, should be decided in this manner; which was probably intended for the purpose of saving time.

The trial by judges also, who determine the law, fact, and damages, at the same time, is, I believe, natural enough to this way of life. This was the usual mode in Egypt, in the early periods, as has been before mentioned. Every precaution was, however, employed to secure an impartial trial.

The Chinese, likewise, for many reasons, have adopted the same mode; but the numerous checks that there are upon every judge, the various appeals that lie from each to a superior court, and the severity wherewith judicial injustice is treated, cause great attention to be paid in that country to these decisions. The mode of decision in Holland is, I believe, in a similar manner.

* Comm. b. iii. ch. 4. § 1.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

Our

Our law, with reſpect to the form of trial in commercial caſes, ſtands upon the ſame footing with thoſe relative to other civil affairs. There is, however, this difference, that not the fact only, but queſtions of * law alſo, or at leaſt of the practice of merchants, which is the law in caſes that properly regard commerce, are decided by a jury; who, indeed, are uſually ſelected from the moſt reſpectable and intelligent among the body of merchants.

In civil caſes, relative to trade, there are the ſame privileges granted to ſtrangers that are given in criminal trials, of having their cauſes tried by a jury de medietate linguæ. In theſe, however, it muſt be obſerved, that a jury of this kind is only permitted, and indeed only neceſſary, in trials between foreigners and denizens, or natural-born ſubjects; ſince, where the diſpute is only between foreigners, no partiality of the natives can be ſuppoſed.

The effects of a commercial life upon the cuſtoms of a people are the next object of enquiry.

It appears to me, that the cuſtoms or uſages of a commercial people, as ſuch, are neither very uniform nor permanent. The continual intercourſe with foreigners—the modes and faſhions they muſt naturally exhibit—the variety of manners, language, tenets, principles, and opinions—introduce, of courſe, a great variety of cuſtoms, and render many, of oppoſite or different kinds, familiar. Hence, in ſome meaſure, the mutability of the faſhions and cuſtoms in † France and England, which have been much more variable ſince the commerce of thoſe countries has increaſed. One ſtate, however, may perhaps be adduced as an inſtance of the contrary; I mean China, wherein the cuſtoms of the inhabitants have continued unchanged through ages. This, however, is no objection to this poſition. Firſt, the trade of the Chineſe is in a great meaſure

* See the caſes of Hoare and D'Acoſta, cor. Raymond, at Guildhall, Trinity Term, 5 Geo. II; and Mainwaring v. Harriſon, coram Pratt, Hil. Term, 8 Geo. I. Str. 588.

† See Mr. Monteſquieu on this ſubject.—Sp. of Laws, b. xix. ch. 8.

internal.

internal. Du Halde ſays, that the internal ‡ trade of China is greater than that of all Europe. It is obvious that a commerce of this kind could have none of theſe effects.

Next, the foreign trade, which the Chineſe carry on, is managed in ſuch a manner as to afford as little intercourſe as poſſible with the nations with whom they deal. The trade of the Europeans with them (ſome internal trade by land, which is not conſiderable, excepted) is entirely and excluſively carried on at one port, which is at a remote part of the empire; the Europeans are not ſuffered to enter even the town at which they trade, nor go into the interior parts of the country; nor do any of their veſſels ever viſit Europe. Laſtly, the commerce of the Chineſe is, on their part, altogether of the œconomical kind, or at leaſt founded on the wants of other nations, not on their own; conſequently the return is almoſt altogether in money or in raw goods. A commerce of this kind, then, does not introduce new cuſtoms, as it brings in no new patterns or models of imitation. Many other cauſes, indeed, concur to preſerve the cuſtoms of the Chineſe inviolable, of which I have before ſpoken; but theſe ariſe from the nature of the commerce itſelf, and are therefore proper to be conſidered here.

Perhaps the œconomical commerce which the Dutch carry on altogether, may be the cauſe why their cuſtoms are leſs variable than might be expected from the extent of their trade.

SECT. V. *Effects of commerce on the form of government.*

It is undoubtedly neceſſary to a ſtate, whoſe object is commerce, that the government ſhould be in ſome meaſure free, at leaſt with regard to ſecurity of property, and this for many reaſons too obvious to be mentioned. Thus the ancient cities of Tyre, Car-

‡ Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 170.

thage,

thage, and Marſeilles, were all of them free ſtates, as the Venetians, Piſans, and Genoeſe were afterwards, and as the Dutch are at preſent.

Commerce has not only a general but a ſpecific effect upon this article. It tends, in my opinion, to promote an ariſtocratical form of government.

The ancient republics, of which trade was the principal object, were of this kind. The original government of Carthage was by kings and a ſenate; much reſembling that of Sparta, as we are told by || Ariſtotle and by * Polybius. Some ſhare of power, alſo, was allotted to the people. In proceſs of time it became ariſtocratical altogether.

The government of † Crete alſo, in the time of Ariſtotle, was nearly of the ſame kind with that of Carthage, with kings and a ſenate; the former of which were, in proceſs of time, removed, and the government became ariſtocratical entirely.

Strabo ‡, likewiſe, tells us, that the government of Marſeilles was ariſtocratical.

At preſent Venice and Genoa are well known to be ariſtocratical governments, and the United Provinces are a combination of ſeparate ſtates of the ſame kind. I apprehend, however, that a commercial ariſtocracy is of a peculiar nature, and very different from many governments that go under that name, even ſome that were formerly great commercial ſtates.

Thus, I apprehend, that a commercial ariſtocracy is of the enlarged ſpecies, and conſiſts of a numerous body of people. The numbers at Crete were not, I believe, ſettled; but it appears that

|| They had next, kings and a ſenate, much in the ſame manner and proportion with the Lacedæmonians.—Ariſtot. de Republ. l. ii. c. 11.

* There were kings in this government, together with a ſenate, which was veſted with ariſtocratical authority.—Polyb. b. vi. extr. 3. ch. 2.

† Ariſt. de Rep. l. ii. c. 10.

‡ Strabon. l. iv.

every one, who had executed the office of the Coſmi ‖, was admitted into the ſenate; and as theſe were ten in number, and annually elected, the whole body muſt have been pretty numerous. Another circumſtance, alſo, which acted as a check upon the ariſtocracy in this government, was, that all the people of every rank had a right to be preſent at the aſſemblies of the ſenate, and to hear their deliberations, although they had no other power than that of approving thoſe things that had been decreed by the Coſmi and the ſenate. The Carthaginian republic, in the time of * Ariſtotle, was conſtituted upon a model nearly ſimilar to that of Crete, with kings and a ſenate, with ſtill, however, ſome power reſerved to the people at large. If the kings and ſenate agreed in any point, it was held to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed; but if they diſagreed, the people had the power of deciſion. In caſes, alſo, where the people could not exert any actual power, as when the kings and ſenate coincided in opinion, the people, notwithſtanding, even in their ſeparate capacity as individuals, had a power of declaring their opinion, and of remonſtrating againſt any law or proceeding; a circumſtance that gave the people conſiderable influence in the ſtate.

The ſupreme magiſtracy conſiſted, however, of one hundred perſons, who were nominated by the council of five; who alſo elected one another: which circumſtance, as Ariſtotle obſerved, tended to an oligarchical government; which was, indeed, as the ſame author remarks, the general bent of the conſtitution in his time.

It is, however, remarkable, that the corruption, both of the Cretan and Carthaginian governments, was not by declining either towards an oligarchical or deſpotic conſtitution, but towards a democratical one; which proved at leaſt equally tyrannical with either of the others. The magiſtracies and public offices in Crete, ac-

‖ Ariſt. de. Republ. lib. ii. c. 10.—Strabon. lib. x.

* De Republ. lib. ii. c. 11.

cording

cording to * Polybius, were conſtituted in a manner purely democratical. Now in his time, the government had declined much from its ancient conſtitution, and the manners of the people were highly corrupt. "If we conſider," ſays † the ſame author, "the character and conduct of the Cretans, it is certain that ſcarcely an example can be found of any nation, in which the private manners of the citizens are more replete with artifice and fraud, or where the public enterpriſes are more unjuſt."

With reſpect to Carthage, the ſame writer obſerves ‡, that in the time of Hannibal, the Carthaginian conſtitution, which originally reſembled the Roman, was now become much worſe; for, as nature has aſſigned to every body, every action, and every government, three ſucceſſive periods; the firſt, of growth; the ſecond, of perfection; and the third, of decay: and as the period of perfection is the time in which they ſeverally diſplay their greateſt ſtrength, from hence aroſe that difference that was found between the two republics. For the government of Carthage, having reached the higheſt point of vigour and perfection much ſooner than that of Rome, had now declined from it in the ſame proportion; whereas the Romans, at this very time, had juſt raiſed their conſtitution to the moſt flouriſhing and perfect ſtate. The effect of this difference was, that among the Carthaginians, the people poſſeſſed the greateſt ſway in all deliberations; but the ſenate among the Romans. And, as in the one republic, all meaſures were deter-

* B. vi. extr. iii. ch. 1.—In early periods, the Cretans were famous for the regard and attachment they bore to their country. When the ancients would expreſs a people that bore a ſtrong affection for their country, they were ſure to mention the Cretans. "Our country," ſays Plato, "a name ſo dear to the Cretans." They called it by a name which ſignifies the love of a mother for her children. They always gave over all civil diſſenſions, and united, when attacked by foreign enemies; which was called Syncretiſm.

† Polyb. asabove.

‡ B. vi. extr. iii. ch. 2.

mined by the multitude, and in the other by the moſt eminent citizens, of ſo great force was this advantage in the conduct of affairs, that the Romans, though brought by repeated loſſes into the greateſt danger, became, through the wiſdom of their counſels, ſuperior to the Carthaginians in the war. For the ſame reaſons, the war itſelf was better conducted by the Romans than by the Carthaginians. Danger united the former, and ſeparated the latter: the former were all union; the latter all anarchy: the former comforted * and praiſed thoſe generals who had fought bravely, though unſucceſsfully; the latter † crucified the generals who had loſt the battle, through the cowardice of the very people who preſumed to puniſh them for it. But to return from this digreſſion.

Marſeilles, likewiſe, was an ariſtocratical government of the enlarged kind, and one whoſe conſtitution has been much admired, even by modern writers, particularly by ‡ Mr. Monteſquieu. It ‖ conſiſted of a council of ſix hundred, the members of which were elected for life, and taken from the inhabitants who had dwelt there for three generations, and who alſo had children of their own. Out of theſe were elected fifteen preſidents, who preſided at theſe meetings, and alſo formed a ſmaller council for the diſpatch of common buſineſs. Laſtly, out of theſe were choſen three others, who preſided in the leſſer council, and alſo formed a body themſelves, veſted with extraordinary powers, probably on account of ſecrecy, and to provide againſt ſudden emergencies, like the Coſmi at Crete, and the Ephori at Sparta.

Venice, likewiſe, and Genoa, in the preſent age, are both very numerous ariſtocracies, as is Holland; which laſt is compoſed of a

* See in Livy and Plutarch the account of the reception of the conſul Varro after the battle of Cannæ.

† Epitome Flori, l. xvii.—See alſo Appian on the Punic war.

‡ Sp. of Laws, b. viii. ch. 4.

‖ Strabon. l. iv.

number

number of confederate ſtates of the ariſtocratical kind, which are each of them very numerous, in proportion to the extent of the territory.

Another peculiar quality, as I believe, of a commercial ariſtocracy, is, that the magiſtracy is not hereditary, but either elected for a certain determinate time, as annually, or for life.

Thus * Ariſtotle tells us, that the Coſmi, at Crete, were elected for a limited time, probably annual; and the ſenators were elected for life, from the perſons who had ſerved the former office. But in the time of † Polybius, as the ſtate inclined more to a democratical government, all the public offices were renewed every year.

The magiſtrates at Carthage, alſo, were an elective ‡ body, and for a given time only, annual perhaps, though ſome of them retained their power for a longer period than the others; which was the caſe with the Pentarchs, or council of five, who exerciſed authority for ſome time before they entered upon their office, and after they had quitted it.

The Timuchi, likewiſe, or council of ſix hundred, at Marſeilles, were an elective body, though their juriſdiction laſted for life, as we are told by ‖ Strabo. It is alſo ſaid, that the legiſlative body, as well as the other magiſtrates, both at Venice and Genoa, was formerly elective.

The legiſlative, or rather political, part of the government of Holland, is in general elective; but the conſtitutions of the different bodies in this ſtate vary exceedingly. In ſome, the magiſtrates elect one another; in others, the election is more enlarged; and in ſome, the hereditary nobility of the country have, as ſuch,

* Ariſtot. de Republica, l. ii. ch. 10.
† Polyb. book vi. extr. 3. ch. 1.
‡ Ariſt. ut ſupra.
‖ Strab. l. iv.

a voice

a voice in the election, as in Gelderland. But their number is not conſiderable, nor is their influence great.

Another peculiar circumſtance belonging to a commercial ariſtocracy is, I take it, that the qualification to become members of the government is regulated by property, or at leaſt, that every one, who has any ſhare in the adminiſtration, is required to poſſeſs a certain * proportion of fortune or property. Whether any regulation of this kind ſubſiſted in the Cretan government, I cannot determine; but, from the account given by Polybius, it is highly probable that it did, eſpecially as it was in force in the Carthaginian ſtate, which was eſtabliſhed on a ſimilar model. Polybius tells us, that the eſtimation of money, among the Cretans, was ſo great, that it was not only neceſſary, but highly honourable, to acquire it. And indeed, the deſire of amaſſing wealth, and the habit of increaſing it, were ſo deeply implanted in the very manners of this people, that they alone, of mankind, thought nothing ſordid or diſhonourable, that was connected † with gain.

There is, however, no doubt that a regulation of this kind was in force among the Carthaginians, the manners and principles of which people were very ſimilar to thoſe of the Cretans. Ariſtotle ‡ informs us, that it was the opinion of the Carthaginians, that the magiſtrates ought to be elected, not only on account of their perſonal merit, but their riches alſo; for they think it impoſſible that any one, whoſe private fortune is narrow, ſhould rightly perform the functions of a magiſtrate, or indeed have leiſure to attend to it. Hence §, at Carthage, riches were held in far greater eſteem than virtue, and money was openly employed to

* This is mentioned by Plato de Republic. l. viii. as eſſential to a government of this kind.

† Polyb. b. vi. extr. 3. ch. 1.

‡ De Rep. l. ii. c. 11.

§ Ariſt. et Polyb. ut ſupra.

purchaſe the firſt dignities in the ſtate, and even military commands; which circumſtance Ariſtotle takes to be a mark of the conſtitution's changing towards an oligarchical government; but, as the ſame took place, in a ſtill more remarkable degree, in the time of Polybius, when a diſpoſition of a democratical kind evidently prevailed, it is probable that this was a miſtaken opinion. It does not appear what the ancient conſtitution of Marſeilles was with reſpect to this article. In later times, however, a certain qualification of fortune was neceſſary, in order to become a member of the legiſlature at † Venice, and, I believe, of Genoa. What the modern practice in Holland is, I cannot ſay.

SECT. VI. *Influence of a commercial life upon religion.*

Commerce, as it is a cure for prejudices in moral or political, is ſo in ſome meaſure in religious opinions. The diffuſion of the knowledge of the manners and cuſtoms of all nations, which it produces, and the compariſon of theſe with one another, are great enemies to bigotry and to ſuperſtition. Hence trading nations are moſtly rational in their religious opinions, and averſe to bigotry and ſuperſtition. I am apt to believe that the ſpirit of trade and commerce was no inconſiderable cauſe of the reformation, both in the Low Countries, Germany, and Holland.

Commerce inſpires and communicates a degree of knowledge, and a ſpirit of enquiry after more; which is incompatible with the groſs ignorance that uſually attends bigotry of the religious kind. Still more adverſe is commerce to a perſecuting ſpirit. Trading people, in the nature of their employment, are obliged to conform in part to the wills, caprices, and prejudices of others

† Mod. Univ. Hiſt.

in

in almoſt every tranſaction. This gives them a habit of accommodating themſelves to circumſtances, and of not expecting an uniform compliance from other people; to which their knowledge of mankind, and of the difference of opinions, tenets, manners, and principles that prevail among them, does not a little contribute.

The deſire of acquiſition, likewiſe, which is a powerful motive in commercial ſocieties, prevents their laying much ſtreſs upon ſpeculative principles, or their thinking them of great importance, at leaſt in a civil light. Hence, as commerce has increaſed in Europe, perſecution has abated: and in thoſe countries where trade is moſt encouraged, as in Holland and England, there is the moſt univerſal toleration; whilſt, on the contrary, Spain, Portugal, and ſome of the Italian ſtates, who have but little commerce, and that of a diſadvantageous kind, are ſtill immerſed in ignorance and ſuperſtition, and retain a violent ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution.

CHAP. V.

ON THE EFFECTS OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

LITERATURE, though it cannot be ſaid to form an employment for the people in general, as the ways of life above deſcribed, produces, even when introduced among a part of them only, the moſt important conſequences to ſociety in general.

SECT. I. *Effects of Learning and Knowledge on the temper and diſpoſition.*

One of the firſt effects of the introduction of ſcience, upon the temper and diſpoſition, is to increaſe the ſenſibility. I have before

before ſpoken of a great degree of apathy, as accompanying people in a rude ſtate; which was probably owing, in part at leaſt, to the want of the opportunities that ſcience affords for the exerciſe of the ſenſible faculties. As knowledge is increaſed, ſo are the objects that awaken the mind and excite the paſſions; we acquire a habit of feeling, from exerciſe, and learn to diſtinguiſh the circumſtances and points to which this affection ſhould be directed.

Hence an improved ſtate of mankind is favourable to love and to the tender affections; ſuch as friendſhip. Theſe ſenſations were in high perfection among the ancient Greeks, though their ſyſtem * of benevolence was not very extenſive. It is owing to the influence of true religion that we are led to entertain an univerſal regard for mankind, of whatever country, place, or denomination. Another effect of learning and knowledge is to render people calm and recollected in all the circumſtances of life; a thing highly advantageous in the tranſaction of human affairs. This may ſeem oppoſite to the quality laſt mentioned, but is, in reality, very compatible with it. The variety of objects preſented by knowledge, habituates the mind to impreſſions, and cauſes it to be leſs affected by any one in particular; it teaches us to expect, beforehand, many of the circumſtances which happen in life, and thus leſſens the agitation the occurrence would occaſion, by preparing us for the event.

* Antoninus ſeems to have been almoſt the only one of the ancient philoſophers that poſſeſſed the truly liberal ſentiments of univerſal benevolence. "Whatever," ſays that excellent man, "ſuits the world in general, ſuits me alſo. Nothing is too late or too early for me, that is adapted to the benefit of mankind: every product is ſeaſonable that is directed by nature, from which all things are derived, in which all things are, and to which all things muſt return. He that teſtifies his regard for the city of Cecrops, might expreſs himſelf with more propriety if he ſubſtituted in its place the city of God."—Lib. iv. § 23.

I imagine it was from this habit of bearing every occurrence without emotion, that the obſervation was drawn concerning the patient endurance of ſickneſs and pain, for which ſeveral of the ancient ſages were ſo remarkable. This was the great boaſt of the Stoic * philoſophy, and not without reaſon; though they carried this doctrine to an extravagant length, and, inſtead of inſtructing people to bear the ills of life, vainly pretended to rank them as things merely indifferent. It is, however, neceſſary to remark, that this philoſophic courage and reſolution was moſtly of the paſſive kind. This appears to have been the tendency of the Stoical doctrines, which rather inſtructed their diſciples to bear than to act: which is alſo remarked by Cicero to be an effect of philoſophy in general. "Many people," ſays that great man, "have bravely expoſed themſelves, and endured wounds, through the deſire of glory or of victory, or in the defence of their rights and liberty. But theſe ſame perſons, when the conteſt was at an end, could not bear the trouble of diſeaſe: for what they had endured ſo freely, was not ſuffered from a principle of reaſon, or the dictates of wiſdom, but merely from ſtrength of paſſion and the love of glory. This is the caſe with ſome barbarous people, who fight deſperately in the field of battle, but cannot bear the pains of ſickneſs in a reſolute manner. The Greeks, on the other hand, have but little active courage, and can ſcarcely bear the ſight of an enemy; but being ſufficiently prudent and well-informed, as indeed is the general diſpoſition of that people, they bear diſorders in a patient and manly manner.

The Cimbri and Celtiberi, on the contrary, triumph and exult in battles and danger, but are ſubdued by ‡ diſeaſe.

* Epictetus, in every part of his works, but eſpecially book iii. ch. x. § 18, 24. book iv. ch. 10.

‡ Tuſculan. Quæſt. lib. ii. § 107, 109.

Another

Another effect of the introduction of ſcience, is to take off that arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency that uſually attends ignorance, and to render people modeſt, and diffident of themſelves. This is commonly obſerved of individuals, and is no leſs true of nations conſidered collectively. Thus the inſolent pretences to an acquaintance with the occult ſciences, and univerſal knowledge, which, in the days of ignorance, were ſo common in Europe, are now heard no more than if ſuch attempts had never exiſted; and theſe daring impoſitions on the underſtanding are confined nearly to the profeſſion of medicine; a circumſtance which, though partly ariſing from natural cauſes, reflects no great honour on the liberal profeſſors of that ſcience.

Every one that is converſant with knowledge will immediately ſee how naturally this effect is produced. Such a portion of information, as can be attained or comprehended by the human underſtanding, is little more than a diſtant proſpect of a country we cannot hope to reach; or, as the poet * elegantly expreſſes it,

> " 'Tis but to know how little can be known;
> " To ſee all others' faults, and feel our own."

As knowledge, therefore, tends rather to depreſs than raiſe our opinion of the extent in which we poſſeſs it, it ſhould contribute to diminiſh the value we ſet upon ourſelves. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that ſeveral nations, in a high ſtate of improvement, have been, at the ſame time, extremely vain and arrogant, from the pre-eminence which this ſuperiority in knowledge was ſuppoſed to beſtow. Thus the Greeks and Romans diſtinguiſhed every other nation by the appellation of barbarians; and even ſome whoſe † advances in ſcience were by no means inconſiderable. It is, in ſome meaſure, to the credit of modern times, that thoſe na-

* Pope's Eſſay on Man.

† Xenophon, in the Expedition of Cyrus, repeatedly calls the Perſians by the name of Barbarians.

tions, who have cultivated to the higheſt degree the faculties of the mind, have not ſet ſo immoderate a value on thoſe qualifications, but admitted a proper degree of merit to thoſe who were, in this reſpect, inferior. Several cauſes concur to produce this difference. Firſt, knowledge, in the preſent age, is much more diffuſed than it was formerly, and ſcattered among ſeveral rival nations, who are nearly on a par with one another; conſequently, as none has any decided ſuperiority, as was formerly the caſe, none pretend to any arbitrary deciſion on the comparative merits of other nations. Beſides this, the more general diffuſion of learning, that prevails at preſent, has cauſed it to be much leſs an object of admiration than formerly; and though its being better known and underſtood has certainly increaſed its real utility, it has deprived it of that blind regard that was paid to it when confined to a few people.

The improvement, likewiſe, of ſcience has increaſed our acquaintance with the real ſtate and character of other nations, and let us underſtand, that ignorance, as well as knowledge, may eaſily be over-rated; and that ſuch a proportion of the latter, as is neceſſary for moſt of the purpoſes of life, is much leſs unequally diſtributed, than the vanity of ſome of the learned would perſuade us to believe.

I am alſo inclined to think, though I here ſpeak with great reſerve, that the nature of the ancient literature diſpoſed that people to ſet a higher value upon it, and of conſequence to deſpiſe thoſe who did not poſſeſs it, more than is the caſe at preſent.

The literature of the ancients was, I take it, principally converſant in matters of taſte and genius. Poetry, hiſtory, ethics, and the elegant embelliſhments of ſociety, formed their principal ſtudies; and theſe they carried to as great a pitch of improvement, as is perhaps poſſible for the human mind to reach. But aſtronomy, optics, ſeveral branches of the mathematics, and of natural philoſophy, particularly pneumatics and hydroſtatics, the power

power of numbers, &c.—which, at the ſame time that they add to our knowledge, make us ſenſible of the ſmallneſs of its extent—were little underſtood, and far from being generally cultivated. As the ancients, therefore, applied to ſtudies, which they improved to a great degree, and which, being rather matters of ſentiment than reaſon, were not equally examinable by ſtrict rules—ſo that their imperfections could not be abſolutely manifeſted, or any field for future diſcovery pointed out—it is not extraordinary that they ſhould think themſelves near to perfection. But modern diſcoveries, in the branches before mentioned, ſerve chiefly to diſcloſe how ſmall our preſent knowledge is, and how much is unknown. As the learning, therefore, of the ancients, though more confined in its extent, appeared to be more perfect in its way (poſſibly from its defects not being ſo capable of proof) than the modern; and as there was a greater difference between them and their neighbours, than is the caſe at preſent; it is not extraordinary that they ſhould ſet a high value upon it, and upon themſelves for poſſeſſing it.

The high degree of refinement, likewiſe, to which the ancients had attained, both in taſte and ſentiment, contributed not a little, I imagine, to render them arrogant, and preſuming upon their own merit. This, though, as I believe, an almoſt natural conſequence, in the revolution of human affairs, of the introduction of literature, is far from being the ſtage of perfection, and rather marks its decline.

Great refinement, from the tendency it has to repreſent perfection as unattainable, is apt to diſcourage attempts to aſpire to it; which, by limiting the bounds of the mental faculties to that pitch which thoſe who poſſeſs that delicacy of taſte think they themſelves have reached, tends to raiſe their opinion of their own merit, as they think that they are in no danger of being exceeded by any competitor.

Another

Another effect, as I apprehend, of literature, is the rendering thoſe among whom it is introduced active and induſtrious. It is an old remark, that ignorance and idleneſs are generally found united; which we have ſeen verified in ſome of the ſtates of mankind above deſcribed: and the reverſe is no leſs true. The moſt informed and learned people, of whom we have any account, were extremely buſy about employment. This was the caſe with the Athenians particularly; and alſo with the Romans and Egyptians formerly; and is equally true at preſent of the Engliſh and French, who are much more active and induſtrious than they were in the days of ignorance.

Perhaps, however, the good effects of ſcience, in animating the ſpirit of activity and exertion, are moſt remarkable in Ruſſia; which, from a ſtate of ſupine ſloth and ignorance, has been rouſed to efforts, both of mind and body, which have aſtoniſhed Europe, and left a moſt uſeful leſſon to poſterity, that no people are in a ſituation ſo barbarous or ſavage, that the well-directed attempts of their rulers may not reform and civiliſe. The preſent wiſe empreſs of that country is ſo ſenſible of this effect of literature and knowledge, that it has been her principal object to diffuſe them by the moſt judicious methods; ſuch as proper modes and ſyſtems of education and inſtruction of youth: truſting that theſe means would be the moſt efficacious to ſubdue the ferocity and barbarity of the people.

It is eaſy to conceive how learning, by opening a field for improvement, and by ſtimulating curioſity—perhaps, in ſome inſtances, the moſt powerful paſſion in the human breaſt—ſhould excite induſtry and activity of diſpoſition. This is its true, proper, and genuine effect.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that ſeveral perſons, highly eminent for literary abilities, have expreſſed the greateſt fondneſs for leiſure and retirement, and ſpoken of them as the object of their

their wiſhes. Thus * Virgil deſcribes himſelf as at the ſummit of happineſs, when indulging himſelf in a rural retreat. Horace, although † ſo great a friend to chearfulneſs, and, on many occaſions, to company, frequently expreſſes his affection for a country life; and the author of the treatiſe on Oratory ‡, aſcribed to Tacitus or Quintilian, ſpeaks of a receſs of ſuch a kind as abſolutely neceſſary to inſpire poetical ideas. Similar ſituations are alſo deſcribed in that work as favourable to other parts of literary ſcience, and even to ſome branches more immediately connected with ſociety, as eloquence. Later writers have adopted or imitated theſe ſentiments. Cowley's wiſh was to bury himſelf in a deep retreat. Pope always ſpeaks of a retired life as the object of his deſires. And Gray, Shenſtone, and Maſon, have all of them adopted the like ſentiments.

But we may obſerve hereupon, that there was, in almoſt every perſon, who has expreſſed a wiſh of this kind, ſomewhat peculiar

* Rura mihi & rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
Flumina amem ſilvaſque inglorius.
Georgic. lib. ii. l. 485, 486.

Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, ſtudiis florentem ignobilis otî.
Georg. lib. ii. l. 563, 564.

† Carmin. lib. i. od. 7. & 17. Lib. ii. od. 6.—Epod. od. 2.

‡ Adjice quod poetis, ſi modo dignum aliquid elaborare & efficere velint, relinquenda converſatio amicorum, & jucunditas urbis; deſerenda cætera officia, utque ipſi dicunt, in nemora & lucos, id eſt in ſolitudinem, recedendum eſt. — Taciti, Orator. cap. ix.

Nemora vero & luci, & ſecretum ipſum quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi afferunt voluptatem, ut inter præcipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod nec in ſtrepitu, nec ſedente ante oſtium litigatore, nec inter ſordes & lacrymas reorum componuntur, ſed ſecedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia, fruiturque ſedibus ſacris. Hæc eloquentiæ primordia; hæc penetralia: hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus, in illa caſta ac nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit. Sic oracula loquebantur.—Ibidem, cap. xii.

either in the nature of his ſtudies or ſituation in life. Poetical purſuits naturally lead to great refinement of taſte and ſentiment; and the ſenſibility of feeling, thereby promoted and encouraged, is almoſt neceſſarily connected with a degree of indolence; which, as well as the pride attendant on a refined taſte, is flattered by a retreat, not altogether from the ſociety, but buſineſs of the world. On this account, I imagine, it is, that poets have moſt frequently expreſſed deſires of this ſort.

Several perſons, likewiſe, of quick ſenſibility, have made choice of this way of life as a vent for their diſappointment, in their abilities not being, as they thought, ſufficiently regarded in public life. Of this kind was Cowley, among our own countrymen; and, I believe, ſeveral others, who have profeſſed the ſame ſentiments. The expreſſions, therefore, of people under ſuch circumſtances, muſt be regarded rather as the effuſions of diſcontent, than any real preference given to a life of retirement.

Others have expreſſed their regard for a country retreat, on account of the ſecurity afforded by its privacy. This was the reaſon of this choice among ſeveral of the Romans, after the deſtruction of the commonwealth. They were there free to indulge thoſe ſentiments which their own education, and the example of their anceſtors, had ſuggeſted; which, if publicly avowed, could only have endangered themſelves, without affording any real ſervice to their country. One of the accuſations of Lucan was on account of the zeal for liberty, expreſſed in his poems; and Cremutius Cordus was ſacrificed, for having, in his Annals, called Caſſius the laſt of the Romans.

A retreat from the world, therefore, to men of virtue and feeling, in ſuch a ſituation, was a natural object of deſire, not only on account of the ſafety it promiſed—which, however, in thoſe days of jealouſy, caprice, and cruelty, obſcurity did not always yield—

yield—but likewiſe * to turn their eyes from the miſeries of their country, as well as to avoid the contamination of the profligate manners that prevailed at that time in public life.

A retirement of the rural kind, muſt have had peculiar charms for the people of rank and education about that period. Agriculture, though it had long been practically neglected, was ſtill looked upon with a kind of ſpeculative admiration, as connected with the ancient virtue, freedom, and greatneſs of the republic. The country naturally ſuggeſted theſe melancholy but pleaſing memorials, which they were always fond of recalling to their minds; and I doubt not that theſe ideas, thus privately foſtered, were no inconſiderable cauſe why many inſtances of ancient virtue and magnanimity remained among that people, even to the moſt degenerate periods.

We muſt not, however, imagine, that when the ancients ſpeak of literary retirement, they always underſtand a retreat from buſineſs, or the concerns of life. Cicero ‡ profeſſes his fondneſs for a retreat of this kind; but this eminent perſon never meant to withdraw from public buſineſs, and intended only to ſay, that it was highly agreeable to ſpend thoſe hours of leiſure, which nature required from active employment, rather in literary purſuits, than in idle amuſement or inactive indolence. He did not aſcribe that falſe importance to literature, of being a buſineſs of life, but conſidered it rather as a || relaxation from the fatigue of public affairs.

* This motive is alledged by Salluſt as the cauſe of his retreat from public life.

Igitur ubi animus ex multis miſeriis ac periculis requievit, & mihi reliquam ætatem a republica procul habendam decrevi; non fuit conſilium ſocordia atque deſidia bonum otium conterere: neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, ſervilibus officiis intentum ætatem agere: ſed a quo incepto ſtudioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regreſſus ſtatui res geſtas populi ſtrictim, uti quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perſcribere: eo magis, quod mihi a ſpe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat.—Salluſtii, Bell. Catil.

‡ Quid eſt dulcius otio literato.—Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. v. § 149.

|| Pro Archiâ poetâ.

In this way he himſelf wrote his literary works: thus Cæſar wrote his Commentaries: this was the exerciſe of Scipio Africanus, Brutus, and the younger Cato: and this circumſtance of the mode of employing their leiſure time is very properly adduced, by a * modern writer, as a proof of the ſuperiority of character of the Roman worthies over ſome moderns, with whom they have been compared.

In after times, indeed, when any interference in political affairs became dangerous, and the field for the exertion of public abilities was much narrowed, literature and retirement became more intimately connected. But even then, ſome writers ventured to diſcourage this kind of literary indolence. Epictetus † ſpeaks of a confinement to books only, as a miſerable ſtate, and little better than non-exiſtence, and conſiders the amuſement procured by mere reading ‡ as a contemptible object, and only tending to make thoſe who practiſe it inſignificant and miſerable.

* Mr. Hume.

† Lib. iv. ch. 4.

‡ Milton, who was a notable inſtance of great activity, joined with the higheſt abilities, entertained a ſimilar opinion of inactive ſtudy.

——————Many books,
Wiſe men have ſaid, are weariſome; who reads
Inceſſantly, and to his reading brings not
A ſpirit and judgment equal or ſuperior
(And what he brings what need he elſewhere ſeek?)
Uncertain and unſettled ſtill remains,
Deep verſed in books, and ſhallow in himſelf,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters worth a ſponge,
As children gathering pebbles on the ſhore.
Parad. Reg. b. iv. l. 321, &c.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Effects of learning and arts upon the manners.*

The next queſtion is of the utmoſt importance, which is, to determine the effects of the introduction of knowledge upon the manners of mankind.—And firſt with reſpect to the moral character.

Letters and arts may be preſumed to be favourable to morality on the following accounts:

Firſt, as they inſtruct people in the uſes and advantages of ſociety.

Next, as they abate the ferocity of manners and behaviour, and introduce a ſenſe of decorum and propriety into men's actions and conduct.

Next, as they improve the underſtanding in general; as they deſtroy pernicious prejudices, and render the mind capable of reaſoning, and impart a habit of calmneſs, candour, and reflection.

Next, as they furniſh men with the means of employment, and with an honeſt method of gaining a livelihood.

Next, as they improve the laws and police, and cauſe them to be reſpected upon juſt and rational grounds. When the clouds of ignorance, ſays Mr. Beccaria, are diſpelled by the radiance of knowledge, authority trembles, but the force of the laws remains immoveable.

Next, as they promote liberty, and the rights of mankind; a thing always favourable to human happineſs, in every light and capacity.

Laſtly, as they tend to impart juſt and rational ideas of religion.

Such are the reaſons which induce me to believe that the improvement of the underſtanding is favourable to the intereſts of virtue and morality. Nevertheleſs a celebrated writer, whoſe capricious and eccentrical, though ſtrong and elevated genius, ſometimes led him to ſupport paradoxes, the illuſtrious John James

Rouſſeau, has ſupported a contrary opinion, and, with no ſmall aſſiſtance from the thing he condemns, adduces ſeveral ſpecious and plauſible arguments to prove, that learning and the arts are adverſe and even deſtructive to the moral happineſs of mankind. As this treatiſe is well known, and has had conſiderable influence with many perſons, I ſhall conſider it more particularly. It is difficult to ſeparate the argumentative part of this performance from the declamatory, that accompanies it throughout; but this I ſhall endeavour to do as candidly as poſſible, as I have no intention to miſrepreſent the author's meaning.—One of the firſt effects which this author aſcribes to letters is, I apprehend—for his meaning is not very clear—the deſtruction of liberty. This effect, indeed, might be more properly conſidered in another place; but as theſe circumſtances are connected with manners by the author, and as I wiſh to conſider all his arguments together, I ſhall ſpeak of it here.

"Whilſt government, and the laws, ſays he, contribute to the ſecurity and happineſs of the community, arts, ſciences, and letters, leſs deſpotic, though more prevalent perhaps, diſguiſe, with an artful wreath of flowers, the iron chains with which they come prepared to bind mankind. They conceal the real ſenſe of that original liberty of which they are heirs apparent, teach them to be enamoured of their chains, and thus entice them to become what we are pleaſed to term a poliſhed people. The firſt inſtances he brings to prove the influence of cultivation of manners and improvement, in reducing mankind to a ſtate of ſervitude, is that of Alexander's obliging the Icthyophagi to renounce their * fiſhery, and to be content with the uſual food of the reſt of his ſubjects.

What might be the intention of Alexander, in thus changing the

* Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, and Arrian, the two laſt of whom have given a minute account of the Icthyophagi, never mention this prohibition of Alexander. It is only related by Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory.

diet

diet of theſe people, is, perhaps, impoſſible for us, at this diſtance of time, to determine with any certainty. His firſt deſign was, undoubtedly, to civiliſe them; a thing which was the object of his ambition, as much as conqueſt: and that this was really doing them a ſervice, no one that is acquainted with their hiſtory can doubt. It is extraordinary, that a man of Mr. Rouſſeau's penetration ſhould thus miſtake an extreme degree of ſavageneſs for liberty.

In a political light, indeed, ſuch a people might be ſaid to enjoy a high degree of freedom, as they were not ſubject to any government at all; but in a civil view, how can a man be ſaid to enjoy liberty, who has no one to whom he can appeal for protection? Such a ſtate, inſtead of freedom, is in reality only the government of force, wherein the ſtrongeſt prevails; a doctrine avowed by many nations, in the condition ſo much admired by Mr. Rouſſeau, as a rule both of political and civil conduct.

Brennus † told the Romans, "that the Gauls had a right to the territory of the Cluſians by that moſt ancient of all laws, which gives the poſſeſſions of the feeble to the ſtrong; for ſo it is," ſaid he, "from God himſelf down to the beaſts, nature teaching all theſe, that the ſtronger is to take advantage of the weaker."

"Among the Tartars, ſays the writer of their hiſtory, there is no adminiſtration of civil juſtice, for every man takes from another what he wants, without any fear of cenſure from the law. If any complaint of this violence be made to a judge, the accuſed replies in excuſe, that he himſelf was in want of that of which he deprived the other. The judge then tells the injured perſon to take from others what will ſupply him with what he wants." Such is the liberty which Mr. Rouſſeau ſuppoſes to prevail in this ſtate; and it is highly probable, that Alexander, by civiliſing, or even by conquering them, would rather add to than diminiſh their liberty.

† Plutarch's Life of Camillus.

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The next inſtance that Mr. Rouſſeau adduces is of the American Indians, "who have," as he ſays, "preſerved their liberty entire, and have never yet been conquered." This is hardly true, as they have been obliged to quit a large tract of land, and are much diminiſhed in power and numbers; and the preſervation of their independence, at preſent, is owing more to the nature of their country, full of woods and marſhes, and to the little temptation ſuch a people offer to an invader, than to their own efforts.

Another example that this writer brings, of the deſtructive tendency of arts and ſciences to virtue and to freedom, is taken from Egypt.

"Look," ſays he, "on that firſt ſeminary of the world, that fertile clime, beneath a moſt propitious heaven, whence Seſoſtris of ancient times iſſued to the conqueſt of the world. She became the parent of philoſophy and the arts and ſciences—next the victim of Cambyſes—ſince of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs—at length a wretched prey to the Turk."

That Egypt, in common with other countries, has undergone numerous revolutions, is certain from hiſtory; but that theſe misfortunes, if they were really ſuch, aroſe from their cultivation of ſcience and arts, is not ſo clear; certain it is, that the æra of their liberty and proſperity was the ſame with that of the perfection of arts and ſcience, and that the decline of the one accompanied the downfal of the other. Indeed, the Egyptians, as I have formerly remarked, preſerved a degree of liberty long after the reſt of the world had been ſubdued under the Roman yoke. They retained ſeveral important privileges in the time of Strabo, and are mentioned as a free people in a letter of the emperor Hadrian, preſerved by Vopiſcus. The total ſubjugation of that country was compleated, not in the flouriſhing ſtate of literature, but in that of ignorance, darkneſs, and ſuperſtition; nor does it ſeem at all probable that liberty will ever reviſit them, until the clouds that

that have obſtructed ſcience be removed. The people there at preſent are as ignorant as Mr. Rouſſeau can wiſh, but they are not, according to his ſyſtem, virtuous and free; nor does it appear, that the burning of the Alexandrian library, and the deſtruction of ſcience by the Arabs, which Mr. Rouſſeau ſo much applauds, contributed to eſtabliſh any of thoſe independent and great ſentiments of public and private virtue that he would expect. The ancient Egyptians were moderate, diligent, humane, juſt, pious, and free: the modern Egyptians are rapacious, idle, cruel, unjuſt, bigotted, and ſlaviſh: the former was the æra of learning, the latter that of ignorance.

Greece is the next ſubject on which our author exerciſes his declamatory eloquence, "Behold," ſays he, "that once-glorious nurſery of heroes, which twice had conquered Aſia, firſt before Troy, and afterwards at her own doors. The fatal birth of letters had not as then ſown corruption in the breaſts of her ſons: but the progreſs of the ſciences, the diſſolution of the morals, and the Macedonian yoke, followed, alas! too ſoon; and Greece, knowing, voluptuous, and enſlaved, experienced no other revolution than her change of maſters. All the eloquence of Demoſthenes availed not to reanimate the body enervated by luxury and the arts."

But I believe it will be found, that the æra of perfection of letters in Greece was the ſame with her flouriſhing condition. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, lived at the moſt glorious periods of the Athenian republic; and it is remarkable, that thoſe who were the moſt famed for great talents, and the cultivation of them, were moſt active in ſupport of the commonwealth. Thucydides and Xenophon were both of them conſummate generals; Pericles had, beſides this qualification, that of a moſt able ſtateſman; and Demoſthenes employed his great talents in endeavouring to ward off the Macedonian yoke. Phocion likewiſe, perhaps one of the greateſt as well as beſt men upon

hiſtorical record, not only ſpent his life in the ſervice of his country, but fell a martyr to its liberty.

Another circumſtance, which forms a ſtrong preſumption that letters are not adverſe to freedom, is, that their flouriſhing ſtate, and their decay, in Greece, reſpectively kept pace with that of freedom. They had begun to decline in the days of Phocion; and Demetrius Phalereus, his contemporary, was, according to * Cicero's and † Quintilian's judgment, the laſt that could be called an orator.

The ruin of Rome, that great metropolis of the world, is alſo dated, by this writer, from the introduction of arts and ſcience: and that ſome belonging to that ſtate, whoſe abilities might have been employed to better purpoſes, proſtituted them to the corruption of mankind, is but too true; but it is ſcarcely candid to collect the evils that have been derived from learning, if we do not at the ſame time enumerate the advantages that have flowed from it. Liberty, civil laws, republican government, and even religion itſelf, have, at times, been productive of dreadful calamities. But the true ſtate of the queſtion with learning, as with theſe, is, not to know whether a certain individual, or a certain ſociety, had

* Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam, et ut mea opinio fert, ſuccus ille, et ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quâ naturalis ineſſet, non fucatus nitor.

Phalereus enim ſucceſſit eis ſenibus adoleſcens, eruditiſſimus ille quidem horum omnium, ſed non tam armis inſtitutus, quàm palæſtrâ: itaque delectabat magis Athenienſes, quam inflammabat: proceſſerat enim in ſolem, et pulverem, non ut e militari Tabernaculo, ſed ut e Theophraſti doctiſſimi hominis umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, et eam mollem teneramque reddidit: et ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis: ſed ſuavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret: et tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis ſuæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, a quibus eſſet auditus.—Cicer. de clar. Oratoribus, §. 18.

† Is primus inclinaſſe eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus eſt fere ex Atticis qui dici poteſt orator.—De Inſtit. Orat. c. x. §. 1.

better

better have no learning, or abuſe what they have; but to know which is better, that ſcience and knowledge ſhould be ſometimes abuſed, or that there ſhould be no ſuch thing among mankind.

But in reality, the miſchiefs ariſing from ſcience and literature, even among that people, were much overbalanced by the ſervice they afforded to virtue.

If Catullus and Ovid, Martial and Petronius—the laſt of whoſe exiſtence as an author, in the works aſcribed to him, is more than ſuſpicious—have in ſome of their writings (which indeed, the laſt excepted, form but a very ſmall part of their works) contributed to the corruption of morals, have not others been of ſervice in ſtemming the baleful tide? Was the philoſophic virtue of Seneca of no advantage to the world, by the precepts he delivered, and the death he ſuffered for his adherence to them? Was the fire of liberty that glows through the pages of Lucan, and the illuſtrious examples of merit he has ſo eminently recorded and adorned, of no efficacy in exciting mankind to imitate ſuch bright examples of public virtue? Was the indignant diſdain of Perſius, or the boundleſs rage and ardent eloquence of Juvenal, beſtowed in vain, in checking the audacious vices engendered by luxury and corruption? Was the pen of Tacitus employed without advantage to morality and the cauſe of virtue? Did his ſtrength of colouring, his ardent yet expreſſive deſcription, his force of epithet, and his emphaſis of language—all employed in the cauſe of virtue and of liberty—conduce nothing to retard the torrent of degeneracy that was then gaining ground? If the works of theſe writers cannot, even at this diſtant period, be peruſed by any but thoſe whoſe hearts are, by being long hackneyed in the ways of vice, grown callous to every virtuous impreſſion, without raiſing ſentiments of diſdain and indignation againſt the objects of their cenſure, what muſt have been their effect, when the facts were recent, and the perſons publicly known? That this is not mere

matter of probability, with reſpect to the effect of the writings in defence of virtue among that people, we have from the teſtimony of an author * whoſe evidence is indiſputable.

Perhaps, however, the good effects of literature and philoſophy may be moſt conſpicuous in their influence on the princes that governed mankind, about that period of time. Nero, whilſt he liſtened to the precepts of Seneca, was the delight and admiration of human nature, and it was not until the death of that martyr to public virtue, that he launched out into thoſe exceſſes, which rendered him equally an object of contempt and deteſtation. The benevolent and wiſe Trajan was the diſciple of Plutarch: and his ſage precepts are, with great probability, thought to have had no ſmall influence in the formation of the amiable character of that great emperor. It was not ſurely for nothing that Antoninus became acquainted with the philoſophy of Socrates and Plato, as his whole life was a comment on the virtues recommended by them. After all, it muſt be confeſſed, that the tide of wickedneſs and corruption, then prevalent, was too ſtrong for the oppoſition that learning, confined to few, and thoſe not the moſt popular characters, was able to make. But we muſt not condemn thoſe who laboured, however unſucceſsfully, in the cauſe of virtue, as the occaſion of her downfall. If ſcience and literature reſiſted the inroads of vice, and at leaſt retarded her progreſs, they are ſurely entitled to our regard, and ought no more to be accounted the cauſes of the corruption of manners, which they were not ſo happy as to prevent, than Brutus and Cato ſhould be deemed the ſubverters of the Roman liberty. It is indeed true, that the elder Cato is ſaid to have been very adverſe to the Greek literature, and oppoſed much its introduction into Rome, propheſy-

* Enſe velut ſtricto quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor cui frigida mens eſt
Criminibus, tacitâ ſudant præcordia culpâ.
Juvenal. Satyr. I. ad finem.

ing, "that the Romans would certainly be deſtroyed when they became infected with Greek." "Time, however," ſays Plutarch, "has ſufficiently ſhewn the vanity of this wayward prediction; for Rome never attained to a higher pitch of glory and power, than when the Grecian literature flouriſhed there, and every kind of learning was in high eſtimation." Indeed, the ſtudy of the Greek language, to which * Cato is ſaid to have applied himſelf in his old-age, is an evidence, that this great man had altered his ſentiments, in ſome meaſure, concerning the Grecian literature. But it was not, in all probability, the introduction of the Greek learning, but of the Greek philoſophy, that Cato oppoſed. The firſt ſpecimen that the Romans had of this, was brought over by Cineus in the time of the Tarentine war, and happened to be of the Epicurean kind, who taught people "that the † chief end and happineſs of man conſiſted in pleaſure; who avoided all offices and employments in the ſtate, as ſo many bars to that pleaſure; and aſcribed to the Supreme Being neither love nor hatred, maintaining, that it was perfectly regardleſs of man, and all human affairs, and confined to an inactive life, where it ſpent whole ages in the full enjoyment of all ſorts of delight." This doctrine, ſo oppoſite to the ſentiments of that brave, active, and virtuous people, excited in them the higheſt contempt and abhorrence: "O Hercules," ſaid Fabricius, "may Pyrrhus and the Samnites eſpouſe this doctrine as long as they are at war with the Romans!" That ſagacious as well as worthy patriot immediately perceived the pernicious tendency, as well as impiety, of ſuch tenets; and it is by no means improbable, that Cato might be inclined to reject whatever was introduced from the ſame quarter, on the ſuſpicion of its containing ſimilar opinions and principles. The ſentiments of that great man, relative to this

* Life of Cato the Cenſor.

† Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus.

philoſophy, were afterwards verified by experience in the Roman ſtate. Mr. Monteſquieu * obſerves, that the ſect of Epicurus, which began to be propagated at Rome towards the cloſe of the commonwealth, was very prejudicial to the minds and genius of the people. The Greeks had been infatuated with its doctrines long before, and conſequently were corrupted much earlier than the Romans. We are aſſured by † Polybius, that oaths, in his time, could not induce any perſon to place confidence in a Greek; whereas they were conſidered, among the Romans, as matters of inviolable obligation upon his conſcience. This idea is attributed, by that wiſe hiſtorian, to the belief of a future ſtate, which was eſtabliſhed among the Romans, but made no part of the philoſophy of Epicurus.

After all, it muſt be confeſſed, that learning and ſcience have often been perverted to the worſt purpoſes; and have in ſeveral inſtances conduced to heighten the corruption of which we are now ſpeaking. But the abuſe of theſe qualifications is no argument againſt their uſe. The ſight, hearing, ſpeech, and uſe of the limbs, are all capable of being employed to unworthy purpoſes; which is, however, no reaſon why we ſhould deprive ourſelves of theſe faculties, or not make advantage of our poſſeſſing them: no more than, becauſe iron may be forged into inſtruments for the deſtruction of mankind, we ſhould forbear to make uſe a ſpade or ploughſhare. We may condemn and lament the uſe to which learning is applied; but can never juſtly charge the occaſion of it upon ſcience, which, far from recommending, cenſures ſuch practices. It has been the fate of Literature, as well as of religion, to be accuſed of promoting vices which her precepts tended moſt ſtrongly to diſcourage. When theſe effects, however, occur, we may reaſonably ſay, that it is not the liquor, but the veſſel itſelf, that is corrupted.

* Grandeur and Decline of the Roman Empire, ch. x.

† Polyb. lib. vi.

Conſtantinople, the celebrated metropolis of the eaſtern empire, falls next under Mr. Rouſſeau's conſideration; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the picture he has drawn of its condition is not leſs juſt than melancholy. But why ſhould we aſcribe the treaſons, aſſaſſinations, poiſonings, and other atrocious crimes that were there combined to compoſe the hiſtory of that period, to the learning which prevailed there? Indeed, the contrary appears in reality to have been the caſe, as the emperors who ſhewed the greateſt attention to literature, and to learned men, were thoſe under whom the empire ſeemed to regain new life, and to flouriſh. The decline of learning here, as well as at Rome, is alſo very obſervable in keeping pace with the decay of manners, inſtead of the arts and ſciences improving with this corruption, of which it is ſuggeſted they are reciprocally the cauſe and the effect: and it is worthy of remark, that ſcarcely any author of eminence appeared during that period which Mr. Rouſſeau deſcribes as ruinous to manners, from the too great prevalence of learning and the arts.

China is the next inſtance which our author has ſelected to prove his favourite point; but in this inſtance he has wholly miſtaken, or miſrepreſented, the character of the Chineſe. He ſays, that "letters are there in ſuch eſtimation, as to become the ſole channel to the firſt dignities in the ſtate." But if we examine this boaſted learning, we ſhall find, that they have no great reaſon to be proud of it, as it is little more than the knowledge of reading and writing; qualifications, ſurely, not very extravagant, to be expected from thoſe who are at the head of the ſtate.

Du Halde tells us, that the few books written in the Chineſe language, are almoſt altogether on the practical part of agriculture, on government, the practice of morality, induſtry, and rules of behaviour; things, indeed, highly uſeful, but of a diſtinct nature from ſcience and learning. They have ſcarcely any poetry, that may be ſo called; little knowledge of mathematics, ſtill leſs of geography, and very little of aſtronomy. If letters, therefore, have been the occaſion of the corruption he deſcribes, great indeed muſt have been

been their baleful influence, when ſo ſmall a portion, and that diſtributed among ſo ſmall a number, could work ſuch pernicious effects.

But our author's account of the depravity of the Chineſe is very much exaggerated. It is not true, "that there is no vice to which they are not addicted; no crime with which they are not familiar." That they are devoted to intereſt is true, as well as that they are given to ſome kinds of deceit. But this diſpoſition ariſes, in ſome meaſure, from their ſituation and circumſtances, and does not exclude ſeveral national virtues. Thus the Chineſe are induſtrious and frugal, and have an extreme reſpect for parents; a thing ſcarcely ever found among a highly-corrupted people. Their laws are mild and equitable; their puniſhments few, and thoſe not rigorous; they never confiſcate property; the greateſt attention is paid to impartiality in judicial deciſion, and to uncorruptneſs in the judge. The government reſembles the laws, being founded on the idea of paternal authority. It is an innate principle with them, that the whole ſtate is one great family, and that the prince ought to have the ſame regard for his ſubjects, that the father of a family has for his children; and that he ought to rule over them with the ſame tenderneſs and affection. This idea is impreſſed naturally on the minds of all the Chineſe. They judge of the merit of the prince, and of his talents, from his paternal affection to his people, and by the care he takes to let them feel its good effects, in the promotion of their happineſs. He is called the parent of his people. He is only feared in proportion as he is reſpected for his goodneſs and virtue. Theſe are the portraits they draw of their great emperors; and all their books are full of the ſame maxims. Nor is public virtue ſo rare in China, as might be expected from the intereſted character of the people. If any prince abuſes the power with which he is intruſted, the * Mandarines have a right to repreſent to him the conſequences of his con-

* Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 15.

duct;

duct; and although ſeveral princes have been ſo ill adviſed as to puniſh them for the uſe of this privilege, it ſtill has not prevented its being practiſed, even to thoſe monarchs who have moſt ſeverely oppoſed it. Many martyrs of this kind are to be found in the Chineſe hiſtories. Surely this deſcription does not ſuit a people addicted to every vice, and deſtitute of every virtue.

Perſia is next introduced, and is a ſubject of our author's admiration, as being, he ſays, the only people who have attained the honour of having their inſtitution paſs for a philoſophical romance. But I apprehend that the learned are induced to doubt the authenticity of the narrative of Xenophon's Cyropædia, for other reaſons than the exalted virtues he aſcribes to that people †. Herodotus, who was well informed in the manners of the antient Perſians, tells us, that they were given to ſtrong liquors, and addicted to deteſtable vices; and Xenophon's character of the ſame people, in his own time, by no means accords with his deſcription of them at a former period. Now, the immutability of the manners and cuſtoms of that country is a ſtrong argument that his account of the exalted virtue of that people in former ages was merely fictitious, eſpecially as he cites no authorities, and his relation does not agree with other hiſtorians.

Nor is the character of the Scythians ſo much a pattern of imitation as this author would perſuade us.

They appear to have reſembled the barbarous nations who invaded the Roman empire, who were, indeed, probably, the deſcendants of that people. The Scythians were, according to the ancient ‡ accounts, a cruel and ſavage people, given both to ſuperſtition and to contempt of the Gods; much reſembling the preſent Tartars, of whoſe moral qualifications I have before ſpoken.

The ancient Germans, indeed, afford a more extenſive field for

† Book i.

‡ Herodotus, book iv.—Hippocrat. de Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, § 51.

commendation.

commendation. But the virtues of this people appear to be by no means owing to their ignorance. The Fenni, who were in a ſtate ſcarcely removed from brutality, regarded neither Gods nor men, and had no idea of ſocial duties. The Chauci, the moſt civiliſed of any, were, at the ſame time, the moſt juſt and harmleſs, yet equally brave, and prepared for war, with the moſt fierce and daring. The Suiones, who are not deſcribed as the moſt learned, were ſtill the moſt corrupt, and in conſequence thereof reduced to ſlavery, but without the intervention of either art or ſcience.

Sparta, indeed, appears a notable inſtance in favour of our author's opinions; and he has not neglected to take advantage of it. But I queſtion if, upon a more cloſe inſpection, it will be found ſo applicable to his purpoſe as he ſeems to expect. Learning, indeed, ſuch as was moſtly cultivated in Greece, did not ſuit with the Spartan diſcipline, which was of a very peculiar kind: but the Lacedæmonian ſyſtem of education, although it by no means promoted literature, was by no means adverſe to cultivation of the mental powers. It was not allowed to a father to breed up his own children according to his own taſte or fancy, but the education of the youth was the care of the firſt men in the ſtate. They paid the greateſt regard to the exerciſe of the mind and underſtanding, in the queſtions which made a part of their ſyſtem of inſtruction; which, as * Plutarch tells us, were not frivolous or trifling, but ſuch as required an adviſed and deliberate anſwer; as, "Who was the beſt man in the city? What he thought of ſuch an action of ſuch a man?" uſing them thus early to paſs a right judgment upon perſons and things, and to inform themſelves of the abilities or defects of their countrymen. If they had not an anſwer ready to this queſtion, What citizen was of good or of ill reputation? they were looked upon as of a dull and careleſs diſpoſition, and to have little or no ſenſe of honour and virtue. Beſides this, they were to

* Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.

give

give a good reaſon for their anſwer, and in as few words, and as comprehenſive as poſſible. They taught them alſo a natural and graceful manner of ſpeaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffenſive raillery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words. For Lycurgus, who ordered that a great piece of money ſhould be but of inconſiderable value, on the contrary, would allow no diſcourſe to be current, which did not contain, in a few words, a great deal of uſeful and weighty ſenſe; contriving that children, by a long habit of ſilence and meditation, ſhould have ſuch a preſence and quickneſs of mind as to give very ſurpriſing anſwers, and oft-times to ſpeak apothegms, to the aſtoniſhment of the hearers: whereas the incontinence of the tongue fruſtrates the end of ſpeaking. Hence the pithineſs of the Laconian ſpeech, ſo many inſtances of which are recorded.

Muſic, alſo, was a ſcience much cultivated by that people: in which, Plutarch tells us, they were no leſs careful to compoſe well, than to ſpeak to the point. Hence Terpander and Pindar ſaid, that muſic was not inconſiſtent with, but rather a help and incentive to, valour.

Nor was the poetic muſe herſelf entirely diſregarded at Sparta. The king, before an engagement, ſacrificed to the Muſes; and the ſongs of ſome of their poets were held in ſuch veneration, that they were forbidden to be ſung by ſlaves. Upon this account, when the Thebans once made an irruption into Laconia, and took a great number of the Helotes priſoners, they could by no means perſuade them to ſing the odes of Terpander, * Alcman, and Spendon; for, ſaid they, "they are our maſters ſongs, and we dare not ſing them."

It is, perhaps, to this people that we owe the poſſeſſion of the entire works of Homer. Lycurgus † is ſaid firſt to have col-

* Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.

† See note to Mr. Montague's work on the riſe and fall of ancient republics, page 21.

lected them together, and to have brought them into Greece out of Asia Minor.

But even granting the Spartan ignorance, and the Spartan integrity, to be as great as Mr. Rousseau would persuade us—the latter of which was by no † means true of them in a national light—why should all their virtues be laid to the account of their ignorance? Was there nothing besides, in the Spartan constitution, that led to virtue, or prevented the contagion of vice? Was the regulation of the public tables no preventive of luxury? or was the crying down all gold and silver money no bar to avarice? and are not these two vices, at least as destructive to morality as the arts and sciences? As a proof of this, we find, that when, in the time of Agis and Agesilaus, and afterwards in that of Alexander, money found its way into Sparta, the Lacedæmonians instantly became corrupted, notwithstanding the state of the arts and sciences remained as before. This proves that they were, in a great measure at least, innocent of the mischief imputed to them.

Nor was Socrates himself, on whom Mr. Rousseau lays so much stress, the advocate for ignorance that he would represent. He recommended, on the contrary, the study of several branches of science, particularly geometry ‡, astronomy, and even medicine; and although he did not encourage very deep researches into the more ‖ abstruse parts of these sciences, it was not from any positive injury that he apprehended might arise from thence, but from the apprehension of their occupying too much of the time of those who applied to them.

† Aristotle and Plato were by no means admirers of the national character of the Spartans; and even Polybius, who preferred their constitution to all others, confesses, that it was herein defective, that moderation and self-denial were not found in the public, but in the practice of private men. Every Spartan, considered in his own person and private life, was modest, wise, and prudent; but when taken collectively, they were a people full of avarice and ambition. —Polybius, book vi. extr. 3.

‡ Xenophont. Memorab. Socr. c. vii. § 2, 3, 4, 8, 9.

‖ Ibidem, § 5.

Another

Another reaſon which appears to be hinted ‡ by Xenophon, which probably had great weight with Socrates, was, that theſe ſtudies, aſtronomy particularly, were, at that time, perverted to bad purpoſes; ſuch as attempting to diſcover the intentions of the Deity, and the ultimate reaſons why the univerſe was made and faſhioned in ſuch a manner. Theſe had, as Socrates himſelf declares, already turned the head of Anaxagoras; who, in the height of his pride and madneſs, was ſo vain as to declare, that he had found out the ſecrets of the Almighty, and was now as wiſe as God himſelf.

But that this is not the neceſſary or natural effect of ſuch ſtudies, our own countryman, the immortal Sir Iſaac Newton, is a ſufficient inſtance; who, with infinitely more knowledge than Anaxagoras, uniformly preſerved the utmoſt humility of diſpoſition, always acknowledging, that all his reſearches tended but more and more to convince him of the infinite wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, of the Supreme Being.

Nor was Socrates ſo much averſe, as is repreſented, to the more elegant branches of literature. He thought it not inconſiſtent with his plan of education, to introduce the authority of the poets for the confirmation of his moral doctrines. Thus the perverſion, as was alledged, of a paſſage in Heſiod, and of another in Homer, were made part of the articles of his accuſation: which plainly ſhews, at leaſt, the reſpect he had for this ſpecies of writing; and that it was not poetry, but the abuſe of it, that he condemned.

Nay, even ſome of the embelliſhments of ſociety, that appear to us to be of the more frivolous kind, were not unworthy the attention of Socrates. Thus Xenophon *, in the banquet, repreſents him as recommending the art of dancing, and deſirous to learn it himſelf; which plainly indicates that it was not, in his opinion,

‡ Xenophont. Memorab. Socr. c. vii. § 6.

* Sympoſii, lib. ii. § 15, 16, 17, 18.

by any means unworthy of a wife and good character, though it might be thought at leaſt as inſtrumental in corrupting or perverting the manners, as learning or the ſciences.

I ſhall next endeavour, with Mr. Rouſſeau, to examine the arts and ſciences in the abſtract; and ſhall not, with him, "heſitate to accede to any propoſitions wherein reaſon ſhall be found to accord with hiſtorical deduction."

"It was, ſays he, an ancient tradition, handed down from Egypt to Greece, that ſome God, an enemy to the repoſe of mankind, was the firſt inventor of the ſciences. What an opinion, adds he, muſt the Egyptians themſelves have entertained of them from whom they originated! It was becauſe they had thoſe firſt cauſes before their eyes that produced them. And, indeed, whether we inveſtigate the annals of mankind, or whether we ſupply the defects of ancient or uncertain chronicles by philoſophical reſearches, we never ſhall find, in this career of human knowledge, thoſe origins we naturally expect to form of them.

"Aſtronomy is the child of ſuperſtition; Eloquence owes its birth to ambition, hatred, flattering, and lying; Geometry, to avarice; Phyſic, to idle curioſity; but all, even Morality included, to human pride. The arts and ſciences owe their exiſtence to our vices. We ſhould have fewer doubts of their advantages, had they originated from our virtues."

Whence our author got this tradition, I cannot pretend to ſay; but may venture to pronounce, that the moſt authentic accounts that we have of the ancient Egyptians, give us no reaſon to think that their idea of literature was ſuch as he repreſents. The Ptolomæan library was inſcribed with the title of the *Medicine of the Soul*; an epithet ſurely not denoting it to be the ſource of vice and corruption. The ſame people were alſo the greateſt encouragers of the practical arts and ſciences. * Geometry, aſtronomy, and

* Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

arithmetic,

arithmetic, were particularly encouraged among them, and taught to all the youth. Medicine, likewiſe, was much ſtudied, and all the mechanic arts were in the higheſt perfection. Yet this people is deſcribed by the ſame author as juſt, pious, humane, and benevolent, as well as inſtructed in the arts and ſciences. Our author's genealogy of ſome particular branches of knowledge, is ſtill more ſtrange and abſurd. What were the original motives that prompted men to obſervation of the celeſtial bodies, is, perhaps, impoſſible now to determine; but, whatever theſe might originally be, Aſtronomy is not, in the preſent age, in the leaſt connected with ſuperſtition, and ſerves to guide the pilot through a ſtormy ſea, without any danger of corrupting either his moral or religious principles. Nor is it true, that eloquence owes its birth to the bad paſſions he repreſents. The earlieſt ſpecimens that have come to our hands, and at leaſt equal * to any that have been employed for bad purpoſes, are in recommendation of moral and religious duties; and appear alſo to have produced the moſt extraordinary effects in favour of virtue, in many inſtances.

His derivation of geometry from avarice, and of phyſic from idle curioſity, is equally ſtrange: as if a regard to the neceſſaries of life, and the preſervation of health, could with juſtice be conſtrued into paſſions of a vicious nature. But the deſcent of morality from pride is ſtill more extraordinary.

* This was Milton's opinion:

Their orators thou then extoll'ſt, as thoſe
The top of eloquence. Statiſts indeed,
And lovers of their country as may ſeem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The ſolid rules of civil government,
In their majeſtic unaffected ſtyle,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.

Parad. Regained, book iv. l. 353, &c.

Surely

Surely Mr. Rouſſeau would ſcarcely aſſert, that the Almighty has never publiſhed any rules of moral conduct, but through the medium of vice. Does he, who pleads ſo much for the beauty and reaſonableneſs of virtue, deny that the conſciouſneſs of this is itſelf a part of the ſcience of morals, and perhaps one in whoſe truth we have moſt reaſon to confide? Moral laws were made to prevent, not to puniſh, vice; and, on that account, have an exiſtence previous to their being infringed.

Nor is his account of the deſcent of ſome others of the arts and ſciences better ſupported. "Arts, in his account, are derived from luxury—Juriſprudence, from the natural depravity of man—and Hiſtory, from tyranny, conſpiracy, and war." That the arts have been made ſubſervient to bad purpoſes, and to thoſe of luxury among others, is true; but that they owe their origin thereto, is not ſo clear. The neceſſities of our nature—to ſatisfy which it is evident they were firſt applied—are ſufficiently preſſing to require ſupport from the arts, without employing them to any improper purpoſes.

Juriſprudence, indeed, was inſtituted for the correction of bad actions; and in that light may be ſaid to owe its origin to man's depravity. But ſurely this is no objection to it. If it ſupported or encouraged vice, it might juſtly be condemned; but as it is employed with a different intention, it is a ſtrange perverſion of ſentiment, to make uſe of the very reaſons that ought to be urged in its ſupport, in oppoſition to its uſe.

Nor is hiſtory confined entirely to tyranny, conſpiracy, and murder. Such events, it is too true, occupy a large part; but it is alſo undeniable, that the hiſtory of our ſpecies, conſidered with regard to the amiable part of their character, is equally inſtructive and uſeful with the other. Thus the hiſtories of Solon, Numa, or Lycurgus, are all of them equally worthy of being read and ſtudied, as thoſe of more "noiſy and guilty fame;" and yield

as much ſervice to mankind, by pointing out a pattern of imitation, as the others do by teaching us what we ſhould avoid.

The injury that literature is ſuppoſed to do to a military ſpirit, is the next ſubject choſen by this author for an opportunity of indulging his invective againſt learning. But it ſeems, that in this inſtance he has been peculiarly unfortunate, as the men of the greateſt military talents have alſo been moſt famous for thoſe of the underſtanding. Did the ſtudy of the ſciences injure the courage of Themiſtocles, Cimon, Pericles, Xenophon, Thucydides, Phocion, or Alexander the Great? Was Scipio Africanus leſs eminent for his military accompliſhments, becauſe he was addicted to literary * ſtudies? or was Julius Cæſar a leſs excellent commander, becauſe he added a large ſtock of ſcience, in every branch, to his knowledge of the art of war? No one that peruſes his admirable account of the wars in which he was engaged, but will readily acknowledge, he was nearly as much indebted for his ſucceſs to his knowledge of the different arts, as to his mere military talents.

But we need not recur to ancient times for inſtances of this kind. Modern examples are ſufficiently numerous; of which our author ſeems ſo ſenſible, that he appears deſirous to ſhift his ground, and to allow that the modern warriors are not deficient in courage, but only that they are unable to endure the neceſſary fatigue incident to a military life. But in this point, as well as the other, he is evidently miſtaken. It has † been well obſerved, that the weakneſs and effeminacy of which poliſhed nations are ſometimes accuſed, has its place, probably, in the mind alone. The ſtrength of animals in general, and of man in particular, depends on his feeding, and the kinds of labour to which he is uſed. Wholeſome food and hard labour, the portion of many in every poliſhed and commercial nation, ſecure to the public a number of men endued

* See the character of Lucullus, in the Academical Queſtions of Cicero, book iv. inſcribed Lucullus.

† Ferguſon on Civil Society.

with

with bodily ſtrength, and inured to hardſhip and toil. Even delicate living and good accommodation, are not always found to enervate the body. The armies of Europe have been obliged to make the experiment; and the children of opulent families, bred in effeminacy, or nurſed with tender care, have been made to contend with the ſavage. By imitating his arts, they have learned, like him, to traverſe the foreſt, and in every ſeaſon to ſubſiſt in the deſert. They have, perhaps, recovered a leſſon, which it has coſt civiliſed nations many ages to unlearn.—That the fortune of a man is entire, whilſt he remains poſſeſſed of himſelf.

Such are the chief of the arguments in this celebrated performance, and ſuch are my attempts to reply to them. How far I have ſucceeded, I leave to the reader; and finiſh my remarks on this work, with obſerving, that the writing of it—which was an univerſity-exerciſe at Dijon—and the applauſe he received on that account, is thought to have laid the foundation of that haughty, eccentrical, capricious, and paradoxical diſpoſition, that purſued him through life, and rendered his ſituation and behaviour ſo uneaſy to himſelf, and ſo troubleſome to others.

His example may, if duly attended, ſerve as an uſeful leſſon to places of academical education in general, not to engage their pupils, in early age, in the defence of any tenets or principles which they would not have them maintain through life. If Rouſſeau was ſo much injured by a contrary conduct, what may not others expect?

The effects of literature, and the arts, on manners and behaviour, are next to be noticed.

Improvements in theſe branches have been always acknowledged to have a tendency to * civiliſe and refine the manners, as far as relates to behaviour.

But

* Ingennas didiciſſe fideliter artas
Emollit mores nec ſinit eſſe feros.
Ovidii de Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. 9.

Quid

But they have likewiſe ſpecific and peculiar, as well as general, effects in this way. Thus I am inclined to think, that ſcience and learning have a tendency to render the behaviour and manners rather cloſe and reſerved. The prudence, and acquaintance with human nature, that are acquired by ſcience and obſervation, prevent thoſe free profeſſions of regard which are ſo frequent in uncivilíſed countries. Hoſpitality, alſo, perhaps for a ſimilar reaſon, in ſome meaſure—and alſo as it is rather connected with a degree of coarſeneſs and indelicacy, and often leads to ſome exceſſes in point of temperance very adverſe to the genius of ſtudy and literature—is leſs practiſed. It is likewiſe probable, that the ſenſe of ſuperiority, almoſt neceſſarily attendant upon a conſciouſneſs of great abilities, prevents that indiſcriminate connection to which the practice of hoſpitality is liable, and inclines thoſe who poſſeſs talents of this kind, to be very ſelect in their acquaintance, eſpecially as it is ſubject to be courted by many. The hiſtories of the lives of Mr. Pope and Dr. Swift, afford many inſtances of this kind.

SECT. III. *On the influence of literature upon the intellectual faculties.*

Literature ſeems to be to the mental capacity what cultivation is to the ſoil. Though it may not, perhaps, increaſe its abſolute fertility, or give it new powers, it brings thoſe it before poſſeſſed ſo much into action, directs their application, and combines them in ſuch a manner, as to produce nearly the ſame effects, which an addition to their ſtrength and force would have done.

Quid enumerem artium multitudinem ſine quibus vita omnino nulla eſſe potuiſſet? Quis enim ægris ſubveniſſet; quæ eſſet oblectatio valentium; qui victus aut cultus; niſi tam multæ nobis artes miniſtrarentur quibus rebus exculta hominum vita tantum deſtitit a cultu & victu beſtiarum?—Ciceron. de Officiis, lib. ii. § 20.

Learning, therefore, and knowledge, may be preſumed to be favourable to the human faculties in general. But I am inclined to ſuſpect, though I ſpeak here with great reſerve, that this relates more particularly to arts, than to matters of genius and taſte, eſpecially in poetical compoſition.

The principal and moſt admired model of genius in this way was written, though not in an age of ignorance, certainly before any great degree of refinement had taken place in literature or critical knowledge, and has even ſerved as a model to future ages, by which ſucceeding writers have been judged with reſpect to the merit of their compoſitions, even at the moſt refined periods.

I do not, however, mean to inſinuate, that an acquaintance with ſcience and literature is itſelf a bar to genius; but am apt to ſuſpect, that the retired and indolent habit, which ſo commonly attends great ſenſibility and refinement—which uſually take place in the advanced ſtate of literature—are checks to ardour of mind and vigour of imagination. Buſineſs, indeed, when conſtant and unremitting, may ſometimes prove an obſtacle to ſtudy; but retirement and leiſure, as they do not furniſh employment for great talents, neither do they contribute to their improvement. The moſt ſtriking exertions of imagination and ſentiment, have a reference to mankind; they are excited by the preſence and intercourſe of men: and the ſame active ſcenes, which call forth the abilities of the ſtateſman and politician, inſpire likewiſe the genius of the orator and the poet. In ſhort, poetical merit, like the other mental powers, has appeared moſt when moſt opportunities were given to the exertion of active abilities. Virgil and Horace lived during the time of the civil wars; Arioſto and Taſſo, when Italy was a ſcene of war and confuſion; and our Milton, a genius equal to any of them, at a period when the ſtruggle for liberty called forth abilities of every kind, in our own country. It does not, indeed, appear, that Milton's acquaintance with literature, or even the refinement of his taſte, at all cramped his genius, or reſtrained the

fire of his poetry. He alone, perhaps, was qualified to make the proper uſe, in its full extent, of ſuch advantages; which he did not conſider as containing models of ſervile imitation, but as hints whereon he might improve, and ſtages whereby he might aſcend to a ſuperior height to thoſe whom he condeſcended to imitate.

The idea of correctneſs, alſo, which is ſo naturally connected with refinement, is, I apprehend, a great bar to genius. Rules of this kind are uſeful to be known, in order to ſerve as a general guide and direction; but when rigidly obſerved, have been found to cramp and embarraſs the imagination, and to ſubſtitute, in the place of bold and ſublime ideas, the merit of exact compliance with rule, and form a compoſition reſembling the character given by * Tacitus of one of the emperors, as being rather "devoid of faults than endued with perfections."

It is not, however, to be denied, that rules of this kind are of ſome ſervice, in preventing the preſs being deluged with the bombaſtic fuſtian, which every fantaſtic viſionary might vent for ſublimity of compoſition, and in checking outrageous deviations from order, probability, and even common ſenſe; which would probably be very common, were there not ſome ſtandard of this kind.

After all, a great degree of correctneſs appears to be rather the excellence of moderate genius, and has, indeed, a merit not to be diſregarded; but muſt at the ſame time be overlooked, among many perfections of a ſuperior nature. In compoſitions wherein the latter are very conſpicuous, ſmall inaccuracies † are ſcarcely regarded.

* Ipſi medium ingenium; magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus.—Taciti Hiſtor. lib. i. c. 49.

† Verum ubi plura nitent, in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis.
Horat. Art. Poet. l. 351, 352, 353.

Knowledge of paſt improvement ſeems more immediately ſerviceable in matters of art than of literature. In the latter of theſe, the multiplicity of writers has almoſt exhauſted the field of invention and deſcription, at leaſt, of ſuch things as could be expected to occur to authors not of the firſt claſs; inſomuch that it would be ſcarce poſſible for a modern to compoſe a fable, or even a ſimile or deſcription, proper for poetry, whereon he had not been anticipated by ſome preceding writer. The multitude of labourers are here a clog upon one another, as every one is obliged to produce ſomewhat not only appoſite to the purpoſe, but alſo new in its way; which is ſo difficult, in a ſubject ſo exhauſted, that but a ſmall portion can fall to the lot of any individual, except of ſome extraordinary genius: whoſe appearance is too rare to expect in the uſual courſe of literary progreſs.

Arts, on the other hand, are in ſome reſpects more advantageouſly circumſtanced, with regard to prior improvements, than matters of taſte and ſentiment. In arts we are enabled to build upon former diſcoveries, as a help to a future progreſs, and to apply every invention to its preciſe and proper uſe; every advance is diſtinctly and accurately marked, and a proportionable credit, and conſequent encouragement, allowed for each ſtep gained; and the ſame exertion of genius, which in the other branch would have gained the repute of little more than a bare imitation, in this produces a ſubſtantial improvement. It appears probable to me, that the almoſt imperceptible, yet diſtinct, gradation of the ſteps that lead to improvement in arts, is a principal cauſe of their more advanced progreſs in proportion with literary accompliſhments; and that the maxim of *Divide and conquer* * is no leſs applicable to arts than to arms.

* Divide et impera.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *On the influence of literature and arts upon the laws and cuſtoms.*

Law, like other branches of ſcience, has been under the greateſt obligations to literature. We owe to learning, in a great meaſure, our knowledge of the proper object of the laws, and the means of attaining it in the moſt effectual manner.

A ſketch of the lights in which law has been contemplated, by civiliſed and poliſhed nations, will explain this more fully.

The prevention of crimes, ſays Plato *, is the great object of the law.

The law, ſays † Cicero, is a rule of right reaſon, recommending what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

The law, ſays ‡ Livy, is deaf and inexorable; equally, at leaſt, favouring the poor as the rich, and governing every perſon in the ſtate, from the higheſt to the loweſt.

The end of all laws, ſays || Andronicus Rhodius, is to direct what is good, and to forbid what is bad.

The law, ſay the § Pandects, is an art directing to the knowledge of what is juſt and what unjuſt. Inſtances of the improvement of legiſlation, by means of learning, are to be found equally ſtrong in modern times. The writers of the preſent age, in Germany, Italy, and England, and above all, Mr. Monteſquieu, in France, prove to demonſtration the advantage of an acquaintance with ſcience and literature, to thoſe concerned in the forming and compoſing of laws.

* De Legibus, p. 977.

† De Legibus, lib. i. § 49. lib. ii. § 14.—De Naturâ Deorum, § 112.

‡ Lib. ii. § 3. lib. xxxviii. § 50.

|| Ethicor. Nicomach. Paraphras. l. v. cap. 1.

§ Dig. i. 1.—i. 1. 1. 1.—i. 1. 1. pr. d. 1. 1. 10.

In

In a word, ſcience has brought to light that important * maxim of legiſlation, which it is to be hoped will never be forgotten, that "no man ought to be prohibited by law from doing what he ought to deſire to do, or to be compelled to do any thing, which he ought not to deſire to do."

The means alſo of attaining theſe important and deſireable ends of laws, have been greatly illuſtrated by ſcience and literature. Since the revival of letters, it has been diſcovered, that ſevere puniſhments are not the beſt means of reſtraining crimes, but that they have rather a tendency to create them.

Ruſſia, whilſt unciviliſed, was full of cruel puniſhments, at leaſt, ſuch as were ſavage and indecent. On the improvement of civiliſation, and the eſtabliſhment of ſcience, the puniſhment of death was abrogated altogether; and both the police and morals of the country appear to have been improved by this change in the laws.

Science and literature appear to have been of great uſe in legiſlation, in directing the puniſhment to its proper object, which is crimes, and to them only.

As human nature will not endure reſtraint beyond a certain degree, it is of the utmoſt conſequence to direct this reſtraint to ſuch things as it is moſt important to prevent; ſince, if we check actions that are in themſelves indifferent, we are apt to permit thoſe which ought not to be ſuffered at all. Thus the Tartars, under Jenghiz Khan, prohibited, under ſevere penalties, a multitude of actions perfectly indifferent, but were very moderate in their cenſure of robbery, violence, and murder: of ſuch conſequence is it to ſelect the proper objects for the operation of penal laws. I ſhall finiſh my remarks on this ſubject with the words of the juſtly-celebrated Marquis Beccaria, who is himſelf a ſtriking and living inſtance, how much the knowledge of legiſlation, and

* Sp. of Laws. B. xi. ch. 3.

of

of the true intereſts of mankind, are promoted by an acquaintance with the arts and ſciences.

" Would you prevent crimes, let liberty be attended with knowledge. As knowledge extends, the diſadvantages that attend it diminiſh, and the advantages increaſe."

Knowledge facilitates the compariſon of objects, by ſhewing them in different points of view.—When the clouds of ignorance are diſpelled by the radiance of knowledge, authority trembles, but the force of the laws remains immoveable. Men of enlightened underſtanding muſt neceſſarily approve thoſe uſeful conventions, which are the foundation of public ſafety; they compare, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the inconſiderable portion of liberty of which they are deprived, with the ſum total ſacrificed by others for their ſecurity; obſerving that they have given up the pernicious liberty of injuring their fellow-creatures, they bleſs the throne, and the laws upon which it is † eſtabliſhed."

Cuſtoms, I am apt to believe, are leſs regarded in countries where ſcience prevails, than in ignorant ones.

Cuſtoms are generally reſpected as being venerable for antiquity, and as ſerving ſome intention, the bent of which is not generally underſtood. But when the cauſes of things come to be ſcrutinized and examined, much of the veneration for old uſages is deſtroyed, as they are then regarded only as they ſhew themſelves to be ſubſervient to ſome uſeful purpoſe. Thus many of the old uſages and cuſtoms in this country are deſtroyed, and are, in general, much on the decline, as appears from the mutability which begins to prevail among them; which is probably owing to the influence of literature and arts.

† Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments, chap. xlii.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Influence of literature and arts on the form of government.*

There can be, I think, no doubt, that learning and knowledge are favourable to liberty. Mr. Monteſquieu well obſerves, "that exceſſive obedience ſuppoſes ignorance in the perſon that obeys. The ſame it ſuppoſes in him that commands; for he has no occaſion to deliberate, to doubt, to reaſon; he has only to will. * Learning would there be dangerous, and emulation fatal." The cauſe of this is obvious: deſpotiſm is ſupported by the paſſions, not the reaſon; conſequently every appeal from the former to the latter muſt tend to ſhake the baſis of ſuch an uſurpation, and, of conſequence, make all ſcience an object of diſtruſt and jealouſy. The ſtates formerly moſt celebrated for literary accompliſhment were free, as Athens and Rome; and the effects of learning, in checking the abſurd claims of arbitrary power, in modern times, are no leſs remarkable. We owe the beſt parts of our preſent conſtitution, in no ſmall meaſure, to the works of Milton, Locke, Sydney, Harrington, and the other learned and rational defenders of liberty; and the writings of Mr. Monteſquieu, and Mr. Voltaire, in France, and of the Marquis Beccaria in Italy, among thoſe of other great men, who have explained and inſiſted upon the natural and juſt rights of mankind, have contributed very much to temper the † arbitrary government of thoſe countries. Spain and Portugal ſtill remain in ignorance and deſpotiſm; nor is it likely that the latter ſhould ever be corrected, unleſs they emerge from the former.

* Sp. of Laws, book iv. ch. 3.

† The late king of Sardinia uſed to ſay, that it was from Mr. Monteſquieu that he learned the art of government. M. de Solar, the Malteſe ambaſſador at Rome, ſaid, on the firſt appearance of the Spirit of Laws, "That is a book that will cauſe great revolutions in the minds of the French."

What

What particular form of government is beſt ſuited to literature I cannot abſolutely determine. Perhaps different forms may be beſt ſuited to different kinds of literary accompliſhment. A popular government ſeems to be beſt ſuited to great ſtrength and vigour of genius, and elevation of mind. That freedom of ſpeech and ſentiment, which is ſo much indulged in a popular government, is highly adapted to exertion of the talents, and the calling forth the latent powers of the mind and underſtanding. A democratical government ſeldom fails to produce great men. How many perſons of extraordinary capacity appeared in the ſmall republics of Greece, during a ſhort period of time! and what an aſſemblage of great talents was collected during the ſtill ſhorter duration of republican government in our own country! Every department was filled with men of high capacity. The ſtate, the bench of juſtice, and the army, were all extremely reſpectable: nor was the poetic muſe herſelf neglected, though the fanatical and extravagant religious doctrines, which were general at that time, ſeemed highly adverſe to theſe elegant amuſements. Waller and Milton, who were both upon the republican party, and the latter deeply engaged in the religious controverſy which prevailed about that period of time, were, perhaps, the firſt elegant poetical writers in this country.

But the ſame cauſes which give ſuch a ſcope to the talents in a democratical government, contribute alſo, in a great meaſure, to direct their application.

Hence oratory, as being much wanted, and of great importance, in ſuch governments, where ſuch an unbounded liberty, both of ſentiment and ſpeech is allowed and encouraged ‡, is much cultivated.

‡ Magna eloquentia, ſicut flamma materia alitur, et motibus excitatur, et urendo clareſcit. Eadem ratio in noſtrâ quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etſi horum quoque temporum oratores ea conſecuti ſunt, quæ compoſita, et quieta, et beata, republica tribui fas erat: tamen iſta perturbatione et licentia

tivated. The democracy at Athens produced Demoſthenes, Æſchines, Demades, Pericles, and Hyperides, as Milton calls them.

> " Thoſe ancient, whoſe reſiſtleſs eloquence
> Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook th' arſenal, and fulmin'd over Greece
> To Macedon and Artaxerxes throne." ‖

The popular commotions in the reign of Charles I. laid the foundation of Engliſh oratory in the Houſe of Commons. It is worth remarking upon this occaſion, that the ſpeeches in our own popular aſſemblies have been much more frequent, more animated, and received with more attention, than thoſe which are delivered in the other Houſe of Parliament, that repreſents the ariſtocratical branch of the conſtitution. A celebrated ſpeaker, ſcarcely inferior to thoſe juſt mentioned of ancient Greece—the thunder of whoſe name reached the extremeſt parts of the globe, whilſt he continued to direct the aſſemblies of the people—loſt his influence and his weight, in a great meaſure, when tranſlated into the other houſe;

plura ſibi aſſequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus, tantum quiſque orator ſaperet, quantum erranti populo perſuaderi poterat. Hinc leges aſſiduæ, populare nomen; hinc conciones magiſtratuum pœne pernoctantium in roſtris; hinc accuſationes potentium reorum, et aſſignatæ etiam domibus inimicitiæ; hinc procerum factiones, et aſſidua ſenatus adverſus plebem certamina: quæ ſingula etſi diſtrahebant rempublicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam, et magnis cumulare prœmiis videbantur. Quia quantò quiſque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores aſſequebatur, tantò magis in ipſis honoribus collegas ſuos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiæ, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiæ ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant; hos ituri in provincias magiſtratus reverebantur, hos reverſi colebant, hos et præturæ et conſulatus vocare ultro videbantur; hinc privati quidem ſine poteſtate erant, cum et populum et ſenatum conſilio et auctoritate regerent: quin immo ſibi ipſi perſuaſerant, neminem ſine eloquentia aut aſſequi poſſe in civitate, aut tueri conſpicuum et eminentem locum.—Taciti Oratores, c. xxxvi.

‖ Paradiſe Regained, b. iv. l. 267.

and

and the ſame exactly was the caſe, not many years before, with another popular orator of the higheſt eminence. Theſe inſtances ſerve to ſhew how well adapted a popular government is to oratorical talents. But if this form of government be ſuited to exertions of this kind, they, in their turn, contribute highly to its ſupport. The popular orators maintained the democracy of Athens, by cheriſhing among the people an opinion of their own weight and conſequence; and, however we may at times condemn, in our own country, the exceſs of a contentious ſpirit, we muſt be cautious how we attempt to check it, as upon that depends our liberty and conſtitution.

The very ebullitions that we cenſure may, perhaps, prove political remedies for the * diſeaſes of the ſtate; and, even when miſtaken in their direction, ſerve as a warning to thoſe at the head of adminiſtration, not to encroach on the liberty of the people. It requires, however, the deepeſt political ſagacity, as well as the utmoſt integrity of intention, in thoſe poſſeſſed of popular talents, in our own government, to diſcern the point beyond which this influence ought not to be extended. The being more active in attacks upon the crown, in the reign of Charles I. than vigilant in the ſupport of the rights of the people, terminated in the deſtruction of the conſtitution; and the ſame conduct at Rome, in oppoſition to the nobility, produced an abſolute government: two examples, which, it is to be hoped, will always be conſidered by thoſe who oppoſe the meaſures of adminiſtration in Great Britain. What Mr. Monteſquieu has ſaid of puniſhments, in republican governments, ought conſtantly to be conſidered under ſuch circumſtances, that when the grievance is redreſſed, and the immediate actors removed, there ought to be an end of all puniſhments, confiſcations, and even of rewards.

* "The misfortune of a republic is when intrigues are at an end; which takes place when the people are gained by bribery and corruption. In this caſe they grow indifferent to public affairs, and avarice becomes their predominant paſſion."—Sp. of Laws, b. ii. ch. 2.

But to return from this digreſſion.

Satirical performances are another ſpecies of writing, ſuited, I apprehend, to a republican government. Theſe, like their oratorical performances, are generally open and undiſguiſed, as well as ſharp and ſevere. The ſatire of † Ariſtophanes degenerated into what we ſhould now term abuſe; that of ‡ Archilochus was pointed and vehement, and is ſaid to have produced extraordinary ‖ effects. Lucilius, the moſt * ancient of the Roman ſatyriſts, had a ſimilar § character annexed to his works; which was imitated, in a great meaſure, by Perſius and Juvenal, the latter of whoſe writings appear to exhibit the laſt breath of the genuine Roman pirit of liberty.

† See his reflections and ridicule of Socrates, in the comedy of the Clouds.

‡ ——————Parios ego primus Iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Lib. i. ep. 19. l. 23, &c.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.
De Arte Poetica, l. 79.

‖ He is ſaid to have written ſo ſeverely againſt Lycambes, who refuſed to fulfil his promiſe of giving him his daughter in marriage, as to cauſe Lycambes to hang himſelf. The ſame effect is often aſcribed to the writings of the antient ſatyriſts.

* ——————quid cum eſt Lucilius auſus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem.
Horat. Satyr. lib. ii. ſatyr. 1.

§ Nam eruditio in eo (Lucilio) mira et libertas, atque inde acerbitas et abunde ſalis.—Quintilian. lib. x. cap. 1.

——— Secuit Lucilius urbem
Te Lupe, te Muti, et genuinum fregit in illis.
Perſii Satyr. i.

Enſe velut ſtricto quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit———————
Juvenal. Satyr. 1.

Our

Our own country, whoſe conſtitution is eminently democratical, has produced writers of a ſimilar ſtamp to thoſe juſt mentioned among the Romans. The ſatires of Dr. Donne, one of the moſt ancient of our writers in that line, are penned not only, as Dr. Browne deſcribes them,

"With genuine ſenſe, and Roman ſtrength of thought;"

but alſo with that ardent eloquence, and boundleſs rage, that characteriſe the works of Juvenal and Perſius.

Milton, although he did not profeſſedly aſſume the ſcourge of ſatire, yet has intermixed many ſtrokes of that kind among his ‡ poetical works; and his proſe performances are chiefly invective, and that of the moſt violent kind.

Pope, although he has not carried the ſeverity of his cenſure to ſuch a degree as was done by ſome of his predeceſſors, was, nevertheleſs, poſſeſſed of a genius of a ſimilar turn. His imitations of Horace, though highly and juſtly admired, are generally acknowledged to have ſcarcely any reſemblance to that author, except in the plan and order of arrangement; but the reflections, the expreſſions, and the choice of words, reſemble much more the indignant rage of Juvenal, than the ſportive, eaſy, and elegant vein of the Horatian ſatire. As a proof of this, it may be obſerved, that when the beauty of the original conſiſts in eaſy, conciſe, and graceful humour, Pope has generally, though not always, fallen || ſhort of his original; but where Horace aſſumes the character of a declaimer againſt vice, and an indignant corrector of corrupt manners, Pope * generally riſes ſuperior to his maſter. It is, however, true, that Pope, probably as not having been ſoured with diſappointment and neglect, and enraged at the loſs of his country's

‡ Parad. Loſt, book vii. ad initium.—Lycidas, line 113, &c.—Sampſon Agon. l. 241, &c. l. 695, &c. l. 1460, &c.

|| Imitations of Horace, b. ii. ſatyr. 1. l. 50, 63, 84, 90.—Book ii. ſat. 2. l. 27. —Book i. epiſt. 1. l. 143, &c.

* B. ii. ſatyr. 1. l. 105, &c. 133, &c.—B. ii. ſat. 2. l. 5, &c. 81, &c. 115, &c. 150.—B. i. ep. 1. l. 55, &c. ep. vi. l. 5, &c. 17, &c.—B. ii. ep. 2. l. 264, &c.

liberty,

liberty, as was the caſe with Juvenal, is leſs acrimonious in his ſatire, and often attempts, and frequently with ſucceſs, to imitate the playful eaſy wit of Horace. In general, however, the obſervation of Mr. Monteſquieu is, I believe, found to be true, that the genius of this country, with regard to ſatirical compoſition, approaches much nearer to that of Juvenal than of Horace.

Popular government, I am apt to think, uſually imparts a certain peculiarity of compoſition to poetical writings in general. The freedom of ſpeech and ſentiment natural to ſuch a ſtate inſpires a kind of rude and inartificial greatneſs, whilſt that kind of delicacy that proceeds from taſte is leſs cultivated.

What Mr. Monteſquieu has ſaid of the Engliſh, is applicable to popular governments in general—that they have in their poetry ſomething which approaches nearer to the bold ſtrength of Michael Angelo, than the ſofter graces of Raphael. Milton particularly, whom I take as an inſtance of a genius of the republican kind, is a notable example of the truth of this obſervation.

A government, rather of the democratical kind, I take to be beſt ſuited to the genius of hiſtorical compoſition. The dignity of character inherent in the members of a republican ſtate, the liberty of ſpeech, and freedom of information incident thereto, ſecure the truth of the narrative, and enable the author to deduce, and to publiſh from facts, ſuch reflections as the occaſion ſuggeſts.

Where there is a perfect freedom of the preſs—without which there can be no liberty—the truth cannot be long concealed, nor the people deceived and amuſed with ſuch relations as the government think fit to publiſh. A falſe account is ſoon contradicted, and its author branded with infamy, for the attempt to impoſe; and this circumſtance is a more ſecure guard of truth, than the capital penalties annexed to the falſification of the public accounts in China. Hence the * Gazettes, and communications of public

* No Engliſh miniſtry durſt have publiſhed ſuch an account of a battle, as was given in the French gazettes of the engagement in Quiberon Bay, between Sir Edward Hawke and Mr. Conflans.

tranſactions,

tranſactions, in England are more to be depended upon than thoſe of France, Spain, or the other monarchical countries of Europe. The ſame may be ſaid of hiſtorical relations. Had any Engliſh writer dared to publiſh ſuch a fictitious account of a battle that terminated in favour of the Engliſh, as Mr. Voltaire has given of the battle of Fontenoy, he would have been contemned and rejected by all ranks of people, inſtead of meeting with applauſe. Where the truth cannot be concealed, it is frivolous to attempt concealment.

Political diſquiſitions, for ſimilar reaſons, are only in perfection in free governments. Without liberty of ſpeech and ſentiment, politics are either an empty ſound, or an engine contrived to rivet the fetters of ſervitude. Hence diſcourſes of this kind have always appeared to advantage in republican ſtates. Ariſtotle, the firſt political writer in point of rank, and perhaps of eminence, was a citizen of Athens. Demoſthenes and Cicero were at the head of the remains of freedom, and, as a Greek orator, ſaid, "ſteered the ſhipwrecks of their reſpective commonwealths." Polybius drew his political knowledge from a republican ſource, in conſequence whereof he became the friend and inſtructor of the celebrated Scipio Africanus. The political maxims of Tacitus are full of republican ſentiments, preſerved amid the rage of deſolation, that accompanied the reigns of ſome of the moſt dreadful monſters that ever infeſted human nature, and probably excited in ſome meaſure by the indignation ſuch horrid cruelties naturally ſuggeſted.

To deſcend to later times. Machiavel was a ſubject of a republican government: Milton, Harrington, Sydney, and even Locke, lived at a time when liberty was carried to its greateſt height in England: and the tranſient efforts of a ſimilar kind in France, gave birth to the celebrated Thuanus.

It were, however, uncandid not to acknowledge, that ſome political writers of the greateſt eminence have ariſen of late years

in governments that can by no means be called of the republican kind. Of this, Mr. Voltaire, in ſome degree, the celebrated Marquis Beccaria, and above all Mr. Monteſquieu, are inſtances. But the writings of Mr. Voltaire are ſo deſultory, and ſo contradictory to one another, that it is difficult to diſcern his real ſentiments, if he, in truth, had any ſettled notions on theſe ſubjects: Mr. Beccaria has ſaid little of the nature of government: and with regard to Mr. Monteſquieu, it is, I think, clearly diſcernible, that he wrote under a degree of * reſtraint, and that he would have delivered himſelf with much greater freedom, had he not been checked by the nature of the government under which he lived.

Monarchical governments of the moderate kind are, nevertheleſs, found to be favourable to ſome branches of learning. A certain ſtyle of oratory, eſpecially of the panegyrical kind—lyric poetry—an eaſy elegant vein of ſatire, rather upon folly than vice—dramatic performances in general—elegant moral eſſays—with ſome other kinds of literary productions, flouriſh much under ſuch a government. But epic poetry, and ſatire upon vice—hiſtory—and political reflections, are ſeldom found in perfection. The people want the dignity of ſentiment and ſpirit neceſſary for epic poetry; which is ſeldom found under any but a free government. Vice and luxury are hazardous ſubjects of animadverſion. Hiſtory is liable to be perverted by the hopes and fears of the writer, and is ſeldom, when written concerning the preſent age, any thing beſides a panegyric upon the reigning monarch, and deeply inter-

* This ſeems hinted at by Mr. D'Alembert, in his eulogium on that celebrated writer. "Mr. Monteſquieu," ſays he, "being ſometimes obliged to preſent to us truths of great importance, the abſolute and direct avowal of which might have ſhocked without doing any good, has had the prudence to cover them; and by this innocent artifice he has concealed them from thoſe to whom they might have been hurtful, without making them loſt to men of ſagacity."

mixed

mixed with fiction, as we ſee inſtanced in Mr. Voltaire's hiſtories of the reigns of the two laſt kings of France; and political works and arguments are dangerous to be allowed, under a government founded more upon the paſſions than upon reaſon. I am apt to believe—though I ſpeak here with great diffidence—that a monarchical government, of the moderate kind, is better ſuited to the progreſs of ſome branches of the arts, than perhaps any other form whatever. It is neceſſary in a monarchical ſtate, one of the great objects of which is glory, to preſerve the ſpirit of the people as well as to maintain the authority of the prince. A taſte therefore for arts and diſcoveries ſerves to employ the talents and genius of the people, without exciting the ſame jealouſy that might reſult from other inquiries; and theſe are accordingly much encouraged under ſuch governments, when wiſely adminiſtered. A paſſion of this kind, when properly directed, ſerves to keep up the national character, and forms a kind of ſubſtitute for liberty. Arts likewiſe flouriſh much under the patronage and ſupport of a monarch, to which they are particularly adapted. Their flouriſhing ſtate under the reign of Louis XIV. is a noted inſtance; which would probably have raiſed his reputation, and that of his country, to a much greater pitch than he attained, had it not been interrupted by his mad and abſurd paſſion for conqueſt—which, by exhauſting the nation both of men and treaſure, left no ſupport or encouragement for the arts. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that the inſecurity of property under ſuch governments, and the arbitrary and unequal taxes that they impoſe, are a great damp upon the practical advantages a nation might receive from the eſtabliſhment of manufactures.

An ariſtocratical government—but I mean here one of the hereditary and confined kind, as thoſe of Venice and Genoa at preſent, and what ſome of the Italian ſtates were formerly—is by no means favourable to literature in general. It is obſervable, that ſcarcely any governments are ſo jealous of intrigues of the politi-

cal kind, as ariſtocratical ſtates. All political diſcourſe therefore muſt be very tenderly touched, and conſequently no improvement of that kind can be expected. Hiſtorical compoſitions, for a ſimilar reaſon, are under conſiderable reſtriction; and the rigid previous inſpection of every article that is allowed to be publiſhed, and the ſuppreſſion of any that do not coincide with the ſentiments of government, are ſufficient cauſes why they have no hiſtorians of conſiderable note.

But ariſtocratical governments are averſe to political or hiſtorical compoſitions, of any period near the preſent, upon another account. Theſe, if properly written, muſt always contain cenſure, as well as commendation, both of men and meaſures.

Now it is well remarked by * Mr. Monteſquieu, that no government whatever is ſo averſe to ſatirical writings as the ariſtocratical. There the magiſtrates are petty ſovereigns, but not great enough to deſpiſe affronts. If, in a monarchy, a ſatirical ſtroke is aimed at the prince, he is placed upon ſuch an eminence, that it does not reach him; but an ariſtocratical lord is pierced to the heart. Hence the Decemvirs, who formed an ariſtocracy, puniſhed the authors of ſatirical writings with death.

Some kinds of arts, however, particularly thoſe which reſpect navigation and commerce, appear to be well ſuited to this conſtitution of the ſtate. A naval force, I have † before remarked, is, of all kinds of ſtanding armies, the leaſt dangerous to liberty, and of conſequence, the leaſt liable to be made an inſtrument for altering the conſtitution of the government, be it what it may. For this reaſon, among others, navigation and commerce have been much encouraged among the ariſtocratical ſtates, as thoſe of Crete, Carthage, and Marſeilles formerly, and thoſe of Venice, Genoa, Piſa, and ſome other of the Italian ſtates, in later times.

* Spirit of Laws, B. xii. ch. 13.

† Book ii.

A deſ-

A deſpotical form of government can ſcarcely be ſaid to be ſuited to any kind of intellectual improvement: knowledge there is dangerous, both to the conſtitution of the ſtate, and to the perſon who poſſeſſes it. Emulation there can have no place, as the only ſecurity for any individual, conſiſts in his remaining as unnoticed as poſſible. Even any great improvement in the arts would not be without hazard, as it might enable the owner or inventor to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money, as might render him an object of the jealouſy or rapacity of a timid or needy adminiſtration.

SECT. VI. *On the influence of literature and arts upon religion.*

I preſume it will ſcarcely be neceſſary to ſay, that the more we turn our inquiries into nature, the more proofs we ſhall meet of the exiſtence of a Deity. Hence it is reaſonable to conclude, that the people in general, who have had the moſt opportunities for information of this kind, will be moſt likely to have the belief of a Deity moſt univerſally diffuſed, and moſt deeply impreſſed upon their minds. This is intirely conformable to obſervation. Thoſe nations who have been accounted atheiſts, though probably without reaſon, have always been in the loweſt ſtate of civiliſation, ſuch as the Fenni of Tacitus, the Icthyophagi of Diodorus Siculus, and the Hottentots, and people of Terra del Fuego, among our modern diſcoveries; ſome of which people appear to have had little more than the form (if we may credit the accounts of them) to entitle them to the name of humanity. On the other hand, uniform experience teaches us, that every nation yet diſcovered, either in the ancient or modern world, have always had the belief of a Deity more univerſally and ſtrongly impreſſed, in proportion to the advances they had made in ſcience and arts.

Indeed it cannot be denied, that, even in times of the greateſt civiliſation and ſcience, ſome perſons have ventured to adopt, and to propagate, tenets inconſiſtent with this generally-received opinion.

But it may be juſtly queſtioned, if theſe unhappy people were either clear in their underſtandings (as ſome of them we know were not) or elſe, if they were not induced by ſome intereſted views to ſupport ſo abſurd as well as ſo impious an opinion. The idea of a Deity is the reſult of ſo many ſubjects of reflection, occurring every moment in human life, that the expreſſion of the * poet, *that all things are full of the Deity*, is equally true of the proofs of his exiſtence, his providence, and beneficence—if it could be imagined that the evidence of the latter did not neceſſarily imply the former. It is an eaſier thing for a man to deny, than to extirpate, his feelings; and thoſe which are really natural —as I believe the conſciouſneſs of a Deity (from its being univerſally entertained †) to be—often recur with redoubled violence on account of the ineffectual reſiſtance made to them. "If," ſays an ancient philoſopher, "there have been, in every age, two or three perſons ſo abject and inſenſible as to deny the exiſtence of a God, they are to be regarded as people defective in the principal faculties belonging to human nature, as men whoſe eyes do not clearly perceive the light, and whoſe ears but imperfectly diſtinguiſh ſounds, as a race of men unprofitable and uſeleſs, as a lion devoid of fierceneſs, as an ox without the ornaments of his forehead, or as a bird deprived of wings. Even in theſe men you may perceive ſomewhat of a conſciouſneſs of the Deity; for of that ſome traces will remain always ‡." Even Epicurus, amidſt all his abſurdities,

* ——————————— Jovis omnia plena.
Virgil Eclog. iii. l. 60.

† Omni autem in re conſenſio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda eſt.—Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. i. § 48.

‡ Maxim. Tyrii, Diſſ. i.

did

did not venture to deny altogether the * being of a Deity, though he refuſed to allow him the attributes that are neceſſarily derived from the proofs of his exiſtence.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that the Grecian and Roman mythologies appeared to favour a multiplicity of deities; a thing nearly as inconſiſtent with reaſon as the denial of a Deity altogether. But it is nevertheleſs clear, that, in their ſyſtems, the inferior deities were by no means independent of one † ſupreme and governing power, to whom they were all ſubject, and by whom they were liable to be directed; ſo that in reality all the deities, ſave one, were only ſecond cauſes or inferior agents. This, it is plain, was the popular opinion. But the philoſophers, and even the poets, went ſeveral ſteps farther, and even denied the exiſtence of thoſe divinities, except as allegorical repreſentations of the ‡ attributes of the Supreme Being, or as portions of the ‖ eſſence of God, or emanations of the ſoul of the world, but ſtill to be corporeal §, and liable to pain and ſuffering; qualities never attributed to the Deity himſelf.

Learning and ſcience have alſo contributed to cauſe proper and worthy attributes to be imputed to the Deity. He is repreſented

* Lucret. lib. i. l. 83. &c. lib. vi. l. 57, &c.—Ciceron. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. § 157.

† Socrates and Plato always aſſerted, that there was one God only, the King and Father of all things.—Max. Tyr. Diſſ. i.——Homer's Mythology was of the ſame nature.——Ennius alſo delivered the ſame doctrine; and, as Cicero ſays, *aſſenſu omnium.*

Aſpice hoc ſublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem, illum vero et Jovem et dominatorem rerum et omnia motu regentem patrem divumque hominumque.—De Nat. Deor. l. ii. § 6.

‡ This ſeems in many places the ſyſtem of Homer.——Maximus Tyrius appears to have been of the ſame opinion.—Diſſ. xxiii.

‖ Diog. Laert. lib. vii. § 156.

§ Iliad. lib. v.

by

by the ancient writers, as [1] irreſiſtible in power—as infinite [2] in knowledge—as [3] immutable and eternal in his nature—as [4] unſearchable in his counſels—as extending his providence [5] over all human affairs—as [6] juſt—as not the [7] author of evil, but as the [8] author of all good—and as liſtening to the prayers [9] of mortals here upon earth. Many other proper attributes were given to the Deity by the philoſophers of old, eſpecially the Stoics; but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the ſuperiority of thoſe aſcribed by civiliſed nations over thoſe of the uncultivated. The gods of the Scythians were thought to have delighted in [10] human ſacrifices; the Gauls were [11] of the ſame opinion, and made theſe ſacrifices in the moſt cruel manner. The gods of the [12] Mexicans were cloathed with terror and delighted in vengeance.

The nature and principles, or the doctrines, precepts, and prohibitions of religion, among civiliſed and learned people, have been always much ſuperior in excellence to thoſe of unciviliſed and rude nations.

[1] Homer's Iliad. b. viii. b. xi. Odyſſ. b. iii. b. xvi.—Fragment. Lini de Suida. Fragm. ii.—Cicero de Legibus, lib. ii. § 25.

[2] Homer's Iliad, b. viii. b. xvii.—Fragm. Orphic. e Suida, Fragm. i.—Xenoph. Memor. Socrat. lib. i.—Epictet. book i. c. 14. § 1. 2.

[3] Homer's Iliad, b. i.—Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i. § 63.

[4] Homer's Iliad, b. i.—Fragm. Orphic. Suida, Fragm. i.

[5] Iliad. b. xvii. b. xxiv.—Platon. de Legib. lib. 10.—Epictetus, book iii. ch. xxiv. § 6.—Max. Tyr. Diſſ. 5. & 29.—Marci Antonin. Oper. lib. ii. § 3.

[6] Iliad. b. iv. b. xx. Odyſſ. b. i.

[7] Odyſſ. b. i.—Epictet. b. i. c. 29. § 1. B. iii. c. 24. § 1.—Antonin. Oper. lib. ii. ſect. 2.—Max. Tyr. Diſſ. 5, 25, 29.

[8] Epictetus b. i. ch. 16. § 3. B. ii. ch. 23. § 1. B. iv. c. 1. § 12.

[9] Homer's Iliad, b. ix. Odyſſey, b. viii.—Epictetus b. ii. ch. 18. § 45. B. iii. ch. 21. § 1.—Heſiod lib. i. l. 334. Lib. ii. l. 83.

[10] Herodot. lib. iv.—Pauli Diaconi, lib. xiii.

[11] Cæſar de Bello Gallic. lib. vi. c. 9.—Diodori Sicul. lib. v.

[12] Robertſon's Hiſt. of America.

To imitate the Deity [1] was the precept of the Stoic philoſophy; and, as they attributed perfection to the Divinity, an imitation of him could be no other than an univerſal recommendation of virtue. The idea, likewiſe, [2] of virtue, among that ſect of philoſophers, though in ſome inſtances defective, was, in general, rational and juſt, and conſonant to the doctrines of Chriſtianity. Thus juſtice [3], truth [4], temperance [5], fortitude [6], benevolence [7], humility [8], ſubmiſſion [9] to the will of God, and truſt in his [10] providence; patience [11], induſtry [12], contentment [13] with our ſituation in life, and even forgiveneſs [14] of our enemies,

[1] We are next to learn, ſays Epictetus, what the gods are; for ſuch as they are found to be, ſuch muſt he, who would pleaſe and obey them, to the utmoſt of his power, endeavour to be. If the Deity is faithful, he too muſt be faithful; if free, beneficent, and exalted, he muſt be free, beneficent, and exalted likewiſe, and in all his words and actions behave as an imitator of God.—Epict. book ii. ch. 14. § 2.—See alſo book ii. ch. 16. § 4.

[2] Mrs. Carter, in her excellent tranſlation of Epictetus, has frequently remarked the analogy between the precepts of the Stoic philoſophy, and thoſe of the goſpel.

[3] Hæc enim una Virtus omnium eſt domina & regina Virtutum.—Ciceron. de Officiis, lib. iii.

Juſtice, ſays Andronicus Rhodius, comprehends every virtue; and, as it contains them all, it is perfectly and entirely virtue.—Ethicor. Nicom. l. v. c. 1.

[4] Ciceron. de Invent. lib. ii. ſect. 241.—Ethicor. Nicom. l. iv. c. 9.—Marci Anton. lib. iii.

[5] De Invent. lib. ii. ſect. 243.—Ethicor. Nicom. lib. iii. c. 13.

[6] Cicero. de Officiis, lib. ii. De Invent. lib. ii.—Ethicor. Nicom. lib. iii. ch. 8.

[7] Ciceron. de Offic. lib. ii. De Amicitiâ.—Marc. Anton. l. iv. c. 23.

[8] Epicteti Enchirid. ſect. 33.

[9] Platon. Phædon. Apolog. Socrat.—Epictet. b. i. c. 1. § 5. B. ii. c. 16. § 3. B. iv. c. 1. § 12.

[10] Epictet. b. i. c. 9. § 2. B. iii. c. 26. § 1.

[11] Idem. b. i. c. 6. § 5. B. 2. c. 16. § 2. B. iii. c. 8. § 2.

[12] Idem. b. iv. c. 4. § 5.—Marc. Anton. lib. iv. § 24. Lib. 9. § 16, 17.

[13] Idem. b. i. c. 1. § 5. B. i. c. 9. § 4. B. iv. c. 4. § 6. B. iv. c. 7. § 3.

[14] Platon. Socrat. Apolog.—and Plutarch's account of the death of Phocion.

were

were all taught by the philoſophers of antiquity, though indeed with far leſs clearneſs, energy, and aſſurance of the reward conſequent upon them, than is done by revelation. The contrary vices, as injuſtice, falſhood, want of moderation, cowardice, envy, pride and arrogance, diſtruſt in-providence, impatience, idleneſs, and diſſatisfaction with our condition in life, were of courſe equally condemned.

The precepts of religion, in unciviliſed countries, have always been much leſs pure and rational. The northern nations thought violence, rapine, and robbery, no crimes; but to die of old-age or diſeaſe deſerved a ſevere ‡ puniſhment hereafter. The Tartars thought breach of their word, robbery, and murder, no crimes; but to put a knife into the fire, to lean againſt a whip, to ſtrike a horſe with his bridle, or to break one bone with another, were ſins of the deepeſt dye. ‖ The people of Formoſa eſteem it highly ſinful, at certain ſeaſons, to dreſs rather in * callico than in ſilk; to look for oyſters, or to undertake any buſineſs, without conſulting the ſong of birds. But drunkenneſs, profligacy, and debauchery, are not regarded by them as crimes. They even look upon the debauches of their children as agreeable to the gods.

The religion of ſome half-civiliſed people has likewiſe attributed a power of abſolving crimes to external circumſtances, and things merely accidental, and which have no regard to the regulation of behaviour in the preſent life. The people of ſome parts † of India believe, that it matters not how people have lived in the preſent life, ſo that after their deaths their bodies or aſhes be but thrown into the river Ganges. The forms and ceremonies of religion are alſo influenced by learning and ſcience. They are, I imagine, leſs

‡ Mallet's North. Antiq. tranſl. vol. i. p. 121.

‖ Sp. of Laws, b. iv. c. 14.

* Collection of voyages that contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt India Company, vol. v. p. 192.

† Edifying Letters, Collect. xv.

numerous

numerous in ſuch countries; but this admits of many ‡ exceptions. They are alſo, I believe, more ſimple and ſhort, than among ignorant people; and more free from ſuperſtition, and have leſs efficacy attributed to them. Plato || thinks it a diſhonour to the gods, to imagine them capable of being appeaſed by mere ſacrifices—and Socrates himſelf paid little regard to them.—Since the introduction of learning into Europe, nothing has more ſcandalized the Romiſh church, than their abſurd and impious pretences to obtain favour with the Almighty by any other means than the conduct and behaviour. The doctrine of indulgences was the immediate cauſe of the reformation; but this would ſcarcely have taken place, had it not been aſſiſted by learning and knowledge, which ſerved to diſpel that cloud of ſuperſtition which then obſcured and diſgraced religion.

The ceremonials of poliſhed nations have alſo, in general, been more rational and decent than thoſe of unciviliſed countries. The Romans and Athenians ſacrificed principally, herbs, fruits, corn, wine, and the fleſh of brute animals. The Scythians, Gauls, and Americans, with many other ſavage and barbarous nations, ſacrificed their fellow-creatures.

A future ſtate of exiſtence, and of rewards and puniſhments after the preſent life, is a perſuaſion almoſt univerſal *, in every ſtate of mankind, from the higheſt degree of civiliſation to the extremeſt ignorance. But the ideas of ſuch a ſtate have been always more juſt and rational, and, I may add, more conſonant to revealed truth, in the improved than uncultivated condition of mankind. Socrates was convinced of a future ſtate from the principles of reaſon, and that the happineſs or miſery of that ſtate depended upon † the behaviour of the perſon in the preſent life. That

‡ The ceremonies both at Rome and Athens were very numerous.

|| De Legibus, lib. x.

* Robertſon's America, vol. ii. p. 287.

† Et quum pene in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita eſt

That excellent man imagined, alſo, that the happineſs of a future ſtate would conſiſt partly in the ſociety of the good and juſt who have departed this life; though of this circumſtance he did not pretend to any certain aſſurance: but that the ſoul of a good man ſhould return to the gods, be united with them, and enjoy their ſociety to all eternity, was a tenet of * whoſe truth he profeſſed himſelf fully confident.

Virgil has adopted ſimilar ſentiments. He tells us, that people were rewarded, or puniſhed, or placed in a middle ſtate of purification, after death, according to their behaviour here upon earth; and that the rewards of the bleſſed conſiſted in manly pleaſures, and the exerciſes of the mind and underſtanding. The terms, alſo, of admiſſion into thoſe happy manſions are laid down by that writer in a manner the moſt juſt and rational, conſiſting in † piety to the Gods, and moral behaviour towards man; whilſt thoſe who practiſed an ‡ oppoſite conduct, received the puniſhment of being condemned to the regions of miſery and torment.

The

eſt ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in cœlum videretur aſcendere. Ita enim cenſebat, itaque differuit, duas eſſe vias, dupliceſque curſus animarum e corpore excedentium. Nam qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, & ſe totos libidinibus dedidiſſent, quibus cæcati, velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaviſſent, vel in republica violanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepiſſent; iis devium quoddam iter eſſe, ſecluſum a concilio deorum.—Qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſſent, quibuſque fuit minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos a quibus eſſent profecti reditum facilem patere.—Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. i. § 112.

* Platon. Apolog. Socratis.

† Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Quique ſacerdotes caſti dum vita manebat;
Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti:
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.
Æneid. lib. vi. l. 660. & deinceps.

‡ Hic quibus inviſi fratres dum vita manebat,
Pulſatuſve parens, aut fraus innexa clienti:

Aut

The Scandinavian religion, on the other hand, admitted all who fell in battle to the hall of ‖ Odin; whilſt thoſe who died a natural death, or by diſeaſes or accidents, were condemned to a painful exiſtence in another life, in a place of miſery: it mattered not in what cauſe they fell, ſo that they died fighting bravely. It is remarkable, that this circumſtance, when in ſupport of a bad cauſe, is mentioned by § Virgil as an aggravation of the crime, and as a cauſe of puniſhment.

Literature and ſcience have, I am perſuaded, been of great ſervice to religion, by introducing the propagation of it by argument and perſuaſion. Ignorance has been generally favourable to perſecution; and it is in a great meaſure owing to the increaſe of learning, that thoſe horrid cruelties that diſgraced human nature, and Chriſtianity more eſpecially, begin now to be regarded almoſt univerſally with deteſtation and abhorrence.

> Aut qui divitiis ſoli incubuere repertis,
> Nec partem poſuere ſuis; quæ maxima turba eſt:
> Quique ob adulterium cæſi, quique arma ſecuti
> Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras;
> Incluſi pœnam expectant.
>
> Æneid. lib. vi. l. 607. & deinceps.

‖ This fanatic hope of going to the hall of Odin, derived additional force from the ignominy affixed to every kind of death, but ſuch as was of a violent nature, and from the fear of being ſent, after ſuch an exit, into *Niſlheim*. This was a place conſiſting of nine worlds, reſerved for thoſe who died of diſeaſe or old-age. *Hela* or Death there exerciſed her deſpotic power; her palace was Anguiſh, her table Famine, her waiters were Expectation and Delay; the threſhold of her door was Precipice, her bed Leanneſs; ſhe was livid, and ghaſtly pale; her very looks inſpired horror.—Mallet's North. Antiquit. abr. vol. i. p. 121.

To go to war, to plunder, and to deſtroy, and ſurmount every obſtacle that oppoſed their deſigns, the Icelanders deemed the ſureſt path to immortality.—Letters on Iceland, p. 84.

§ See the line quoted above, note ‡.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE EFFECTS OF LUXURY AND REFINEMENT.

THE next, and indeed the laſt ſtate under which I propoſe to conſider mankind, is that of a high degree of refinement and diſſipation, attended with luxury; which, indeed, in the uſual courſe of human affairs, generally ſucceeds to that laſt treated.

SECT. I. *Effects of luxury and refinement upon the temper and diſpoſition.*

A high degree of luxury and refinement has, I apprehend, a conſiderable effect in increaſing the ſenſibility, eſpecially with regard to the paſſions. This it performs by ſeveral means.

Luxury, as I ſhall hereafter mention, is almoſt always accompanied by indolence; a circumſtance that of itſelf conduces, by weakening the body, to increaſe the ſenſibility.

Luxury, likewiſe, is generally accompanied with warmth, or at leaſt an equality of temperature; a thing that I have before obſerved tends to produce the ſame effect.

Luxury, alſo, as being generally unfavourable to health, and thereby rendering the body leſs robuſt and ſtrong, contributes to increaſe the ſenſibility of the ſyſtem.

But what chiefly, I apprehend, conduces hereto, is the habitual indulgence that is given to the paſſions by luxury. Theſe, as well as the ſimple ſenſations, are capable of having their ſenſibility, or rather their irritability, greatly increaſed by uſe and practice; and the cuſtom of giving a ſcope to our deſires on every occaſion, which is eſſential to luxury, is apt both to multiply our wiſhes,

and

and our uneaſineſs at our inability to gratify them. Thus we ſee children, who are accuſtomed to be indulged on every occaſion, have their wiſhes thereby much enlarged, and are apt to break out into violent ſallies of anger, when the object of their deſires cannot be procured to their expectations.

The ſame quality is equally perceivable at a more advanced period of life. It is well obſerved by a * great moraliſt, that he who fixes his attention on things always before him, will never have long ceſſations of anger; and, as nothing can occur more frequently than the objects of luxury, it muſt happen that the paſſions of its votaries muſt be ſubject to numerous excitements of this kind.

The petulance of thoſe addicted to this indulgence has been † obſerved in all ages.

But although the ſenſibility, with reſpect to the paſſions, be increaſed by luxury, the ſenſations in this caſe are merely ſelfiſh, and bear little reſpect to the welfare or feelings of others, and, indeed, often to common humanity. The cruelties practiſed, in the moſt deliberate and protracted manner, upon ſome brute animals, the devoted victims of luxurious indulgence—which it would be diſguſtful as well as improper to repeat—evince this poſition very ſtrongly, even in the preſent age. And in former times, the connection of luxury with cruelty, even towards the human ſpecies, appears to have been very remarkable.

Athenæus ‡ obſerves the cruelty of the people of Miletus, and of ſome of the Scythian nations, which, he tells us, was aſcribed by the philoſophers of antiquity to their luxury. The ſame qua-

* Rambler, No. 112.

† Horace remarks the paſſionate temper of ſome of theſe proficients in luxury.

——————————Hic neque ſervis
Albuti ſenis exemplo dum munia didit
Sævus erit. Horat. Sat. lib. ii. ſat. 2.

‡ Athenæi, p. 524, 525.

lity,

lity, he obſerved, prevailed among ‖ the Ionians, which he derives from the ſame cauſe. The Roman emperors * Vitellius and † Elagabalus, whilſt they betrayed the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to their appetites, aſtoniſhed the world at the ſame time with their multiplied inhumanities.

The ſame inſenſibility took place in the public, as well as private feelings. Athenæus tells us, that at the period of the battle of Chæronea, and the important but melancholy conſequences to the liberty of Greece that attended it, a number of Athenian citizens, of ſome rank and diſtinction, were found ſo totally inſenſible to the intereſts, dangers, and diſtreſſes of their country, that they formed themſelves into a convivial ſociety, called the Sixty, and employed their time in feaſting, drinking, and gaming, and in the ſprightly and ſatirical exerciſes of wit and pleaſantry. No public affairs, whatever, were conſidered by them as of conſequence ſufficient to interrupt their mirth, or diſturb their tranquillity. They ſaw their countrymen arming for battle, and heard of their captivity and death with the utmoſt indifference. Events and actions of the moſt ſerious kind were treated by them with wantonneſs ‡ and levity.

The ſame effects took place amongſt the Romans: Cato, in the ſpeech aſcribed to him by Salluſt, reproaches his countrymen with valuing their § villas, ſtatues, and pictures, at a higher rate than

‖ Athenæi, p. 625.

* Suetonius ſays of Vitellius, that he was "præcipue luxuriæ ſævitiæque deditus."

Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together, in the ſame manner, in the character of Otho. "Otho luxu ſævitia audacia reipublicæ exitioſior ducebatur."—Taciti Hiſt. l. ii. cap. 31.

† Elagabalus, as we are told by Lampridius, was a profeſſed imitator of Nero, Otho, and Vitellius.

‡ Athenæi, p. 614.

§ Sed, per deos immortales, vos ego appello, qui ſemper domos, villas, tabulas veſtras pluris quam rempublicam feciſtis.—Bell. Catilin. Oratio Catonis.

the

the republic; which * ſelfiſhneſs of character he attributes principally to the † luxury that prevailed among them.

The ſtupid inſenſibility of the emperor Vitellius, with reſpect to public affairs, even wherein his own life and ſafety were concerned, is deſcribed in ſtriking terms by ‡ Tacitus:—"That emperor," ſays this great writer, "ſubſtituted the pleaſures of luxury in the place of concern for public affairs, neither taking care to provide the neceſſary implements of war, nor to ſtrengthen the attachment and diſcipline of his troops by public addreſſes or military exerciſe, nor, indeed, ſhewing himſelf at all in public; but, hiding himſelf in the ſhades of his gardens, like thoſe animals, to which, if food is ſupplied, they lie torpid and inſenſible, he there buried all regard for the paſt, preſent, and future, in equal oblivion."

The effects of a luxurious diſpoſition in ſuperſeding public concern among the people at large, were viſible in a remarkable manner at Rome. The people were there exaſperated againſt Auguſtus, on account of ſome laws which he had made; but upon his recalling Pylades the comedian, whom the jarring of ſome of the factions had driven out of the city, the diſcontent ceaſed. That people were more concerned for the interruption of their pleaſures than the loſs of their liberty.

But the effects of luxury in deſtroying public virtue are not only diſcernible in perſons who had been previouſly corrupted in other reſpects, or in the caprice of a licentious rabble, but have been

* Neque mirum: ubi vos ſeparatim ſibi quiſque conſilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ ſervitis; eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam.—Ibidem, Salluſt.

† This probably gave occaſion to the obſervation of Cato, that it was hard to ſave a city, where a fiſh was ſold for more than an ox.

‡ ——Curis luxum obtendebat: non parare arma; non alloquio atque exercitio militem firmare, non in ore vulgi agere: ſed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus ſi cibum ſuggeras, jacent torpentque, præterita, inſtantia, futura, pari oblivione dimiſerat.—Taciti Hiſtor. lib. iii. cap. 36.

even exerted upon ſome characters in other reſpects highly worthy of admiration. Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the ſubduer of Aſia, after he had abandoned himſelf to luxury and effeminacy, never intereſted himſelf about public affairs, nor lent his aſſiſtance towards repreſſing the exorbitant power of Pompey. Antony, in like manner, ſeemed infatuated with the pleaſures of Egypt, and tamely ſurrendered the empire of the world to one far his inferior in political as well as military conduct and influence.

A great writer of our own country has, in a ſtriking, though ſomewhat ludicrous || manner, deſcribed the influence of a certain ſpecies of luxury in ſuppreſſing regard for decorum and dignity of character in private life.

Indolence, which is itſelf a ſpecies of luxury, is alſo a frequent attendant upon the other kinds of it. The connection between theſe is remarked by ſeveral of the Roman writers *, and was particularly obſervable among that people.

The connection of this with the other branches of luxury is ſufficiently obvious.

Timidity is, I believe, another quality that uſually accompanies luxury. The increaſe of ſenſibility, the diminution of ſtrength, and the habit of indolence that luxury inſpires, are all of them unfavourable to vigour and reſolution of mind, which are moſtly combined with ſteadineſs, ſtrength, and activity. The Romans,

|| Catius is ever moral, ever grave,
Thinks who endures a knave is next a knave,
Save juſt at dinner—then prefers, no doubt,
A rogue with veniſon to a ſaint without.
Pope's Moral Eſſays, Epiſt. i.

* Multi mortales, dediti *ventri* atque *ſomno*, vitam ſicuti peregrinantes, tranſiere.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.——Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda eſt, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per *luxum* atque *ignaviam* ætatem agunt.—Bell. Jugurth.——Ita injuſtiſſime luxuriâ atque ignaviâ, peſſimæ artes, illis qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt, reipublicæ innoxiæ cladi ſunt.—Ibidem, Oratio Marii ad Quirites.

who,

who, at an early period of their hiſtory, found little difficulty in the conqueſt of moſt of the barbarous nations, afterwards became, by luxury, ſo degenerate, as to fall an eaſy prey to the people they had ſubdued, and to become an object, even to them, of the higheſt † contempt. The name of Roman was ſuppoſed to comprehend every thing ignoble, timid, avaricious, luxurious, and falſe; and, in ſhort, every kind of vice. The luxury in which this people were involved, contributed, in a great meaſure, to this change of character.

Pride is another quality evidently excited by luxury. A man that ſees conſtantly all the gratifications of appetite placed before him, without any effort or trouble of his own, is apt to fancy a ſuperiority in himſelf to others, and to encourage high ideas of his own importance. The petulance, alſo, which luxury ſo naturally inſpires, is itſelf a ſpecies of pride, and gratified in a ſimilar manner.

For the reaſons above given, thoſe who are addicted to luxury have but little capacity for private ‡ friendſhip.

Friendſhip neceſſarily requires ſome ſacrifices of eaſe and pleaſure for the ſake of others; but the luxurious man is wrapped up in himſelf, and has little conſideration for any one elſe.

Salluſt obſerves, that people addicted to this paſſion paſs through life as travellers do through a country, that is, without any regard to, or connection with, the people that live in it. It was a remark of the elder Cato, that friendſhip could have no place with a man whoſe palate had a quicker ſenſation than his heart.

† Luitprand. Legat. apud Murator. Scriptor. Italic. vol. i. p. 1. p. 481.

‡ Ovid remarks the effects of the mercenary diſpoſition that prevailed in his time, in ſubverting private friendſhip.

> In pretio pretium nunc eſt, dat cenſus honores,
> Cenſus amicitias, pauper ubique jacet.
>
> Faſtor. Ovidii, lib. i.

Fickleneſs ||, irreſolution, and diſguſt, are alſo, I believe, among the paſſions that attend a life of luxury. This we ſee exemplified every day, and alſo experience that this kind of ſatiety *, which is produced by luxury, is, perhaps, one of the ſevereſt ſufferings of which our nature is capable; and what frequently urges thoſe who are neceſſitated to endure it to put an end to their miſeries by a voluntary death.

Pure enjoyment, or the gratification of all deſires—the point aimed at by ſo many—is mercifully withheld from the favourites of Providence, and only beſtowed on thoſe who are weak enough to deſire it; and to whom it brings its own puniſhment.

In ſhort, human life, rightly underſtood, is a ſcene of action, not of inactive enjoyment; and its duties, if properly obſerved, conſtitute its pleaſures likewiſe; ſo wiſely has Providence ordained, that the doing of our duty ſhould have a preſent as well as future reward.

SECT. II. *On the effects of luxury on the manners.*

Firſt, with reſpect to the moral conduct.—From what has been ſaid of the effects of luxury upon the temper and diſpoſition, its influence upon the moral character may be deduced. Cruelty, pride, want of public ſpirit, indolence, and cowardice, are all moral defects, as well as peculiarities of diſpoſition. But theſe do not compoſe the whole of the catalogue of the vices that are produced by luxury. Profuſion is another vice intimately connected with

|| Tacitus remarks the mobility and unſteadineſs of Vitellius. *Mobilitate* ingenii quod palam abnuerat.—Hiſt. lib. ii.——Vitellium ſubitis offenſis aut intempeſtivis blanditiis *mutabilem*, contemnebant, metuebantque.—Ibidem, l. ii.

* Dormire priuſquam ſomni cupido eſſet non famem, aut ſitim, neque frigus, neque laſſitudinem operiri, ſed ea omnia luxu antecapere.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

luxury;

luxury; and this as naturally gives birth to its † oppoſite, but not inconſiſtent, paſſions, avarice and rapacity. The admirable deſcription of the Roman luxury, and conſequent corruption, by Salluſt, exhibits a ſtriking picture of the combination of both theſe characters. He, with great probability, deduces the corruption of that people from the ſame ſource from which we, probably, may derive our own—the armies which that people had ſent into Aſia, and which Sylla, who had been their leader, had inſtructed in the admiration of the objects of luxury. It was there that the Roman people firſt loſt their ſimplicity of character, and began to admire ſculptures, pictures, vaſes, &c. To this ſoon ſucceeded the deſire of acquiring theſe objects of their admiration, which led them to the plunder both of the public and of private perſons, and to ſacrilege and profanation ‡ of the Gods. Every vice that could diſgrace human nature was the conſequence of theſe exceſſive indulgences; and, among theſe, an infinite number with which we are as yet happily unacquainted.

Luxury alſo produces particular effects upon the manners and behaviour. Beſides rendering theſe more profligate and debauched,

† Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos peſſima ac diverſa inter ſe mala luxuria atque avaritia vexabant.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

Aurelius Victor ſays of Vitellius, "Iſte mente crudelis avaruſque, cum profuſione fuit."—Epitome, cap. viii.

‡ Ibi primum inſuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; ſigna, tabulas pictas, vaſa cælata mirari; ea privatim ac publicè rapere; delubra ſpoliare, ſacra, profanaque omnia polluere.—Rapere, conſumere, ſua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiſcua, nihil penſi, neque moderati habere.—Salluſt. Bell. Catil.

Eadem Aſia domita multo etiam gravius afflixit mores, inutiliorque victoria illa hæreditas Attalo rege mortuo fuit. Tum etiam hæc emendi Romæ in auctionibus regiis verecundia exempta eſt, urbis anno ſexcenteſſimo viceſſimo ſexto: mediis quinquaginta ſex annis erudita civitate amare etiam, non ſolum admirari, opulentiam externam: immenſo et Achaicæ victoriæ momento ad impellendos mores; quæ et ipſa hoc intervallo, anno urbis ſexcenteſimo octavo parta, ſigna et tabulas pictas invexit, ne quid deeſſet.—Plinii Hiſtor. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 11.

in general, it cauſes them to be more variable and inconſtant. Pliny notices, that luxury is naturally inclined to || variety; an obſervation which the experience of all ages has confirmed. Xerxes publiſhed a reward for the diſcovery of a * new pleaſure; and the life of Elagabalus was † ſpent in purſuits of the ſame kind. Modern experience is entirely conſonant hereto; ſince the paſſion for novelty has, in the preſent age, pervaded not only our manners and behaviour, but alſo our ſtudies and literary taſte, inſomuch that it is now, in a good meaſure, the ſtandard of merit of every kind.

Another effect of luxury upon the manners and behaviour is, to reverſe, in a great meaſure, the diſtinguiſhing and proper character of the ſexes. The men aſſume manners ſuited only to females; and the women, on the other hand, affect to imitate the actions, dreſs, and behaviour of men.

Thus Columella ‡ remarks of the votaries of luxury in his time, that it was uſual with them to affect the appearance and carriage of women. § Salluſt makes a ſimilar obſervation. ** Nero aſſumed

|| Multis hoc modis ut cætera omnia luxuria variavit.—Plinii Nat. Hiſtor. l. xxxiii. cap. 1.

* Xerxes, opum regiarum oſtentatione eximia eo uſque luxuria gaudebat, ut edicto præmium ei proponeret, qui novum voluptatis genus reperiſſet.—Valer. Maxim. lib. ix. cap. 1.—Athenæi, p. 544.

† Nec erat ei ulla vita niſi exquirere novas voluptates.—Lampridii Vita Elagabal.

‡ Miramur geſtus effœminatorum quod a natura ſexum viris denegatum muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiantque oculos ſpectantium.—Columell. lib. i.

§ Viri pati muliebria.—Bell. Catilin.

** Eo progreſſus eſt uti neque ſuæ, neque aliorum pudicitiæ parcens ad extremum amictus nubentium virginum ſpecie, palam ſenatu, dote data, cunctis feſta more celebrantibus in manum conveniret. Lecto ex omnibus prodigioſis.—Aurel. Victor de Cæſaribus, c. v.——Doryphoro liberto cui etiam ſicut ipſi Sporus, ita ipſe denupſit voces quoque et ejulatus vim patientium virginum imitatus.—Sueton. l. vi. c. 29. ——Ipſe per licita atque illicita fœdatus, nihil flagitii reliquerat, quo corruptior ageret, niſi paucos poſt dies, uni ex illo contaminatorum grege, cui nomen Pythagoræ

aſſumed the dreſs and behaviour of a woman, and was actually married to a man under that character. Elagabalus imitated the example of Nero in † this, as well as many other inſtances, and was twice married as a woman; firſt, to Aurelius Zoticus, one of his officers; and afterwards, to Hierocles, a ſlave. The women, on the other hand, were equally inclined to imitate the character and behaviour of men.

As the former degenerated into effeminacy, they advanced ‡ into boldneſs and immodeſty. Salluſt tells us, that it was commonly thought, that || ſeveral women were engaged in the Catilinarian conſpiracy; by whoſe aſſiſtance Catiline expected to engage the ſlaves in his ſupport, to ſet fire to the city, and either to bring their huſbands into compliance with his meaſures, or to deſtroy them. Among theſe was the celebrated Sempronia, a woman who, although endued with every elegant, every captivating ac-

goræ fuit, in modum ſolennium conjugiorum denupſiſſet; inditum imperatori flammeum. Viſi auſpices, dos et genialis torus, et faces nuptiales, cuncta denique ſpectata, quæ etiam in fœmina nox operit.—Tacit. Annal. l. xv. c. 37.

† Lamprid. Vita Elagabali.—Dionis Caſſii, l. lxxix.

‡ Viri pati muliebria; mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

|| Ea tempeſtate plurimos cujuſque generis homines adſciviſſe ſibi dicitur, mulieres etiam aliquot quæ primò ingentes ſumptus ſtupro corporis toleraverant: poſt, ubi ætas, tantummodo quæſtui, neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. Per eas Catilina credebat poſſe ſervitia urbana ſolicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum, vel adjungere ſibi, vel interficere. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa ſæpe *virilis audaciæ facinora* commiſerat. Hæc mulier genere atque formâ, præterea viro atque liberis, ſatis fortunata fuit: literis Græcis atque Latinis docta: pſallere, ſaltare elegantius, quam neceſſe eſt probæ: multa alia quæ inſtrumenta luxuriæ ſunt: ſed ei cariora ſemper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud facile diſcerneres; lubidine ſic accenſa, ut ſæpius peteret viros, quam peteretur, ſed ea ſæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conſcia fuerat, luxuria atque inopia præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud abſurdum: poſſe verſus facere: jocum movere: ſermone uti, vel modeſto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorſus multæ facetiæ, multuſque lepos inerat.—Salluſt. ibidem.

compliſhment

compliſhment or qualification of mind and body, had yet performed actions that required maſculine courage and reſolution. Treachery, perjury, and murder, were all in the catalogue of her crimes; and beſides theſe, her paſſions were ſo immoderate, that ſhe oftener made advances to men than they to her. This character, which is drawn in ſo maſterly a manner by Salluſt, is evidently a copy of the diſpoſition and manners of many others at that period of time.

The natural tendency of luxury to produce both theſe effects upon the ſexes reſpectively, has been excellently explained by the late Dr. Brown, in his "Eſtimate of the Manners and Principles "of the Times." It is much to be apprehended, that the preſent age would juſtify a ſtill more ſevere reprehenſion than what was even beſtowed, not many years ſince, by that acute and judicious ſatyriſt. It is certain that the manners, dreſs, language, amuſements, and behaviour of the female ſex, have approached much nearer to thoſe which have been generally apprehended to belong particularly to men, ſince the writing of the admired treatiſe above referred to. Whether this change in the manners and behaviour tends to render the fair ſex greater objects of love, admiration, or reſpect, than a contrary one, the experience of that ſex will beſt determine.

SECT. III. *On the effects of luxury upon the intellectual faculties.*

Luxury and corruption are little leſs injurious in their conſequences to the intellectual than to the moral faculties.

That ſelfiſh apathy, which is ſo naturally connected with luxury, is highly adverſe to vigour of mind and elevation of ſentiment. He that is diſpoſed to indulge his own paſſions without reſtraint, naturally becomes indolent and ſelf-opinionated, and not likely to diſtinguiſh himſelf by any thing that requires labour, or

attention, or regard to the ſentiments and opinions of others. Indeed, the improvement of the mind is an object little regarded by ſuch people, and of conſequence unlikely to be purſued by thoſe whoſe natural talents might be beſt adapted to ſhine in this way. The unſteadineſs, alſo, and love of variety, that is incident to people in this ſituation, is highly adverſe to cultivation of the faculties, by its preventing any permanent attention being beſtowed upon any ſubject, and that improvement made in it of which it is capable. This diſpoſition, which prevails alſo in hot climates, is probably one cauſe of the ſmall advances made among them in ſcience.

The deſpotic government, alſo, and general corruption of manners, which are the natural conſequences of luxury, are both very oppoſite to improvement of the mind and underſtanding, by checking freedom of thought and expreſſion, and by imparting mean, ſelfiſh, and groveling ideas, ſuch as are neceſſarily ſuggeſted by low and deſpicable appetites.

Yet farther; luxury is not only adverſe to the improvement of the faculties of the underſtanding and genius in its remote conſequences, but alſo in its immediate effects. That ſpecies of it, which conſiſts in the indulgence of the palate, has a great effect in this way. High-ſeaſoned meats, and animal diet, both of them contribute to keep the nerves conſtantly agitated and in a ſtate of ſtimulation; which, by rendering the feelings in a good meaſure callous, obliterate the finer ſenſations. The effects of animal food in this way (which is the baſis of luxurious indulgence) have been before remarked; and the greater quantity in which it is liable to be taken, from the incitements to appetite with which it is combined by * luxury, adds greatly to its noxious influence in every reſpect.

The bad conſequences of luxury to taſte and learning were notoriouſly exemplified in the Roman ſtate. As that people advanced

* Athenæus remarks the bad effects of luxurious living upon the mind and underſtanding, in all the ways here alluded to.—Athenæi Caſaubon. p. 157.

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in refinement and corruption, ſcience and taſte declined. Inſtead of the elegant ſimplicity of the earlier periods, a love of profuſe and glaring ornament was introduced, both with reſpect to their buildings and literary compoſition. This ſeems to have firſt taken place in the latter of theſe. The dialogues on oratory, aſcribed to Tacitus, mention, that the oratorical ſtyle, then in eſteem, was required to * be poliſhed, ſhort, and ornamented, and alſo replete with novelty. Argument and reaſon were held but in ſlight eſteem, and indeed with cauſe; as the ſame author tells us, that the diſputes were decided according to the caprice of power, without regard to juſtice or law. Even † Cicero himſelf was thought too rude, tedious, and prolix, and to want ornament and poliſh to fit him for the taſte that then prevailed. A ſimilar diſpoſition was in vogue with regard to hiſtorical and poetical compoſition.

The nervous, conciſe, and elegant, though ſimple diction, ſo conſpicuous in Salluſt, Cæſar, and Tacitus, was abandoned for the redundant and affected ſtyle of Ammianus Marcellinus; who, in moſt other reſpects, was, however, well calculated for an hiſtorian. The like may be obſerved in poetry with regard to Clau-

* Novis et exquiſitis eloquentiæ itineribus opus eſt, per quæ orator faſtidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos judices qui vi aut poteſtate, non jure et legibus cognoſcunt, et nec accipiunt tempora, ſed conſtituunt: nec exſpectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipſo negotio dicere, ſed ſæpe ultrò admonent, atque alio tranſgredientem revocant et feſtinare ſe teſtantur.—Orator. cap. xix.

Præcurrit hoc tempore judex dicentem, et niſi aut curſu argumentorum, aut colore ſententiarum, aut nitore et cultu deſcriptionum invitatus et corruptus eſt, averſatur dicentem.

Exigitur enim jam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Attii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, ſed ex Horatii, et Virgilii et Lucani ſacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et judiciis obtemperans, noſtrorum oratorum ætas pulchrior et ornatior exſtitit.—Ibid. cap. xx.

† Lentus eſt in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otioſus circa exceſſus, tarde commovetur, rarò incaleſcit, pauci ſenſus optime et eum quodam lumine terminantur, nihil excerpere, nihil referre poſſis, et velut in ædificio firmus ſane paries et duraturus, ſed non ſatis expolitus et ſplendidus.—Ibidem cap. xxii.

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dian, whoſe poetical merit was greatly obſcured by his affectation, and fondneſs for ſplendid expreſſion and ſentiment. The ſame holds equally of buildings and architecture, The Compoſite order of pillars came into uſe about this time, in which the proportions and ornaments of the other orders were combined, in order to unite as much variety and ornament as poſſible.

It may, perhaps, be made a matter of enquiry, why ſo many great writers, ſuch as Tacitus, Seneca, Lucan, and others, ſhould have appeared after the deſtruction of the Roman manners and liberty. But it ſhould be conſidered, that even although the bulk of the people were immerſed in luxury and vice, the education of the principal perſons in the ſtate continued for a long time the ſame with what it had been in the ages of liberty. Thraſea and Helvidius, Tacitus and Pliny, were brought up in the ſame manner as Cato and Cicero had been formerly. This circumſtance contributed to uphold the taſte, as well as the form of the ſtate, after the bulk of its members had been immerſed in the deepeſt corruption both of genius and manners.

The taſte of the French people in the age of Louis XIV. in which luxury had attained its higheſt pitch, reſembled much that of the Romans at the periods to which we here refer, being glaring, flaſhy, replete with tinſel ornament, and perpetually changing.

The ſame trifling taſte that luxury introduced into works of literature is alſo conſpicuous in the arts. Uſeful diſcoveries are neglected, but frivolous conveniences are multiplied to a great degree. Inſtruments are invented to ſerve the purpoſes of luxury or indolence, even with regard to the moſt common actions of life. Theſe are now increaſed, in our own country, in ſuch a manner as to form a fair ſubject of ridicule, were they not at the ſame time ſymptoms of the increaſe of luxury: a truly ſerious conſideration. We might at firſt imagine, that the admiration of theſe trifles was no more than the indication of a puerile and trifling genius; but I am inclined to think, that the encouragement of ſuch fol-

lies is of further bad conſequence. It not only waſtes the time and invention of the ingenious, but is alſo itſelf a great encouragement of corruption, by furniſhing the materials and implements of luxury. Salluſt * remarks, with great judgment, that the mind employed upon bad arts is ready for the reception of vices; and Mr. Pope † has, with great judgment, placed ſuch uſeleſs and trifling contrivances among thoſe which contribute to the decline both of manners and taſte.

SECT. IV. *On the effects of luxury upon the laws and cuſtoms.*

Luxury, as it increaſes the ſenſibility with reſpect to the paſſions, conduces, I think, to render the laws cruel and unfeeling, and the puniſhments diſproportioned to the offence. Thus the law of Eubulus ‡, at Athens, inflicted the penalty of death on any who ſhould propoſe to apply the money deſtined for the ſupport of the theatres to the public ſervice. It is alſo probable, that many of the cruel puniſhments and tortures in uſe in the civil law, were partly ſuggeſted by luxury, as they were moſtly conſtituted in the later periods, from which the civil law of Juſtinian was principally compiled. Perhaps luxury may have had ſome influence in rendering the laws of England more ſevere. Some of thoſe which are the moſt objectionable in point of rigour, ſeem to have ſome reference to this cauſe. Thus it is capital to deſtroy fruit-trees in a garden, or even a cherry-tree in an orchard, or to break down the mound of a fiſh-pond, whereby any fiſh, of whatever value, may eſcape. To theſe might, perhaps, be added ſeveral of

* Animus imbutus malis artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat.—Salluſt. Bell. Catil.

† Eſſay on Man, Ep. ii. l. 43. &c.

‡ In Plut. Quæſt. Platon. p. 1011.

the modern game-laws, which inflict a ſevere penalty on the doing, what ſeems to be, in many inſtances, a natural right, and this for the ſake only of adminiſtering, by an act of tyranny, to the riotous pleaſure of a few individuals.

The increaſe of luxury alſo cauſes the laws to be more bulky and voluminous.—It was a ſhrewd reply of the Spartan, who being aſked, Why Lycurgus had made ſo few laws for the Lacedæmonians, anſwered, that, "To men of few words few laws were ſufficient." The ſame is, however, much more applicable in the preſent inſtance. Where men are moderate in their deſires, few laws are neceſſary; but where the * former are both numerous and exorbitant, it requires the latter to be many in number, in order to guard againſt all the incroachments of vice and corruption, and to maintain even the forms of ſociety. The Roman laws afford notable inſtances for the illuſtration of this principle. The original laws in that ſtate, or at leaſt the firſt regular digeſt of them, were ſo few as to be contained in twelve tables, and thoſe ſo ſhort, that the very † children were accuſtomed to learn them by heart. But theſe, in the latter empire, were increaſed to ſuch a degree as to fill 2,000 volumes; a bulk ſcarcely poſſible to be peruſed in the ſpace of human life. Theſe, indeed, were abridged and arranged, in the ſucceeding codes and digeſts; but the gloſſes and comments that followed were ſcarcely leſs numerous.

The bad taſte in writing, likewiſe introduced by luxury, had an ill effect upon the laws. Mr. Monteſquieu ‡ remarks, that the ſtyle of the laws of the lower empire is tumid, florid, and oſtentatious. The decrees of princes were made to reſemble the compoſitions of rhetoricians. This is very ‖ properly remarked to have

* It is a remark of Plato, quoted by Strabo, that where there are many laws, the people are of a contentious, quarrelſome diſpoſition, and depraved in their manners. —Strabon. l. vi.

† Ut carmen neceſſarium.—Ciceron. de Leg. l. ii.

‡ Spirit of Laws, b. xxix. ch. 16.

‖ Principles of Penal Law.

been a great cauſe of their ſeverity. "Poetical licence in the compoſition of laws leads to ſanguinary conſequences."

Luxury likewiſe, by the inconſtancy and caprice it induces, is apt to make the laws mutable, frivolous, and ridiculous. The laws of Athens were perpetually changing; the ſame was the caſe with thoſe of the Roman empire, eſpecially in latter times, when regulated only by the levity or caprice of the prince. Some of theſe abſurd laws ſeem to have had a more particular reference to luxury. Athenæus ſays, that it was death by the laws of Perſia for any one, the king or his eldeſt ſon excepted, to drink the water of a certain ſtream. The Sybarites had a law, that whoſoever diſcovered a new diſh or delicacy, ſhould have the excluſive * privilege of taſting it for a year afterwards. The ſame people baniſhed by law † all noiſy trades, however uſeful to ſociety, from their city, and even cocks, who by their crowing diſturbed their luxurious repoſe.

Luxury alſo appears to have ſome influence upon cuſtoms. The uneaſineſs and irreſolution, natural to people in this condition of life, inſpire a deſire of change, from the hope of attaining ſome new pleaſure from variety. Cuſtoms therefore, among a people of this deſcription, are not likely to be ſtable and permanent. The rapid mutability of faſhions, which has been remarkable in all ages among luxurious communities, and which is itſelf a ſpecies of luxury, is an inſtance. This inſtability, however, is moſtly obſervable in moderate climates, where the indulgence of the paſſions is combined with ſome degree of activity; ſince, where the heat is exceſſive, indolence prevails to ſuch a degree as to render changes of manners or cuſtoms very uncommon.

One cuſtom or practice, that has been pretty generally obſerved to be produced by luxury, is that which is generally called keeping bad hours, or the ſetting-up great part or the whole of the

* Athenæi, l. xii. p. 121.

† Ibidem. p. 118.

night,

night, and uſing the day-time for the ſeaſon of repoſe. Athenæus ‡ mentions ſome of the Greek proficients in luxury, who made it their boaſt never to have ſeen the ſun riſe or ſet, as the night was the only time when they were not at reſt. Similar exactly was the caſe at Rome, where the ſame idle boaſt was the glory of the profligates, towards the cloſe || of the republic. Feſtus likewiſe mentions, that, as luxury § advanced, the time of meals became later, the ancient time of ſupper being then the time of dinner; a circumſtance which is, at preſent, verified in the cuſtoms of our own country, and is no ſmall indication of the increaſe of luxury and corruption.

SECT. V. *On the effects of luxury upon the form of government.*

The diſpoſition and temper have been noticed by ſome of the moſt accurate obſervers of human nature, as having a great influence in producing a form of government ſuitable to them. Thus Hippocrates remarks, that the indolent and cowardly diſpoſition of the Aſiatics naturally led to deſpotiſm, and the activity and valour of the Europeans to a free government. A ſimilar influence may, with equal truth, be aſcribed to the moral character. The experience of all ages has demonſtrated, that various forms of government are adapted to various forms and degrees of public virtue.

Of thoſe qualities that deviate from virtue, none perhaps have had greater influence in this way than luxury; an evil, it muſt be confeſſed, which it is eaſier to condemn * than to avoid.

‡ Athenæi, lib. vi. p. 273.

|| At noſmet ipſos ducimus fortunatos quod nec orientem ſolem videmus nec occidentem.—Columell. de Re Ruſt. lib. i.

§ Cæna apud antiquos dicebatur quod nunc eſt prandium.—Feſti. lib. iii.

Scenſas Sabini cœnas vocabant quæ autem nunc prandia ſunt.—Feſt. lib. 17.

* ——accuſare aliquanto facilius eſt, quam vitare.—Valer. Maxim. lib. ix. c. 1.

I ſhall

I ſhall now offer ſome remarks on the influence of this quality upon the different kinds of government.

A republican government of the democratical kind is utterly averſe to luxury in all its branches and degrees. The love of equality is the principle, and indeed the very conſtitution of ſuch a government. The laws incident thereto provide for an equality in point of rank and authority, and have for their object to render * fortunes equal in like manner. In a ſtate therefore thus appointed, luxury can have no place, as that is ſolely founded on inequality of fortune; which enables thoſe who poſſeſs a larger ſhare to enjoy the conveniences procured by the labour of others.

The love of frugality is another principle of this government. The equality of the people requires that they ſhould all partake alike of the ſame advantages, and conſequently taſte the ſame pleaſures and the ſame hopes; which can only be done by a general frugality.

This quality limits the deſire of acquiring, to what is neceſſary for a man's ſelf or his family. What is ſuperfluous, is devoted to the ſtate. Thus the generals and commanders, in the early ages of Rome, when they returned from an expedition—not loaded, like the moderns, with the plunder of their country, but with the ſpoils of an enemy—applied the treaſure thus acquired to the public ſervice, and were content with their own private fortune. Cincinnatus returned to the plough after he had reſigned the dictatorſhip; Fabricius returned, in like manner, from the Conſulate; and Manius Curius, who could contemn

"Riches, though offered from the hand of † kings,"

deemed that a ſufficient portion of land that was competent to provide for his ſupport.

The abolition of money had the ſame effect at Sparta, joined

* See the laws of Solon, Lycurgus, Romulus, and Plato de Legibus.

† Milton's Paradiſe Regained, b. ii. l. 449.

with

with the equal diviſion of landed property. Frugality was there unavoidable, and equality followed of courſe, where money was unknown: luxury, therefore, could have no place in ſuch a ſtate, as being altogether oppoſite to its principles and conſtitution.

It is not, indeed, to be denied, that luxury has found its way into republican governments, and particularly the two laſt mentioned. But it ſhould be obſerved, that this has been always attended with the ſubverſion of the principles and conſtitution of the ſtate. The Spartan government declined, from the introduction of money, in the time of Agis; which brought with it all the evils attendant on luxury: and the vaſt ſums acquired by private perſons, in the later times of the Roman republic, and the corruption neceſſarily attendant, laid the baſis of that ſubordination and dependence, which afterwards took place among them.

Nothing, in ſhort, can be imagined more adverſe to the genius of a republic than luxury. The greateſt virtue, in ſuch a conſtitution, is a ſupereminent regard for the welfare of the ſtate, and a preference of that to any private gratification. But public ſpirit is, as has been before remarked, inconſiſtent with luxury; which is a paſſion ſelfiſh in the extreme, and, when indulged, ſwallows up all the others. The Athenians, a little before their ſubjection to the Macedonian yoke, afford a notable inſtance of this effect of luxury. At that important criſis, the honourable diſtinctions with them were, a habit of gaming, and of giving coſtly feaſts and entertainments *. The ſordid gratification of the palate became the ſtudy, and exerciſed the invention of the inhabitants; whilſt the ſchools of philoſophy, and of the ancient ſages, that inſpired the genius of Sophocles and Plato, were in vain open for inſtruction, and indeed—as ſimilar inſtitutions are at preſent in our own country, which does but too much reſemble the ſtate of Athens in theſe particulars—held in contempt, as fitted

* Athenæi, lib. xiv. p. 614.

only

only for the formal and recluſe, and beneath the notice of the man of buſineſs, deſtined to the exalted and active ſpheres of life. One inſtance of their depravity, about this period, is particularly noted by Athenæus *, which was, that they conferred the freedom of their city—the higheſt mark of reſpect ſhewn to kings and potentates—upon two men, whoſe only merit was, that their father had been eminent in the art of cookery.

Luxury, however, though contrary to the ſpirit of republican government altogether, is not alike injurious to all. Several circumſtances may concur, which render it more or leſs hurtful to one than another. Thus I am apt to believe that luxury is more prejudicial to a ſtate of ſmall, than to one of large extent, as there is reaſon to apprehend, that the body of the people would be ſooner corrupted by it.

This is probably the reaſon why the Swiſs cantons—which, though ariſtocratical in form, are of ſo enlarged a kind, as to approach in their nature and principles to democracies—have enacted ſuch ſtrict ſumptuary laws, and are ſo anxious to enforce them. This was probably one of the reaſons why luxury did not deſtroy Rome ſo quickly as it did Athens. In the former, the ill effects of luxury, in the capital, were counteracted, or at leaſt retarded, by ſome remains of virtue in the reſt of the ſtate; whereas at Athens, when the city became corrupt the ſtate was undone. Indeed, at Rome, when the contagion became general, it was more irretrievably ruined, as the body of corruption was ſo much larger.

The ſame rule holds, nearly, with reſpect to the political power or influence of any particular ſtate. By how much the leſs this is, the more caution is requiſite in attending to the manners of the people. Republican ſtates may be ruined two ways, either by foreign force or internal uſurpation. By ſo much weaker as any

* Athenæi, lib. iii. p. 119.

ſtate

ſtate is, it is ſo much more liable to the former of theſe events. Thus Athens fell under the Macedonian dominion, before any private citizen could acquire power or influence ſufficient to ſeize the government; whilſt Rome, being much more ſtrong and powerful, was liable only to fall from an internal cauſe. Hence ſmall and weak republics are ſubject to a greater number of dangers from luxury than large or potent ones, and of courſe, it is neceſſary for them to be more attentive in guarding againſt its progreſs. It is highly worthy the notice of the political obſerver, that the immediate effects of luxury and corruption upon republican governments, often nearly reſemble thoſe that accompany the increaſe or confirmation of liberty.

The ancient Cretan * government, in the time of Xenophon and Plato, was (as I have elſewhere obſerved) founded upon a model ſimilar to that of Sparta, which inclined rather to an ariſtocratical form. The people, during the time the old conſtitution laſted, were moderate and virtuous, and eſpecially remarkable for the attachment they bore to their country. In the time of Polybius †, their government had become purely democratical, and at that period the manners of the people were grown to the laſt degree vicious and corrupt. Exactly the ſame change took place in the Carthaginian republic, when on the eve of its ruin; which laſt is imputed by Polybius, in a great meaſure, to this alteration in the nature of the government.

A change of a ſimilar kind took place at Athens in the decline of her fortune. The court of Areopagus—an admirable expedient for tempering the precipitation, raſhneſs, and caprice of the democracy—was aboliſhed, and the people left without any check upon their proceedings; which ſoon became as irregular and inconſtant as violent and impetuous: and the conſequence was, that

* Ariſtotle, lib. ii. c. 10. De republic.—Strabon, lib. x.

† B. vi. extr. 3.

the beſt and ableſt men in the ſtate were rejected from public employments, and none put into office but the flattering demagogues, who were themſelves liable to be diſplaced on the moſt frivolous and abſurd occaſions. The ſame unſteadineſs prevented the allies of that people having any confidence in them, and encouraged their enemies, as their friendſhip or enmity were equally uncertain and wavering; and it was really by taking advantage of this verſatility of conduct, that Philip gained thoſe advantages that afterwards rendered him maſter of Greece.

The ſame artifice was employed at Rome, towards the cloſe of the republic. Marius, Pompey, and Cæſar all attained, in their turns, the ſupreme power, by affecting to enlarge the privileges of the people, and to depreſs the ariſtocratical part of the conſtitution.

Nor are the cauſes of this alteration in the nature of the government, which at firſt ſight appear ſo remote from the end in which it uſually terminates, difficult to be traced. People * as they become more corrupt, grow more impatient under the reſtraint of law. One great motive of obedience in a republic is virtue, and that ſpecies of it eſpecially called public ſpirit, which

* It is manifeſt, that the long continuance of proſperity muſt give birth to coſtly and luxurious manners, and that the minds of men will be heated with ambitious conteſts, and become too eager and aſpiring in the purſuit of dignities; and as theſe evils are continually increaſed, the deſire of power and rule, and the imagined ignominy of remaining in a ſubject ſtate, will firſt begin to work the ruin of the republic; arrogance and luxury will afterwards advance it; and, in the end, the change will be completed by the people, when the avarice of ſome is found to injure and oppreſs them, and the ambition of others ſwells their vanity, and poiſons them with flattering hopes. For then, being inflamed with rage, and following only the dictates of their paſſions, they no longer will ſubmit to any controul, or be contented with an equal ſhare in the adminiſtration, in conjunction with their rulers, but will draw to themſelves the intire ſovereignty and ſupreme direction of all affairs. When this is done, the government will aſſume, indeed, the faireſt of all names, that of a free and popular ſtate, but will, in truth, be the greateſt of all evils, the government of the multitude.—Hampton's Polybius, b. vi. extr. 3.

excites

excites people to obey the laws from the principles of juſtice and public utility. But in a corrupt ſociety theſe principles * are no farther conſidered than as they may ſerve as ſpecious pretences to cover ambition or luſt of power. Fear is with ſuch a people the ſole motive of reſtraint, and, as a republican form of government is not poſſeſſed of a power ſo coercive as ſome others, of conſequence a greater looſe is given to the irregularity and outrage of abandoned or unprincipled individuals. But ſuch a democracy, however it may aſſume the ſemblance of freedom, is in reality a corrupt anarchy only, or the ſtrife among a number of ambitious leaders, which of them ſhall firſt ſeize the liberty and property of his fellow-citizens. When a decided ſuperiority is obtained, the ſtate naturally falls into abject ſubmiſſion, for which it had been before prepared, by the irregular and outrageous, though weakening, paroxyſm of mutiny and revenge.

This change from a regular government, to that of the multitude, and from that to an abſolute dominion, is finely deſcribed by Polybius; whoſe almoſt prophetic genius expreſsly foretold what afterwards took place at Rome. "Thoſe who had acquired the greateſt wealth," ſays that eminent writer, "being eager likewiſe to poſſeſs the ſovereign rule, and not able to obtain it by their own ſtrength and virtue, endeavoured to draw the people to their ſide, ſcattering among them, with profuſion, all their riches, and employing every method of corruption, till by degrees they had taught them to fix their whole attention on the gifts wherewith they were ſuſtained, and rendered the people's avidity ſubſervient to the views of their own wild ambition. And thus the frame of the democracy was diſſolved, and gave place to the rule of violence and force. For, when once the people are accuſtomed to be fed without any coſt or labour, and to derive all their means of ſubſiſtence from the wealth of the other citizens, if at this time ſome

* See Spirit of Laws, b. viii. ch. 2. On the corruption of the principles of democracy.

bold and enterprifing leader ſhould ariſe, whoſe poverty has ſhut him out from all the honours of the ſtate, then commences the government of the multitude; who run together in tumultuous aſſemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence, aſſaſſinations, baniſhments, and diviſion of lands, till, being reduced at laſt to a ſtate of ſavage anarchy, they once more find a maſter and a monarch, and ſubmit themſelves to arbitrary * ſway."

Luxury is contrary to the ſpirit of an ariſtocratical government, I mean here an enlarged and good one, as well as it is to a democratical. The ſpirit of moderation is the proper virtue of an ariſtocracy; and this ſupplies the place, and indeed nearly reſembles the ſpirit, of equality in a popular ſtate: but this ſpirit of moderation is utterly inconſiſtent with luxury; whoſe eſſence, as it were, conſiſts in the rivalſhip for ſuperiority. Were luxury, therefore, to take place among the rich or governing party in an ariſtocratical ſtate, it would ſubvert that ſeeming equality which the conſtitution requires ſhould be preſerved between the nobles and the people, and that real equality which they ought to preſerve amongſt one another. Every one would be vying with his neighbour: intrigues would be formed: the people oppreſſed to ſupply their extravagance: the nobles themſelves would degenerate into a ſet of deſpotic tyrants: and a government thus conſtituted would, perhaps, be the moſt grievous and intolerable of any. The ſumptuary laws of Venice and Genoa are founded upon this principle †. Theſe are eſtabliſhed, not from a regard to the preſervation of the virtue of the people, but to prevent intrigue and innovation: which is evidenced in this inſtance, that thoſe who are too contemptible to merit regard, may be profuſe without danger—ſuch as the common courtezans—whilſt thoſe who contribute to their extravagance are obliged to paſs their lives in the moſt private man-

* Polyb. b. vi. extr. 1.

† Sp. of Laws, b. v. ch. 8.

ner;

ner. Luxury, therefore, in an ariſtocratical government, is only permitted to that rank of people who have leaſt ability to take advantage of ſuch a liberty.

Luxury is more adapted to the nature of a monarchy. As there are, in that form of government, various ranks and degrees of people, which are neceſſary to be preſerved and kept up by outward ſhew and appearance, this requires that the expences of each rank ſhould vary one from the other, and that luxury ſhould increaſe as the rank of the perſon riſes, from the peaſant to the prince upon the throne. But the luxury proper for a monarchy is ſuch as chiefly reſpects vanity and perſonal diſtinction; and which is connected with emulation, and ſomewhat of an active life. That kind of it which is connected with ſenſual gratification, which is always apt to produce meanneſs and cowardice, is equally injurious to a monarchy as to a republic. The principle of a monarchy is honour, and a ſenſe of perſonal dignity and elevation of mind, combined with a military ſpirit and deſire of diſtinction. But how are theſe qualities to be expected to be found amongſt a people whoſe ſole ſtudy is their private gratification; who compaſs * ſea and land to find materials for indulgence of their appetites; and who have rendered themſelves ſo effeminate, by their luxurious exceſſes, as to make even their ſex doubtful? Will theſe ſupport the military virtues; will theſe maintain the rank and glory of a monarchy, upon which its very exiſtence is founded? The inference is plain.

Is there then no form of government that is congenial to luxury, that vice that has ſpread ſo widely, and whoſe influence is daily increaſing? Deſpotiſm is of this kind, which is connected with luxury by the reciprocal obligation of produce and ſupport. Luxury is the parent of deſpotiſm, and deſpotiſm as naturally engenders luxury.

The eaſtern nations, into whoſe conſtitutions deſpotiſm is, as it

* Veſcendi cauſa terra marique omnia exquirere.—Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

were,

were, naturally interwoven, have in all ages been famous for their luxury and corruption. The ſacred writers † deſcribe them in this manner; and many denunciations of the vengeance of the Almighty againſt the Jews were delivered on account of their adopting the corruptions of theſe people.

Xenophon ‡ ſpeaks in particular terms of the corrupt manners, as well as of the luxury and effeminacy, of the Aſiatics; and a ſtriking picture of the profligate enjoyments of the Babylonians is given by || Quintus Curtius. Hippocrates * deſcribes the Aſiatics in general, as luxurious, timid, and effeminate; and this part of their character he points out as the principal cauſe of the deſpotic government that has uniformly prevailed among them. Aſia, indeed, appears to have been the great emporium, both of luxury and deſpotiſm, to the reſt of the world, from the earlieſt ages to the preſent time.

The introduction of the Perſian gold and luxuries into Greece, particularly into Athens and Sparta, debaſed their manners, and prepared the way for the Macedonian yoke. Salluſt, I have before obſerved, aſcribes the profuſe luxury, and conſequent corruption, of the Romans, to the contagion imported from that country; and Livy § derives it from the ſame origin, but dates it from an earlier

† Iſaiah iii. 16.—Ezekiel xvi.

‡ Cyropæd. l. viii.

|| Lib. v.

* De Aeribus, Aquis, et Locis, cap. xxxix.

§ Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Aſiatico invecta in urbem eſt. Ii primum lectos æratos, veſtem ſtragulam precioſam, plagulas, & alia textilia, & quæ tum magnificæ ſuppellectilis habebantur, monopodia & abacos, Romam advexerunt. Tum pſaltriæ ſambucis triæque, & convivialia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis: epulæ quoque ipſæ, & cura & ſumptu majore apparari cæptæ: tum coquus, viliſſimum antiquis mancipium, & æſtimatione & uſu, in pretio eſſe; & quod miniſterium fuerat ars haberi cæpta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum conſpiciebantur, ſemina erant futuræ luxuriæ.—Livii, lib. xxxix.

Livy is here ſpeaking of the luxuries brought from Aſia by the army of Scipio Aſiaticus, above an hundred years before Sylla led his army into that country.

period. How far the late vaſt importations of Aſiatic wealth from the Eaſt Indies—much of which, there is reaſon to believe, was acquired by means not very different from thoſe employed by the Romans—may conduce to alter the form of government in this country, is a ſerious conſideration.

This effect of luxury, in producing an abſolute government, was well underſtood by thoſe who meant to ſupport or erect a tyrannical dominion over others. Cyrus, in order to keep the Lydians in ſubjection, enacted, that they ſhould practiſe only mean and infamous profeſſions, and ſuch as were ſubſervient to luxury. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis tells us, that Ariſtodemus, the tyrant of Cumæ, "in order that no manly or generous ſpirit might ſpring up in the reſt of the citizens, reſolved to effeminate, by education, the whole race of the youth then bringing up in the city; and with that view he ſuppreſſed the ſchools, and the exerciſe of arms, and changed the manner of living before in uſe among the youth: for he ordered the boys to wear their hair long, like girls; to dye it yellow; to curl it, and to faſten theſe curls to cauls of network; to wear embroidered veſts, that reached down to their feet, and over theſe thin and ſoft mantles, and to paſs their lives in the ſhade; and when they went to the ſchools—where dancing, playing upon the flute, and ſuch kinds of muſical inſtruments, were taught—their governeſſes attended them with umbrellas and fans, waſhed them with their own hands when they bathed, and ſupplied them with combs, alabaſter pots of precious ointment, and looking-glaſſes. By this education he continued to enervate the minds of the youth, till they had paſſed ‡ their twentieth year." The ſame policy was adopted by Auguſtus Cæſar ‖. When it was propoſed to him by the ſenate to revive the ancient

‡ Spelman's Dionyſ. Halic. b. vii. ch. 9.

‖ Dion. Caſſ. lib. liv.——Pylades the comedian told Auguſtus, that it was very ſuitable to his intentions and plan of government, that the attention of the people ſhould be beſtowed on players and dancers.—Ibidem, Dion. Caſſ.

Roman

Roman diſcipline with regard to morals, he eluded their requeſts, being ſenſible that a corrupt and luxurious ſyſtem of manners was beſt ſuited to the government he wiſhed to introduce. Tiberius, for a ſimilar reaſon, diſcouraged the attempts of the Ædiles to reform the luxury * of the table: that wicked, but diſcerning, tyrant plainly diſcovered how ſuitable the corruption of manners was to the ſupport of tyranny.

The Romans, likewiſe, uſed the ſame means to ſtrengthen their dominion over thoſe whom they had conquered. Tacitus † tells us, that the implements and inticements of luxury were introduced by them among the Britons, in order, by corrupting their manners, to rivet the chains of ſlavery.

The means by which luxury and corruption produce this form of government hardly need to be explained. Freedom requires for its enjoyment, as well as its preſervation, an active, vigorous, and courageous mind; principles of equity and juſtice imprinted upon the heart; and, above all, a ſpirit of equality ‡ and frugality in the conduct: all which luxury tends to ſubvert and deſtroy. Liberty, without theſe requiſites, would probably be the moſt dreadful ſcourge that could be inflicted upon human nature. When every vice is increaſing, the coercive power that ſhould reſtrain them is diminiſhed, and the very ſecurities ‖ of freedom are ſure to be converted into an aſylum for the wicked, and the conſequent deſtruc-

* Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 52, 53, 54.

† Paulatimque diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatar, cum pars ſervitutis eſſet.—Taciti Agricol. cap. xxi.

‡ We muſt lay it down as a certain truth, that a corrupt ſtate, that had been ſubjected to the dominion of a prince, can never become free, though that prince and his whole race ſhould be extinguiſhed.——This corruption and inaptitude to live in freedom ariſes from an inequality in the ſtate.—Machiavel's Political Diſcourſes on the Firſt Decad of Livy, chap. xviii.

‖ The Porcian law at Rome was in a good meaſure the cauſe of the proſcriptions, by the protection it afforded.

tion

tion of the good. Deſpotiſm, in ſuch a caſe, though in the end it increaſes the evil, is, perhaps, the only remedy the vices of men will admit.

When the more generous and noble principles upon which men act, ſuch as virtue, moderation, and honour, are ſubverted, no motive of reſtraint but fear can remain. This is the principle of deſpotiſm; and its ſimplicity and uniformity are not ill ſuited to the timid and indolent character * inſpired by luxury.

The means by which deſpotiſm, in its turn, produces luxury and corruption, are equally plain.

Firſt, it is the intereſt of the prince that they ſhould prevail; and, in general, the example originates with him.

A man, whom his ſenſes every moment inform that he is every thing, and his ſubjects nothing, is of courſe lazy, voluptuous, and ignorant. He has no need to deliberate, to contrive, or to debate; he has only to will.

But, independently of the immediate influence or example of the prince, the very nature of the government itſelf tends in a high degree to produce this effect. Luxury is, indeed, almoſt the only employment left, in deſpotic ſtates, for thoſe whoſe rank is ſuperior to gaining a livelihood by labour. The jealouſy and ignorance attendant upon a deſpotic government, as well as its ſimplicity, prevent any application to public affairs; and mental employments are diſcouraged on the ſame account. What then is left to employ the time, but the indulgence of the paſſions and appetites? This abuſe, therefore, of ſervitude, as it is properly ſtyled by Mr. Monteſquieu †, is natural to this kind of government.

The danger, likewiſe, in which every individual daily lives, under a deſpotic adminiſtration, is a ſtrong perſuaſive to every one to make what advantage he can of the preſent moment.

* Epicurus taught, that the fear of puniſhment was the only motive that prevented the commiſſion of bad actions.—Plutarch's Morals.

† Sp. of Laws, b. vii. ch. 4.

It was ſaid of a Perſian nobleman, that he never went from the preſence of the prince without ſatisfying himſelf that his head was ſtill on his ſhoulders. A government that would juſtify the propriety of ſuch an examination, would naturally tend to render every man deſirous to enjoy the preſent inſtant, and to crowd into it as many pleaſures as poſſible, in order to make amends, by ſuch accumulation, for the ſhortneſs or uncertainty of their continuance: pleaſure, therefore, with them, is not, as with us, a matter of relaxation or amuſement, but conſtitutes the buſineſs and employment of life.

A people in the condition above deſcribed, enervated by luxury, and ſubdued by deſpotiſm, appear at firſt ſight to have no hopes of redreſs. The mutual ſupport which deſpotiſm and corruption of manners afford to one another, prevent any effectual reform of either. Commotions, indeed, and diſturbances, frequently take place; but theſe agitations are far from reſembling the exertions or ‡ emotions of a free people: they are either the agonies of nature under her ſufferings, or the corrupt conteſt of violence and rapacity, to decide which party ſhall firſt ſeize the power of tyrannizing over the lives and property of their fellow-creatures.

Yet even this ſituation of mankind, though highly deplorable, is not always entirely deſperate. Corruption and tyranny, when augmented to a certain degree, ſometimes accompliſh their own deſtruction; and the afflicted people, in ſuch a caſe, may have grounds to hope for relief, even from the exceſs of their ſufferings, and, as Milton expreſſes it, "take reſolution from deſpair."—Idleneſs, profligacy, and corruption of manners, with the other vices attendant upon luxury, naturally tend to impair the force of a ſtate, and diminiſh its political conſequence. The expence, likewiſe, with which luxury is neceſſarily accompanied, tends to impoveriſh the government, and thereby prevents that influence that is afforded by riches.

‡ Ferguſon's Hiſtory of Civil Society, part vi. ſect. 6.

Theſe circumſtances encourage ſome of the neighbouring countries to invade that whoſe ſituation is as above deſcribed; and in general the reſiſtance is but moderate. As the principles of virtue and honour are baniſhed from ſuch a ſociety, the people are ſeldom zealous in its defence. Fear, which is with them the principle of action, is always of a treacherous as well as ſlaviſh nature; and, where the impending danger does not threaten, is as likely to induce its votaries to fight againſt their country, as in its defence, eſpecially as they are not impelled by motives of intereſt—as there is no one who loves the prince or his government. A conqueſt over a people in ſuch a ſituation may prove the greateſt happineſs they can receive. If the means of acquiring the ſuperiority do not prove abſolutely deſtructive to the vanquiſhed, it may, by the introduction of new principles, manners, and laws, deſtroy the pernicious prejudices that had before prevailed, and, as Mr. Monteſquieu expreſſes it, lay the nation under a better genius.

This was the ſtate of the Roman empire, in a good meaſure, when invaded by the barbarians. The Romans, after conquering the world, ſoon began to corrupt it; and this corruption, as appears from the paſſage of Tacitus above quoted, was one of the political meaſures which they employed to hold thoſe whom they had ſubdued in ſubjection. To a people ſo degraded and debaſed, a change of government muſt, in a political light, be a piece * of good fortune, eſpecially as the greateſt part of theſe conquerors did

* I live more happily here (in Scythia) ſaid a Greek, than ever I did under the Roman government; for they who live with the Scythians, if they can endure the fatigues of war, have nothing elſe to moleſt them: they enjoy their poſſeſſions undiſturbed; whereas you are continually a prey to foreign enemies and a bad government; you are forbidden to carry arms in your own defence; you ſuffer from the remiſſneſs and ill conduct of thoſe who are appointed to protect you: the evils of peace are even worſe than thoſe of war; no puniſhment is ever inflicted on the powerful and rich; no mercy is ſhewn to the poor. Although your conſtitutions were wiſely deviſed, yet, in the management of corrupted men, their effects are pernicious.—Taken from the Excerpta de Legationibus.

not ſubſtitute one arbitrary † government in the room of another; but, wherever they came, made an entire change, and, in general, eſtabliſhed not only a free government, but ſtruck at the root of nearly all the laws, manners, and cuſtoms that had either been the cauſe, or were any wiſe connected with the corruptions which they removed.

The period, indeed, during which this change was accompliſhed, was, from the ferocity of the invading people, and the reſiſtance they met, highly bloody and calamitous: in a moral light, we muſt condemn the cruelty, whilſt we admire the fortitude, of theſe invaders; and in that of humanity, pity the condition of the ſufferers. But we muſt at the ſame time confeſs, that no remedy but one ſo harſh was ſufficiently powerful to eradicate ſo inveterate and deep-ſeated a malady; and revere, at the ſame time, the wiſdom and kindneſs, as well as juſtice, of Providence, that employed the ſame inſtrument for the reformation, as well as for the puniſhment, of mankind.

This, however, although the moſt uſual, is not the only method whereby a change of this kind may poſſibly be effected. A revolution is ſometimes produced, in ſtates highly corrupt, from an internal as well as an external cauſe: but the deſtruction of the political conſtitution is in this inſtance, as well as the former, neceſſarily a previous ſtep to its recovery. If it revive at all, it muſt ſpring anew from its own aſhes. The ſeeds ſown by deſpotiſm and corruption muſt, like thoſe mentioned in the goſpel, die before they can quicken; they muſt periſh by their own abuſe before they can ſpring up anew, or bear thoſe fruits which conſtitute the honour and felicity of human nature. This event deſpotiſm and corruption, when left to themſelves, and increaſed to a great de-

† In the North, ſays Mr. Monteſquieu, were formed thoſe valiant people who ſallied forth, and deſerted their countries, to deſtroy tyrants and ſlaves, and to teach men, that, nature having made them equal, reaſon could not render them dependent, except where it was neceſſary to their happineſs.—Sp. of Laws, b. xvii. ch. 5.

gree,

gree, ſometimes accompliſh. National poverty, and the ſuppreſſion of commerce—which are the neceſſary conſequences of the exceſs of deſpotiſm and corruption—are, as * Mr. Ferguſon obſerves, the inſtruments that concur to this great end. When the tyrant has neither riches to allure, nor the ſubject property ſufficient to form a local attachment, the bond of deſpotiſm is looſed, and the ſlave is ſet at liberty. The diſtinctions of rank and eminence are no more. The tyrant, now diveſted of power, is regarded only as a fellow-creature, whoſe influence extends no farther than his perſonal character or abilities will raiſe him to diſtinction.

Theſe happy revolutions, however, do not always accompany the ſubverſion of tyranny. Where the rights of the people, thus rouſed into exertion, are attended with the favourable concurrence of climate, and other circumſtances not naturally productive of deſpotiſm, liberty may be the conſequence; but in general, throughout the Eaſt, the ſubverſion of one deſpotiſm has been only the prelude to the erection of another. The abuſes have, indeed, received a partial and temporary redreſs; but the power to repeat them, which is the root of the evil, has remained untouched. In ſome inſtances, however, where local circumſtances have given encouragement, the vexations of tyranny have overcome the deſire of ſettlement. The mountains of Scythia and Armenia, and the deſerts adjacent to the Caſpian and Euxine Seas, maintain a people, not indeed in a perfect ſtate of freedom, but whoſe livelihood conſiſts in the plunder of thoſe who are reduced to greater ſlavery than themſelves, and often in the depredations they commit on their former maſters.

SECT. VI. *Effects of luxury upon religion.*

It is not to be queſtioned, that every ſpecies of vice muſt be injurious to religion in general; and, as luxury bears this ſtamp, it

* Hiſtory of Civil Society, p. vi. ſect. 6.

cannot

cannot but be accounted prejudicial thereto. But different kinds of vice affect the intereſts of religion in a different manner; and the peculiar effects of this ſpecies are here the object of inquiry. A high degree of luxury and diſſipation appears to me nearly connected with irreligion and contempt of the Gods. * Athenæus mentions, that the Cretans, when they abandoned their frugal and temperate way of living, and gave themſelves up to luxury and exceſs, became profane, ſacrilegious, and diſpoſed to deſpiſe the objects of religion. Epicurus himſelf, the great patron of ſenſual enjoyment, is thought by Cicero ſcarcely to have believed the exiſtence of a Deity, and only to have admitted divinities into his ſyſtem of philoſophy, from fear of † offending the Athenians. Epictetus complains, that Epicurus had inſpired the youth with a contempt of the Gods; and Dionyſius ‡ Halicarnaſſenſis, and Minutius || Felix, looked upon the tenets of this ſect of philoſophers as atheiſtical.

Similar doctrines have been maintained in the preſent age, by ſeveral writers, whoſe ſyſtems of morality were nearly conſonant to that of Epicurus.

The numbers, however, even among the votaries of pleaſure, of thoſe who have abſolutely denied the exiſtence of a Deity, are not very conſiderable; but their ſyſtem is ſcarcely leſs corrupt on that account, as they aſcribe to him ſuch unworthy attributes. Lucretius §, after his maſter Epicurus, deſcribes the Almighty as devoid of

* Athenæi, l. xii. p. 523.

† Quamquam video nonnullis videri Epicurum, ne in offenſionem Athenienſium caderet, verbis reliquiſſe Deos, re ſuſtuliſſe.—De Natur. Deorum, l. i. § 116.

‡ B. ii. ch. 67.

|| Octav. c. xix.

§ Omnis enim per ſe Divum natura neceſſ' eſt
Immortali ævo ſumma cum pace fruatur,
Semota ab noſtris rebus, ſejunctaque longe;
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis,

Ipſa

of all concern for human affairs, as regardleſs of the merit of good actions, and not liable to be diſpleaſed by evil. This opinion is by Plato † juſtly accounted equally diſhonourable to the gods with an abſolute denial of their exiſtence. Such notions were highly agreeable to the ideas of happineſs which the Epicureans had adopted, as conſiſting in eaſe and indolence; and of conſequence ſuch qualities were likely to be imputed by them to the Deity. In this inſtance, as well as the foregoing, Epicurus has been followed by ſeveral modern philoſophers.

The materiality of the Deity is likewiſe an attribute very natural to be aſcribed to him by the partizans of luxury. It was the opinion of Epicurus, whoſe intention was to debaſe and degrade the Divinity as much as poſſible, and has been revived in later times in our own country.

The doctrines and principles both of religion and morality, have been equally perverted by luxury and corruption. I do not here pretend to recite all the inſtances wherein this has taken place, but ſhall mention ſome examples.

One of theſe, which has been adopted in later times, was, that there is * nothing good or evil but what is prohibited or recommended by poſitive laws; and, that the fear of puniſhment was the only reſtraining motive upon the human mind. Both theſe were the tenets of Epicurus *, and have, ſince his time, been adopted by his followers. The abſurdity of the former of theſe

> Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri;
> Nec bene promeritis capitur nec tangitur irâ.
> Lucretii, lib. i. l. 57, & deinceps.

A ſimilar idea of the nature of the gods is aſcribed to the Epicureans by Cicero.

Epicurus monogrammos Deos & nihil agentes commentus eſt.—De Natur. Deor. lib. ii. § 85.

† De Legibus, lib. x.

* Plutarch's Morals. Againſt Colotes the Epicurean.

doctrines

doctrines has been finely touched by † Mr. Monteſquieu; and its impiety, and evil conſequences to morality, were noted in early periods. Another doctrine of the moſt pernicious conſequence to morality and religion, and which is immediately ſuggeſted by luxury, is, that pleaſure, and that of the corporeal kind, is the ſupreme good; and that the goodneſs of every thing elſe is meaſured by this ſtandard. This was the opinion of Epicurus ‡ formerly; and, on this account, amongſt others, he was juſtly reproached with corrupting both morals and religion.

It is highly probable that St. Paul alluded to the tenets of this ſect of philoſophers, when he recites ‖ and ſo forcibly cenſures the maxim ſo much in vogue among them, to indulge the preſent moment, and ſpend it in ſenſual pleaſure; particularly that of eating, to which the Epicureans § were eſpecially addicted. The bad effects of theſe and the other tenets of the Epicureans, upon morality and religion in general, are very forcibly pointed out and expoſed by ſeveral of the ancient writers. Polybius * tells us, that the diſbelief of a future ſtate, which was one of the notions propagated by them, had corrupted the Greeks to ſuch a degree, that no ſecurity could enſure any confidence in their honeſty.

† Sp. of Laws, book i. ch. 1.

‡ Hoc Epicurus in voluptate ponit; quod ſummum bonum eſſe vult ſummumque malum dolorem.—Ciceron. de finib. bon. & mali, lib. i. § 45.

Philoſophos Epicureos omnes res quæ ſunt homini expetendæ voluptate metiri. —Cicer. in Piſonem, § 54.—Vide etiam Athenæi, p. 103, 546.—Epictet. book i. ch. 20. § 1.

‖ Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners.—1 Corinthians, ch. xv.

Epictetus uſes nearly the ſame expreſſions, when ſpeaking of the Epicureans. "If theſe things be ſo, lie down and ſleep, and lead the life of which you think yourſelf worthy, that of a mere reptile. Eat and drink, and ſatisfy your paſſion for women, and eaſe yourſelf, and ſnore."—Epictetus, book ii. ch. 20.

§ Athenæi, lib. iii. p. 101.

* Polyb. book vi. extr. 3. ch. 2.

Epictetus cenſures the ſame ſect † for having taught the youth to contemn the gods, to deſpiſe juſtice, to have no ſenſe of ſhame, and to ‡ diſregard the filial and paternal obligations, and thoſe which unite men to one another. || Theft was with them no otherwiſe an object of diſapprobation, than from its being liable to diſcovery. In ſhort, theſe principles, as they encourage all ſorts of crimes, are juſtly pronounced by Epictetus to be equally deſtructive to public and private virtue.

The ancient Romans were particularly ſenſible of the evil conſequences of thoſe doctrines of the Epicureans that reſpected religion. Fabritius wiſhed Pyrrhus and the Samnites to hold the notions of this ſect concerning the gods, as long as they were at war with the Romans. Their ideas concerning the nature of the Deity, and the utility of religion to the well-being and proſperity of the ſtate, were directly oppoſite to thoſe embraced by theſe philoſophers. "Dionyſius * Halicarnaſſenſis attributes moſt of the misfortunes that befel the republic, to the impiety or contempt of the gods that prevailed at that time; and expreſsly mentions, that the virtue upon which the Romans chiefly valued themſelves, which was the rigid obſervance of public faith, was in a great meaſure owing to the religious ceremonies inſtituted by * Numa, which, the ſame author obſerves, could not fail in time to communicate the ſame fidelity to the behaviour of private men." Theſe ſentiments tended much to inſpire that people with an abhorrence of that ſect of philoſophy that gave mean ideas of the deities, and repreſented them as unconcerned about the affairs of men.

Dionyſius §, on that account, will not allow the Epicureans the name of philoſophers; and mentions them with the greateſt

† Epictet. book ii. ch. 20. § 4.
‡ Ibid. book iii. ch. 7. § 1.
|| Ibid. book iii. ch. 7. § 2.
* Dionyſ. Halic. book ii. ch. 75.—Livii paſſim.—Valer. Maxim. ad init.
§ Book ii. ch. 67.

contempt and indignation. The propagation of this ſect, at Rome, which took place towards the cloſe of the republic, is remarked by Mr. Monteſquieu ‡ to have been one great cauſe of its decline, by tending to eradicate thoſe impreſſions of religion which the wiſdom of their founders had imprinted; and which, while they ſubſiſted, had been the beſt ſecurity for the rectitude of their actions and conduct. In confirmation of this opinion, we may quote the authority of Machiavel, who was himſelf no bigot to religion.

"It is neceſſary," * ſays that writer, "for the rulers of all ſtates, whether kingdoms or commonwealths, who would preſerve their governments firm and intire, to take care, above all things, that religion is held in the higheſt veneration, and its ceremonies, at all times, uncorrupted and inviolable; for there is no ſurer proſpect of impending ruin in any ſtate, than to ſee divine † worſhip neglected or deſpiſed;" and adds, "that the introduction of religion by Numa, was one of the chief cauſes that contributed towards the Roman grandeur and felicity." Luxury and corruption have produced almoſt exactly the ſame effects in modern as in ancient times, upon the principles of religion. Epicurus is nearly as faſhionable a guide, both in theory and practice, in our country as in Greece, among the votaries of luxury; and Lucretius furniſhes both arguments and faith, or rather the want of it, with equal ſucceſs in England and France, as formerly in Greece and Italy.

How far the diſregard that is at preſent paid to the externals of religion in our own country, may juſtify the obſervation of Machiavel before quoted, time will determine.

The immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments after the preſent life, is a doctrine which, however

‡ Grandeur and Declenſion of the Roman Empire, ch. x.

* Polit. Diſcourſes on the firſt Decad of Livy, book i. ch. 11.

† Epicurus paid no reſpect to the gods, by offering ſacrifices, &c.—Athenæi, lib. iv. p. 179.

general among mankind, collectively conſidered, has been, I believe, always attempted to be diſcredited by the partizans of luxury and corruption.

The diſciples of * Epicurus formerly affected to ridicule all the notions that reſpected a future life, though I think it is doubtful if even they could entirely eradicate the apprehenſion of it from their minds. Lucretius, even when he affects to ridicule, and profeſſes to extirpate it, ſeems to confeſs, that the conſciouſneſs of it is † natural to mankind, and apt to recur at thoſe times when the chaſtiſement

* Et metus ille foras præceps Acheruntis agendus
Funditus, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo.
Lucretii, lib. iii. l. 37, 38.

Claudicat Ingenium, delirat Linguaque, Menſque,
Omnia deficiunt, atque uno tempore deſunt.
Ergo diſſolvi quoque convenit omnem Animai
Naturam, ceu fumus in altas aeris auras:
Quandoquidem gigni pariter, pariterque videmus
Creſcere, & (ut docui) ſimul ævo feſſa fatiſcit.
Ibidem, l. 254, &c.

† Nam quod ſæpe homines morbos magis eſſe timendos,
Infamemque ferunt Vitam, quam Tartara lethi,
Et ſe ſcire Animi naturam ſanguinis eſſe,
Nec prorſum quicquam noſtræ rationis egere:
Hinc licet advertas animum, magis omnia laudis
Aut etiam Venti, ſi fert ita forte voluntas,
Jactari cauſa, quam quod res ipſa probetur:
Extorres iidem patria, longeque fugati
Conſpectu ex hominum, fædati crimine turpi,
Omnibus ærumnis affecti denique vivunt:
Et quocunque tamen miſeri venere, parentant,
Et nigras mactant pecudes, & Manibus divis
Inferias mittunt: multoque in rebus acerbis
Acrius advertunt animos ad Religionem.

chaſtiſement of adverſity had abated the pride and intoxication of proſperity, and reſtored men to themſelves: a ſtrong preſumption, had it been rightly conſidered, that the reflections that occurred at thoſe cool moments were founded in truth and nature. Modern infidelity has, in this inſtance, as well as many others, followed the ſteps of the ancient Epicureans; and the extinction of the ſoul after death is now as much received as a tenet, among the advocates for infidelity in the preſent age †, as ever it was by Metrodorus or Lucretius.

Religious perſecution, we might perhaps imagine, would be but little practiſed by a ſet of men who make ſo ſlight of any tenets or doctrines, and who endeavour to ſupplant its obligations and deſtroy thoſe ties by which the influence of religion is preſerved among mankind. But I believe it does not appear from experience, that thoſe who moſt affected to deſpiſe religion, have been the moſt tolerant in their principles. Epicurus himſelf, as

> Quò magis in dubiis hominem ſpectare periclis
> Convenit, adverſiſque in rebus noſcere qui ſit.
> Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
> Ejiciuntur, & eripitur perſona, manet res.
>
> Lucretii, lib. iii. l. 41. & deinceps.

† If it were neceſſary to ſtain our paper with quotations of this tendency, from modern authors, numerous inſtances might be adduced. But as a ſpecimen of the general opinion, one paſſage may be ſufficient, which is ſelected from an elegiac poem ſuppoſed to be written by an author of the higheſt rank, and publiſhed in a book of French verſes, intitled, Oeuvres de Philoſophe de Saint Souci.—The general tendency of the elegy is to diſcredit the notion of the immortality of the ſoul.

> De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le paſſé,
> Comme avant que je fuſſe il n'avoit point penſé,
> De meme apres ma mort, quand toutes mes parties
> Par la corruption ſeront aneanties,
> Par un meme deſtin il ne penſera plus,
> Non rien n'eſt plus certain; ſoyons en convaincu.

we

we are told by Cicero *, did not ſcruple to abuſe and vilify thoſe who differed with him in philoſophical opinions, even of ſmall moment; and Ariſtophanes, who profeſſedly ſcoffed at all religion †, was the moſt forward publicly to traduce Socrates for blaſpheming the gods of his country. The city of Athens, at the time of the trial of Socrates, was at the higheſt pitch of moral corruption, and publicly countenanced Ariſtophanes, whoſe character I have juſt before deſcribed. Yet this people did not heſitate to condemn Socrates to death on account of his religious opinions.

The Roman hiſtory affords ſimilar examples. It by no means appears that Nero, Domitian, or Maximin, were perſecutors of the Chriſtians, from any zeal or attachment they bore towards their own religion. They were more probably actuated by their own innate diſpoſition to cruelty, by their deſpotic pride and indignation at the preſumption of any to hold tenets that were not authoriſed by them, or to acknowledge any power or authority that was not derived from that ſource. It is alſo not improbable, that the very virtues of the perſecuted have been a motive for additional cruelty, on account of the tacit reproach which the contraſt between their reſpective conduct threw upon their enemies; and, like the Athenians with regard to ‡ Socrates, they choſe to deſtroy that virtue which they were not inclined to imitate.

Thoſe

* Epicurus Ariſtotelem vexarit contumelioſiſſimè; Phædoni Socratico turpiſſimè maledixerit, Metrodori ſodalis ſui fratrem Timocratem, quia neſcio quid in philoſophiâ diſſentiret, totis voluminibus conciderit, in Democritum ipſum, quem ſecutus eſt, fuerit ingratus. Nauſiphanem magiſtrum ſuum a quo nihil didicerat tam malè acceperit.—Cicer. de Natur. Deorum, lib. i. § 128, 129.

The ſame character of the ſect is given by Plutarch in his Morals, in his tract againſt Colotes the Epicurean, and by Athenæus, lib. iii. p. 103.

† Ariſtophanes procured all the foreign deities to be baniſhed from Athens.—Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. § 60.

‡ If you put me to death, ſaid Socrates to the Athenians, a more heavy puniſhment ſhall fall upon you, immediately after my deceaſe, than what you now inflict upon

Thoſe emperors, whoſe regard, even for the religion they profeſſed, appears to have been the moſt ſincere, and whoſe moral character was the moſt worthy of imitation, appear to have been the leaſt inclined to perſecution. Trajan ſeems to have been averſe to the † ſeverities that in his time were inflicted upon the Chriſtians. Hadrian * appears to have ſtill more diſcountenanced theſe rigorous proceedings. Antoninus ‖ Pius was well inclined to the Chriſtians; and Marcus ‡ Aurelius publiſhed an edict in their favour, which is ſtill extant. Thoſe emperors who had leaſt reaſon to believe that their moral character would ſuffer by the compariſon, were leaſt jealous of the followers of this religion.

upon me. You do this, imagining to free yourſelves from giving an account of your lives; but I tell you beforehand, in this you will be miſtaken. If you think that deſtroying ſuch perſons is an effectual way to free yourſelves from the cenſure that follows an ill-ſpent life, you make a very wrong judgment; for this method is impracticable, as well as diſhoneſt: but another, which is moſt laudable, as well as eaſy to be purſued, lies open to you; and that is, not to make away with others who reproach you for your paſt conduct, but to amend your lives, and put it out of their power to give you this uneaſineſs.—Plato's Apology for Socrates.

Truth, virtue, and integrity of life, ſays Maximus Tyrius, in his vindication of Socrates for making no defence before his judges, require other judges, other laws, and other patrons, than he met with. The qualities above-mentioned have, in general, ſome reverence and reſpect paid to them. But as no regard was paid to them at Athens, at that time, of what ſervice would the pleading of them have been to Socrates? Had he been inclined to preſerve his life, he muſt have purſued another courſe. He muſt, in his defence, have been leſs ſolicitous to prove his own innocence, than to avoid offending his accuſers in particular, and the people in general, by condemning their vices. He muſt have laid aſide the character of a rigid and inflexible cenſor of manners, who paid no court to any by flattery, ſubmiſſion, or ſervile inſinuations, but who freely examined the manners, fortunes, way of life, diſpoſition, and vices of every man, in every capacity.—Maxim. Tyrius, Diſſert. xxxix.

† Plinii, Epiſtol. lib. x. ep. 98.

* Xiphilin. Epitome Dion. lib. lxx.

‖ Ibidem Xiphilini.

‡ Euſebii, lib. iv. cap. 13.

It is obſervable, even in modern times, that the favourers of irreligion and atheiſm are not leſs zealous in the propagation of their tenets, than the advocates of religion and morality. One would fancy, as Mr. Addiſon obſerves, very properly, that theſe men, though they fall ſhort in every other reſpect of thoſe who make a profeſſion of religion, would at leaſt outſhine them in this particular, and be exempt from that ſingle fault, which ſeems to grow out of the * imprudent fervors of religion. But ſo it is, that infidelity and immorality are propagated with as much fierceneſs and contention, wrath and indignation, as if the ſafety and happineſs of mankind depended upon it.

This inconſiſtency of conduct is a ſtrong preſumption that theſe people do not themſelves believe entirely the tenets they eſpouſe. A man who is ſuſpicious that the opinions he wiſhes to believe are ill-founded, is deſirous to gain numbers to his ſide, as they ſerve to ſtrengthen his voluntary deception. Every proſelyte is like a new argument for the eſtabliſhment of his faith. It makes him believe that his principles carry conviction with them, and are the more likely to be true, when he finds they are conformable to the reaſon of others, as well as to his own.

Such, among many others, are the effects of luxury and corruption upon mankind, with reſpect to the articles to which this chapter refers. If the reaſoning herein contained be juſt, they will be found injurious to human nature in every ſhape and capacity, and equally ſo to the intellectual as to the moral qualifications.

* Spectator, No. 185.

I HAVE

I HAVE thus finiſhed the intended work; which, with all due reſpect, I ſubmit to the candour of the public. I cannot, however, diſmiſs the reader, without requeſting one favour a ſecond time; which is, that the title of the book may be conſidered, before any definitive ſentence is paſſed upon it. I am fully ſenſible that it is defective in many reſpects, as well as very probably erroneous in others. But the former of theſe faults will be palliated by the conſideration, that I offer it to the world only under the appellation of Remarks, and by no means as a compleat body of reaſoning on the effects and influence of ſuch important agents. I have, indeed, endeavoured to arrange my thoughts ſomewhat in a methodical order, for the ſake of regularity and perſpicuity; but by no means wiſh to have it inferred from thence, that I mean to deliver it as a ſyſtem of philoſophy on ſo extenſive and important a branch of ethics. I muſt beg leave, however, to repeat, as an apology, if not excuſe, for the errors as well as defects in the preſent work, that the ſubject has not been profeſſedly taken up before by any writer, at leaſt to my knowledge, though it has been obliquely touched by ſeveral eminent authors.

FINIS.

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TO

REMARKS ON CLIMATE.

*** The NUMERAL FIGURES denote, that the Words to which they are affixed, are the SUBJECT of the particular BOOK, of the SIX into which the Work is divided, that is repreſented by the Figure. The Letters from A to F ſignify, that the Words diſtinguiſhed by them belong to one of the SIX CLASSES, expreſſed in the Title-page, which are conſidered as ſubject to the INFLUENCE of CLIMATE, &c. Thus, CLIMATE has I. after it; WAY OF LIFE, VI.: DISPOSITION, A; MANNERS AND BEHAVIOUR, B; INTELLECTS, C; LAWS AND CUSTOMS, D; FORM OF GOVERNMENT, E; and RELIGION, F.

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